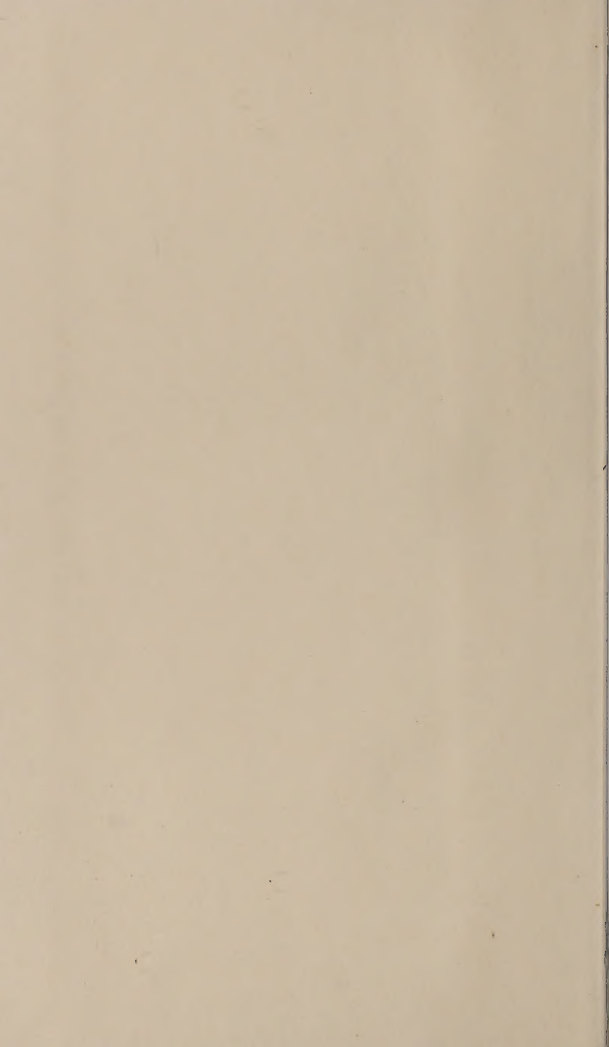




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Report to the 1991 CONVENTION

From the AFL-CIO Executive Council



SOLIDARITY WORKS

h Constitutional Convention • Detroit, Michigan

Executive Council

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**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**
815 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006

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President's Report

The final decade of the Twentieth Century finds the American trade union movement unified, militant and taking to the streets to proclaim that "Solidarity Works."

After ten years of especially rigorous assaults by the forces, fronts and hired hands of reaction, labor remains as vital a force for liberty, justice and social progress as ever in its history.

With fourteen million members under contract in workplaces across the country — and millions more Americans courageously standing up for unions in the face of intense employer opposition — the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations is and will continue to be the largest and most cohesive body of democratic trade unionists in the world.

A clear indication of the continuing vitality of our movement was the success of the August 31 Solidarity Day 1991 demonstration. More than 325,000 trade union activists and their allies marched from the Washington Monument to the Capitol to tell our nation's leaders that they don't like the direction the country is taking. Together, they raised a single voice to insist that their democratic government assure fair play for all, and not just for those with the most money, the most luck, or the strongest bootstraps.

Many gave up spending their Labor Day weekend with their families, friends and neighbors — some traveling all night on buses from distant communities — in order to raise one trade union voice for national health care reform, for a bill to ban the "permanent replacement" of strikers and for full freedom of association and trade union rights both at home and throughout the world.

For those who participated, Solidarity Day 1991 was an opportunity to reinforce and revitalize the idea that each and every trade unionist is part of an historic movement for social and economic justice. These marchers showed the nation that the trade union movement will not flinch in carrying out its responsibility to defend the interests of working people and their families — an obligation that takes on even greater importance at a time when Americans are beginning to pay the price for the past decade of excess, avarice and illusion.

Ten years ago, during the first Solidarity Day demonstration, the labor movement forcefully rejected the idea that the nation's problems could be solved by throwing money and license at the wealthy and by facilitating a wholesale assault on the right of working people to join trade unions. Sadly, events have shown that we were right all along.

Rampant deregulation, speculation and neglect have severely weakened the nation's financial, insurance and pension institutions. Huge budget deficits — brought on largely by tax cuts for the rich and public bailouts of financial deregulation experiments gone awry — have paralyzed the federal government's ability to address the nation's social problems in any significant way.

Unable to propose any real solutions, Washington has pursued a policy of off-loading responsibilities on states, counties and cities, without providing them any means of fulfilling their obligations to the people they serve. Consequently, hard-pressed state and local governments are on their own as they attempt to cope with an epidemic of homelessness, drugs, crime and crumbling infrastructure — all while trying to maintain a public school system that is charged with the responsibility of educating the work force of the Twenty-first Century. Saddled with the dilemma of either raising new revenues or cutting programs and services, many of these governments have made the latter choice and in the process have thrown thousands of public employees out of work.

As I write, the nation has suffered through more than a full year of recession and high unemployment, with no end in sight. The President himself offers no help to the suffering jobless other than pronouncements that "prosperity is just around the corner," and when Congress finally bestirred itself a year late to provide desperately needed relief to the unemployed, the President's veto was sustained and the jobless were again denied.

Clearly, then, it is up to the trade union movement to insist that our lawmakers confront these problems and provide a greater degree of fairness and justice for working people and their families. This challenge is made all the more difficult in an era when capital can be moved across borders at the push of a computer button, when multinational corporations roam the world in search of the cheapest and most repressed labor, and when new ways of doing business — such as corporate takeovers and leveraged buyouts — are inducing a growing number of employers to extract bottom-line savings directly from the pockets of their workers. Clearly, the concept of the employer as someone who came up through the firm, and who cares about its future and that of the surrounding community, is fast disappearing in our society. The nation used to have employers who made things, today they just want to make money.

Labor's response to this can be found in the oldest and most modern bedrock principle of trade unionism — solidarity. Across the nation, trade unionists are discovering that solidarity works as an instrument of hope and progress.

Time and experience have enabled us to refine and improve labor's unified program of assistance that enables affiliates to come to the aid of a union that is locked in a bitter struggle with an employer. Coordinated efforts to assist striking union members, undertaken through the AFL-CIO's Strategic Approaches Committee, have played a critical role in bolstering labor's resolve to stand up to hostile employers.

The AFL-CIO's efforts to help members of the United Mine Workers of America at Pittston Coal and the Communications Workers of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at NYNEX produced equitable contracts and saved health care benefits the unions were striking to preserve.

Two units of more than 50,000 workers won major new contracts — the Boeing Machinists with a strike and the New York City health care workers without a strike. Likewise, a bitter battle at “New York Daily News,” waged against management that was bent on destroying union representation, produced a new contract after the sale of the paper to a new owner who recognized trade union rights and pledged to work with employees toward restoring a profitable enterprise.

And while the strikes at Eastern Airlines and Greyhound did not reach their goal of putting union members back to work under a fair contract, the unrelenting solidarity displayed by those workers should give pause to future Frank Lorenzos before they set out to bust their unions. For the locked-out Steelworkers at Ravenswood Aluminum in West Virginia, the struggle nears its first anniversary with no letup in their courage, unity and determination.

Besides the obvious advantages of increased labor solidarity in winning a strike, there are two primary lessons to be learned from the solidarity of these struggles.

First, there ought to be a law that prohibits employers from “permanently replacing” workers who exercise their legal right to strike. This practice makes a mockery of the law’s protection of the right to collective action — essential in any democracy — and it poses a dire threat to the integrity of the collective bargaining process that is supposed to provide a reasonable framework for resolving disputes. The labor-supported bill to ban this practice and restore the right to strike without losing your job has passed the House of Representatives by a strong margin. In the coming months, we shall redouble our efforts to remind the Senate and the President that they are sworn to uphold and defend the rights and privileges of all the people, and not just the bloody-minded section of the employer community.

Secondly, America desperately needs national health care reform. Fully three-quarters of trade unionists who go out on strike are forced to do so in order to preserve their health care benefits. Soaring health care inflation — which is directly attributable to the nation’s failure to provide basic coverage to all citizens — has put tremendous pressure on the collective bargaining process as employers look for ways to shift the burden of rising costs to their workers. There can be no lasting solution so long as America remains the only industrialized nation that doesn’t guarantee every citizen access to basic health care services.

In the fall of 1990, the AFL-CIO held a series of public hearings designed to focus greater public attention on the need for health care reform. Our findings were later submitted to members of Congress, and negotiations are now under way between labor, Congressional leaders, health care providers and some members of the business community on the specific components of a plan that would control costs, improve quality and, most importantly, guarantee every American access to basic medical services.

In other legislative areas, labor’s efforts to advance our progressive agenda have achieved mixed results in the face of strong opposition from those who believe that government should serve the faceless marketplace rather than the

aspirations of real people. We did succeed in securing some of the child care initiatives we sought, while defeating attempts to enact a balanced budget amendment and fending off further assaults on the Davis-Bacon Act. However, our adversaries narrowly prevailed — with the help of the Presidential veto pen — in defeating labor-backed legislation to reform the Hatch Act, to provide workers with family and medical leave, to prevent the loss of American textile jobs to low-wage exporting countries, and to undo the Supreme Court's damage to our civil rights laws.

In addition, labor was abandoned by many of its usual congressional allies in the battle to deny the President "fast track" authority for negotiating a free trade agreement with Mexico, despite the administration's failure to show that such a pact would raise living standards on either side of the border. Despite this defeat, the AFL-CIO is continuing to monitor developments and will vigorously oppose any final agreement that is not structured to avoid the wholesale loss of American jobs as U.S. manufacturers flee south of the border to take advantage of Mexican poverty and loosely-enforced environmental and workplace regulations.

In all of these legislative endeavors, we must always remember that tomorrow is also a day. As long as we keep fighting and preparing for the next round, we cannot lose and the alleged "victories" of our adversaries are but rear-guard actions.

In 1991, the labor movement celebrated the 20th anniversary of the federal Occupational Safety and Health Act by calling on Congress to enact measures improving construction safety and giving all workers the right to refuse to do work they know is unsafe without fear of employer retaliation. The AFL-CIO-backed OSHA reform legislation would also require employers to set up joint labor-management workplace safety committees to help identify hazards and make recommendations for improvements.

The September 1991 fire at a chicken processing plant in Hamlet, North Carolina — in which 25 workers died behind locked doors — is only one of the many workplace tragedies that claim more than 10,000 lives each year. No foreseeable increase in the staffing of federal and state agencies will enable them to address the range of hazards or inspect the number of worksites for which they are responsible. The place to start reforming is at the jobsite itself, where workers know best about the hazards they face and know what they and their employers must do to correct them.

In order to continue dramatizing the issue of workplace safety, the AFL-CIO has made the celebration of Workers Memorial Day an annual event. Following on the success of the first Workers Memorial Day in 1989, local unions, state federations and local central bodies across the nation held memorial services and rallies on designated days in 1990 and 1991, and plans are under way to continue these observances in the years to come.

At the direction of the Executive Council, the AFL-CIO has continued and refined its policy of promoting a presidential endorsement process that is designed to promote and enhance labor's unity in political action, while facilitating membership involvement and consultation in deciding which, if any,

candidates to endorse. That policy calls on all national and international unions not to make public endorsements of 1992 presidential candidates prior to the AFL-CIO Convention, to which all Democratic presidential candidates have been invited for a public forum. The event will be videotaped and sent, along with material from candidates of both parties, to all affiliated unions and state and local central bodies for use, through their own methods, in sampling the views and preferences of the members.

This endorsement policy is intended to help inform union members on the views of various candidates, enable trade unionists to express their preferences through their unions and the federation, and build labor solidarity throughout the delegate selection process and at the national party conventions. Drawing from our experiences in the 1984 and 1988 presidential elections, it is based on our faith that trade unionists — given the facts — will do what is best for themselves, their families, their communities and the nation.

In these and so many other ways, the labor movement is living up to its daily responsibilities in our democratic society, despite the best attempts of our adversaries to convince workers that they no longer need or want unions.

That myth is certainly nothing new. It was advanced at the founding of the American Federation of Labor more than a century ago, and it still enjoys periodic revivals, especially when economic and technological progress bring forth widespread changes in the nature of the work force. What the proponents of the "labor in decline" theories neglect to consider, however, is the inherent desire of working people to be treated with dignity and respect, to have a genuine voice at their places of work, and to earn a fair share of the wealth they help create.

With this in mind, the AFL-CIO continues to focus substantial energy and resources to the task of helping affiliates organize the unorganized.

Our efforts have produced considerable progress, with the labor movement gaining ground in regions and workplaces that traditionally have been difficult to organize — from college campuses to southern textile mills.

In 1989, for example, more workers voted in NLRB elections and we won our highest percentage of NLRB victories since 1976. Organizing successes among university clerical and administrative staff workers continued in 1991 at the Universities of Minnesota and Illinois where representation rights were won by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. New units of more than 1,000 workers were won by the United Food and Commercial Workers in Liberal, Kansas, and by the Communications Workers in Buffalo, New York. The AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department's cooperative organizing program, operating in five southern states, has scored 18 election victories and two voluntary recognitions this year, bringing union cards and benefits to more than 3,500 workers. And a recent campaign by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union at seven Fieldcrest Cannon textile plants involving nearly 7,000 workers in North Carolina was only narrowly defeated despite intense company opposition and charges of employer intimidation. At last word, an NLRB investigation of challenged ballots could still shift the victory to the union.

At a time when one in 20 workers voting in organizing campaigns is fired for union activities, it is remarkable that so many working people — so dependent on their jobs for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness — are willing to stick their necks out for a union. And while they deserve the lion's share of the credit for these accomplishments, we can also be proud of the new and innovative organizing techniques developed by the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

Our Organizing Institute, now in its third year of operation, is growing in terms of the number of affiliated unions participating and the number of trainees and graduates. The Institute's primary mission is to prepare a new generation of organizers through better recruitment, training and placement, as well as by developing both theoretical study and practical application of organizers' skills.

In addition, the AFL-CIO's Department of Organization has teamed up with the Union Privilege program to further the associate membership program pilot programs as a means of introducing the benefits of trade unionism to a growing number of workers who are not yet covered by a collective bargaining agreement. The California Immigrant Workers Association (CIWA), the National Association of Working Americans in Cincinnati, and the Montana Family Union program are all showing a great deal of potential and are enjoying the active support of local unions. Their successes have spawned the start-up of another immigrant assistance project offering associate union membership in El Paso, Texas.

In addition to its many other benefits such as a low interest rate credit card, legal services and savings and life insurance programs, Union Privilege recently introduced a mortgage program designed to ease the difficulties working people have in realizing the dream and financial advantages of home ownership. The program was unveiled with considerable fanfare and media attention in 1991.

Such initiatives, backed up by the work of the Labor Institute of Public Affairs and its ongoing "Union YES" advertising campaign, have done much to improve the trade union movement's image among the American people. National polls show that the percentage of Americans who approve of unions is at its highest in years, while 73 percent of those responding to a CNN/Time Magazine poll answered "yes" to the question "Do American workers need unions?" A February 1991 Roper Poll shows the public impression of labor leaders has gained significantly in the past decade, while neither politicians nor businessmen enjoyed any image improvement at all.

Perhaps Americans now realize that in this century the trade union movement, more than any other force or factor, has been the author of America's quality of life — organizing the working masses, building their ladder into the middle class, democratizing leisure and learning, and creating a market based on good wages and conditions that is the mercantile target of the world.

If so, then it is high time that the business community join in recognizing that a strong and free trade union movement is essential to the economic future of the country. At a time when all of the world's most competitive economies are more highly unionized than our own, there is ample evidence that the push to de-unionize undermines the goal of national competitiveness. Recent studies

have shown that corporate efforts to improve workers skills, build management-labor cooperation and increase worker productivity are all significantly enhanced by the presence of a union work force.

These facts notwithstanding, it would be foolish to expect that any future gains for working people will come without an intense struggle against entrenched power. The words of A. Philip Randolph are just as true today as ever: "There are no reserved seats at the banquet table of nature. You get what you can take and you keep what you can hold." This is especially so in an era when the march of technology constantly augments the ability of multinational corporations to roam the world in search of the cheapest and most repressed labor.

We are mindful that we live in the age of the global marketplace, the rapid mobility of capital, the inscrutable nature of flags over workplaces, and the indifference of corporate managements to national values and aspirations that do not translate into profit. Clearly, to an ever-increasing degree, the defense of the rights and standards of labor in one country require that we act in concert with free labor everywhere to defend and advance the rights and standards of all. With that aim, the AFL-CIO will continue building and fortifying the international solidarity of working people across borders — a mission that in recent years has produced stunning developments in the world and is changing the course of human history.

When we last met in convention two years ago, Americans were hailing the accomplishments of a Polish independent trade union movement that came up from underground to rid its nation of tyranny and give freedom a chance. The triumphant images from the Fall of 1989 — particularly the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the retreat of totalitarianism in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the appearance of Solidarnosc President Lech Walesa on the AFL-CIO convention platform — certainly evoked the feeling that we had reached a pinnacle, for the moment, in the worldwide struggle for freedom, democracy and human rights.

Or so we thought. For who could have possibly imagined that events would move so rapidly over the next two years as to render those images of 1989 as merely the first rays of light in the dawning of a new era of democratic promise?

Since that time, of course, totalitarian governments have fallen in almost all of the Central and Eastern European nations, the Baltic states are free once again, and the people of the Soviet Union are now charting a democratic course after the collapse of the long-ruling communist regime in Moscow. Boris Yeltsin's victory as Russia's first freely elected president and the growing influence of the Strike Committees and free trade unions in the Soviet republics are certainly part of this trend.

In South Africa, dramatic steps toward the dismantling of the hated apartheid system have included the government's release of Nelson Mandela after more than a quarter-century as a political prisoner.

Following on the victory of democratic forces in Chile over the longstanding Pinochet dictatorship, a strong democratic trend continues in Latin America, where more than a half-dozen countries have installed civilian governments

during the past two years. Most notably, Brazil elected a president by direct popular vote for the first time in a quarter-century, while democratic forces prevailed in honest elections held in both Haiti and Nicaragua — two countries beset by a long history of dictatorial rule.

Through it all, the independent workers' organizations that bear the burdens of these struggles have been able to count on the men and women of the American labor movement as a tested and proven resource. In providing critical aid and support to Solidarnosc in Poland, the miners' Strike Committees and other independent trade unions in the Soviet republics, the black trade unions in South Africa and dozens of other workers' organizations in the emerging democracies, the AFL-CIO has helped build strong trade unions that are working to build decent civil societies out of the ruins of tyranny. Our unswerving support of freedom of association and trade union rights throughout the world is the reason Nelson Mandela, Boris Yeltsin and Hungary's President Arpad Goncz paid visits to AFL-CIO headquarters when they travelled to the U.S. to seek support for democracy in their homelands.

Yet, despite freedom's gains in the world, there is a great deal yet to be done in order to ensure that the 1990s is truly the "decade of democracy" in the world. Entrenched authoritarians continue to rule over more than a quarter of humanity, while remnants of the old order still cling to whatever power they can keep in the emerging democracies. Moreover, working people who have struggled for so long to cast off the brutal pursuit of a "workers' paradise" are now being told by hustlers and idealogues that their salvation lies not in civil society they fought for so long to establish, but rather in the jungle of the unregulated marketplace.

In Eastern and Central Europe and the republics of the Soviet Union, the AFL-CIO is continuing to help build strong independent trade unions, which are the only institutions that both support necessary economic restructuring and protect the interests of working people whose jobs and livelihood are being most disrupted by change.

As for the People's Republic of China, where a brutal dictatorship continues to court Western commercial and financial interests while imprisoning and executing trade union activists, the federation is working to bring pressure on the Bush Administration to force the Beijing regime to respect human rights. Unfortunately, business executives from the U.S., Canada, Japan, Germany and other industrialized nations are vying with each other to grab commercial opportunities not only in the PRC but also in Vietnam, Myanmar and other countries in the region where the boot of government is planted firmly on the necks of working people.

We continue to keep the faith with our brothers and sisters in El Salvador, with the hope that UN-sponsored peace talks between the government and the rebels will produce an end to that nation's tragic civil war. The AFL-CIO continues to oppose any military aid to the government of El Salvador until that military is brought under the control of an effective judicial system and atrocities against the nation's citizenry are stopped.

In keeping with its pledge to help Cuban workers build a democratic trade union movement, the AFL-CIO Executive Council has created a Labor Committee for a Free Cuba and charged it with the responsibility of working through the international labor movement and through official diplomatic channels to help bring freedom to the Western Hemisphere's last remaining dictatorship.

In the belief that the denial of worker rights should be recognized as the unfair trading practice it is, the AFL-CIO continues its efforts to withhold preferential trade benefits (under the Generalized System of Preferences) to countries that violate fundamental worker rights. In addition, we have succeeded in securing language guaranteeing basic worker rights in contracts that the Overseas Private Investment Corporation signs with American firms for investments in five emerging democracies in Eastern Europe and Latin America, and we are seeking universalization of this provision.

Through our international institutes, our affiliated unions and the International Trade Secretariats, we will continue to work in various international forums and arenas in order to build solidarity across borders and to provide working people a voice in an era of growth and increased power of multinational business enterprises. In particular, the AFL-CIO is working very closely with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in a campaign to include a "social clause" in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Working through the ICFTU, the International Labor Organization and in cooperation with the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, we will seek a social dimension in Western policies affecting the economic restructuring of the newly emerging democracies.

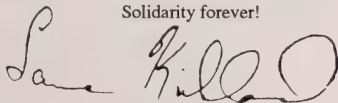
Of course, all of these efforts are based on the American trade union movement's dedication to the bedrock principles of freedom of association, and our steadfast belief that its pursuit by working people has given blood and roots to this worldwide movement that is sweeping tyrants from their thrones and ushering in, we hope, a new era of freedom and democracy.

Everywhere you look, working people are taking to the streets to demand their fundamental right to breathe free and to live in dignity. In so doing, have shown the world that justice and human liberty do not come from on high, but from the ground, where their roots must flourish and grow.

They, and not the diplomats and the politicians in high office, are the real authors of freedom.

Their struggle enriches us all. And it tells us here in America that if we work together and fight together to advance our common goals, today and tomorrow, we cannot fail.

Solidarity forever!

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Lane Killean". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized "L" and "K".

President

Secretary-Treasurer's Report

Financial Report

The financial statements of the AFL-CIO for 1990 and 1989 are presented on the following pages. The statements have been audited and reported on by KPMG Peat Marwick, our independent certified public accountants.

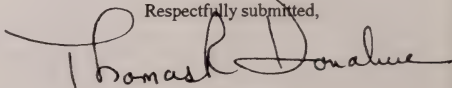
The balance sheet presents our assets, liabilities and fund balances, including the Reserve Fund and Defense Fund, at the end of our last two calendar years, December 31, 1990, and December 31, 1989. The supplemental statement of expenses by categories presents the details of the expenses summarized in the statement of revenue, expenses and changes in fund balances. The statement of changes in financial position shows the changes in working capital for the years ended December 31, 1990, and December 31, 1989.

As shown on the accompanying balance sheet, the fund balance of the General Fund at December 31, 1990, was \$25,148,415. The fund balances of the Reserve and Defense Funds at December 31, 1990, were \$37,094,781 and \$210,662, respectively. The Reserve Fund was established by the Executive Council in 1989 to ensure a base of support for future activities of the Federation. The General Fund transferred \$14,000,000 in 1990 and \$20,035,161 in 1989 to the Reserve Fund in cash and other assets. The amounts have been invested in U.S. Government securities, common stocks, corporate bonds and cash equivalents.

In addition to the financial statements of the AFL-CIO, this section contains the audited financial statements of the AFL-CIO Staff Retirement Plan for the years ended June 30, 1991 and 1990.

The detailed manner in which the financial statements are presented provides a comprehensive report on our financial management in recognition of our affiliates' vital interest in the financial well being of the Federation.

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Thomas Donahue". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "T" and "D".

Secretary-Treasurer

**Independent Auditors' Report
The Executive Council
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations:**

We have audited the accompanying balance sheets of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations as of December 31, 1990 and 1989, and the related statements of revenue, expenses and changes in fund balances, including the statements of expenses by categories, and changes in financial position for the years then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Federation's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits.

We conducted our audits in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audits provide a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations at December 31, 1990 and 1989, and the results of its operations and changes in its financial position for the years then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

Our audits were made for the purpose of forming an opinion on the basic financial statements taken as a whole. The supplementary information included on Schedules 1 through 6 is presented for purposes of additional analysis and is not a required part of the basic financial statements. Such information has been subjected to the auditing procedures applied in the audits of the basic financial statements and, in our opinion, is fairly presented in all material respects in relation to the basic financial statements taken as a whole.

**KPMG Peat Marwick
Certified Public Accountants**

**January 21, 1991
Washington, D. C.**

STATEMENT NO. 1
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
BALANCE SHEETS — DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989

Assets	1990			1989				
	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total
Current assets:								
Cash.....	\$ 93,154	\$ 13,720	\$ -	\$ 106,874	\$ 177,729	\$ 12,333	\$ -	\$ 190,062
Certificates of deposit and bank repurchase agreements	3,452,903	-	-	3,452,903	3,373,762	-	-	3,373,762
Investments, at cost (note 2)	6,413,402	34,828,880	-	41,242,282	14,136,542	19,167,818	-	33,304,360
Accounts receivable:								
Per capita taxes receivable from affiliates	6,691,039	-	-	6,691,039	6,545,774	-	-	6,545,774
Other (less allowance of \$4,000 in 1990 and \$5,000 in 1989 for doubtful accounts due to General fund)	574,448	198,907	-	773,355	701,398	-	-	701,398
Prepaid expenses	379,276	-	-	379,276	389,280	-	-	389,280
Due (to) from other funds	(656,486)	445,824	210,662	-	(179,737)	(4,721)	184,458	-
Total current assets	16,947,736	35,487,331	210,662	52,645,729	25,144,748	19,175,430	184,458	44,504,636
Property and equipment, at cost (note 7):								
Land	3,133,244	-	-	3,133,244	3,133,244	-	-	3,133,244
Buildings and improvements	11,392,593	-	-	11,392,593	11,392,593	-	-	11,392,593
Furniture and equipment	4,901,362	-	-	4,901,362	4,017,103	-	-	4,017,103
Computer software	108,000	-	-	108,000	108,000	-	-	108,000
	19,535,199	-	-	19,535,199	18,650,940	-	-	18,650,940

1989

Liabilities And Fund Balances

Current liabilities:

Accounts payable	\$1,829,934	-	1,829,934	-	1,156,596
Accrued salary	64,129	-	64,129	-	-
Accrued travel expenses	32,314	-	32,314	57,519	57,519

STATEMENT NO. 1 (Continued)

Liabilities ... (Continued)	1990			1989				
	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total
Accrued vacation	1,131,752	-	-	1,131,752	1,049,049	-	-	1,049,049
Payroll withholdings	104,854	-	-	104,854	72,598	-	-	72,598
Total current liabilities	3,162,983	-	-	3,162,983	2,335,762	-	-	2,335,762
Other liabilities — funds held in trust for local unions	100,418	-	-	100,418	111,879	-	-	111,879
Total liabilities	3,263,401	-	-	3,263,401	2,447,641	-	-	2,447,641
Fund balances	25,148,415	37,094,781	210,662	62,453,858	34,118,462	20,635,647	184,458	54,938,567
Commitments and contingencies (note 3)	\$28,411,816	\$37,094,781	\$ 210,662	\$65,717,259	\$36,566,103	\$20,635,647	\$ 184,458	\$57,386,208

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

STATEMENT NO. 2
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
STATEMENTS OF REVENUE, EXPENSES AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES
YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989

	1990			1989				
	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total
Revenue:								
Per capita taxes and fees:								
National and International Unions:								
Members	\$58,394,721	\$ -	\$ -	\$58,394,721	\$58,705,673	\$ -	\$ -	\$58,705,673
Associate members	702,178	-	-	702,178	789,105	-	-	789,105
Local Unions	294,639	-	32,654	327,293	360,114	-	40,998	401,112
Central Bodies	11,925	-	-	11,925	13,275	-	-	13,275
Investment revenue	1,056,028	2,564,180	-	3,620,208	2,080,469	816,816	-	2,897,285
Net (loss) gain on sale of investments	-	(18,687)	-	(18,687)	5,892	(191,170)	-	(185,278)
Rental revenue	1,087,738	-	-	1,087,738	997,770	-	-	997,770
Administrative expense reimbursements	787,516	-	-	787,516	823,777	-	-	823,777
AFL-CIO News subscriptions	79,588	-	-	79,588	95,275	-	-	95,275
Sales of supplies and services:								
Data processing	311,419	-	-	311,419	103,268	-	-	103,268
Educational and organizational supplies	122,207	-	-	122,207	104,024	-	-	104,024
Reproduction and mailing	524,023	-	-	524,023	625,476	-	-	625,476
Other	363,193	-	-	363,193	281,020	-	-	281,020
Total revenue	63,735,175	2,545,493	32,654	66,313,322	64,985,138	625,646	40,998	65,651,782

STATEMENT NO. 2 (Continued)

	1990			1989				
	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total
Expenses:								
Headquarters:								
Administrative departments and divisions	5,394,569	-	-	5,394,569	4,616,787	-	-	4,616,787
Other departments and committee	25,299,640	-	-	25,299,640	20,444,607	-	-	20,444,607
Other expenses	19,981,403	86,359	6,450	20,074,212	22,304,602	25,160	-	22,329,762
Field operations — regional offices	8,029,610	-	-	8,029,610	7,776,086	-	-	7,776,086
Total expenses	58,705,222	86,359	6,450	58,798,031	55,142,082	25,160	-	55,167,242
Excess of revenue over expenses	5,029,953	2,459,134	26,204	7,515,291	9,843,056	600,486	40,998	10,484,540
Fund balances, beginning of year	34,118,462	20,635,647	184,458	54,938,567	44,310,567	-	143,460	44,454,027
Transfer to Reserve fund (note 4)	(14,000,000)	14,000,000	-	-	(20,035,161)	20,035,161	-	-
Fund balances, end of year	\$25,148,415	\$37,094,781	\$ 210,662	\$62,453,858	\$34,118,462	\$20,635,647	\$ 184,458	\$54,938,567

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

STATEMENT NO. 3
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS OF EXPENSES BY CATEGORIES
GENERAL FUND
YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Salaries	\$17,360,699	\$16,978,050
Fringe benefits (notes 5 and 6)	6,954,710	6,882,799
Travel	3,513,243	2,858,817
Telephone and telegraph	262,719	222,895
Printing	1,412,158	893,439
Books and subscriptions	196,790	149,420
Office supplies and expense, National office	805,680	636,446
Postage and mailing	1,031,304	545,102
Data processing	237,673	73,210
Field offices	160,493	137,132
Organizing campaigns	60,220	169,263
Regional offices; rent, supplies, etc.	639,607	531,955
General insurance	17,014	16,961
Article 20 and 21	89,571	59,055
Conferences	577,128	607,071
Convention	-	1,123,758
Accounting fees	69,000	54,960
Attorneys' fees	978,583	774,996
Other professional services	629,648	441,191
Other taxes	120,250	98,804
Headquarters building (utilities, taxes, insurance, maintenance and other)	1,985,757	1,988,127
Depreciation (note 7)	802,024	709,319
Rental equipment	557,253	687,135
Promotion	328,625	282,112
AFL-CIO News	747,565	724,356
Labor Institute of Public Affairs	1,756,803	1,335,244
Labor Institute of Public Affairs — Union Yes program	3,275,335	6,023,124
George Meany Center for Labor Studies	2,697,535	2,584,750
AFL-CIO Organizing Institute	650,000	-
State Central Bodies — National Affiliation Program	240,755	244,342
State and local central bodies subsidies	297,091	177,037
Contribution to COPE Treasury Fund	350,000	225,000
State political education activity	2,323,142	654,011
International delegations	73,146	16,068
Affiliation fees	2,662,668	2,157,692
Assessment — ICFTU Solidarity Fund	200,000	200,000
Special projects	1,287,102	433,293
Contributions:		
Support groups and institutes	1,954,500	1,927,000
Other	651,437	878,450
Other	<u>747,994</u>	<u>639,698</u>
	<u>\$58,705,222</u>	<u>\$55,142,082</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

STATEMENT NO. 4
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
STATEMENTS OF CHANGES IN FINANCIAL POSITION
YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989

	1990			1989				
	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total
Working capital provided from:								
Excess of revenue over expenses	\$ 5,029,953	\$ 2,459,134	\$ 26,204	\$ 7,515,291	\$ 9,843,056	\$ 600,486	\$ 40,998	\$ 10,484,540
Add charges not affecting working capital — depreciation	802,024	-	-	802,024	709,319	-	-	709,319
Working capital provided from operations	5,831,977	2,459,134	26,204	8,317,315	10,552,375	600,486	11,193,859	
(Increase) decrease in office funds and advances	(26,646)	-	-	(26,646)	6,609	-	-	6,609
Decrease (increase) in investments	85,660	(1,607,450)	-	(1,521,790)	473,345	-	-	473,345
Repayments of loans receivable	233,122	-	-	233,122	331,387	-	-	331,387
Disposal of furniture and equipment	-	-	-	-	3,166	-	-	3,166
(Decrease) increase in funds held for local unions	(11,461)	-	-	(11,461)	535	-	-	535
Transfer from the General fund	-	14,000,000	-	14,000,000	-	20,035,161	-	20,035,161
Working capital provided	6,112,652	14,851,684	26,204	20,990,540	11,367,417	20,635,647	40,998	32,044,062

STATEMENT NO. 4 (Continued)

	1990			1989				
	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total
Working capital used for:								
Acquisition of property and equipment . . .	1,058,885	-	-	1,058,885	833,918	-	-	833,918
Loans to affiliates	78,000	-	-	78,000	312,287	-	-	312,287
Transfer to the Reserve fund	14,000,000	-	-	14,000,000	20,035,161	-	-	20,035,161
Working capital used	15,136,885	-	-	15,136,885	21,181,366	-	-	21,181,366
(Decrease) increase in working capital	<u>(\$9,024,233)</u>	<u>\$14,851,684</u>	<u>\$ 26,204</u>	<u>\$ 5,853,655</u>	<u>(\$ 9,813,949)</u>	<u>\$20,635,647</u>	<u>\$ 40,998</u>	<u>\$10,862,696</u>
Changes in working capital:								
Increase (decrease) in current assets:								
Cash	(\$ 84,575)	\$ 1,387	\$ -	(\$ 83,188)	\$ 16,955	\$ 12,333	\$ -	\$ 29,288
Certificates of deposit and bank repurchase agreements	79,141	-	-	79,141	979,775	-	-	979,775
Investments	(7,723,140)	14,200,845	-	6,477,705	(11,390,359)	20,628,035	-	9,237,676
Accounts receivable:								
Per capita taxes receivable from affiliates	145,265	-	-	145,265	1,289,287	-	-	1,289,287
Other	(126,950)	198,907	-	71,957	(50,027)	-	-	(50,027)
Prepaid expenses	(10,004)	-	-	(10,004)	28,941	-	-	28,941
Due (to) from other funds	(476,749)	450,545	26,204	-	(36,277)	(4,721)	40,998	-
	<u>(8,197,012)</u>	<u>14,851,684</u>	<u>26,204</u>	<u>6,680,876</u>	<u>(9,161,705)</u>	<u>20,635,647</u>	<u>40,998</u>	<u>11,514,940</u>

STATEMENT NO. 4 (Continued)

	1990				1989			
	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total	General fund	Reserve fund	Defense fund	Total
Increase (decrease) in current liabilities:								
Accounts payable	673,338	-	-	673,338	525,615	-	-	525,615
Accrued salaries	64,129	-	-	64,129	-	-	-	-
Accrued travel expenses	(25,205)	-	-	(25,205)	22,428	-	-	22,428
Accrued vacation	82,703	-	-	82,703	83,524	-	-	83,524
Payroll withholdings	32,256	-	-	32,256	20,677	-	-	20,677
	827,221	-	-	827,221	652,244	-	-	652,244
(Decrease) increase in working capital	(\$9,024,233)	\$14,851,684	\$ 26,204	\$ 5,853,655	(\$9,813,949)	\$20,635,647	\$ 40,998	\$10,862,696

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989**

1. Summary of Significant Accounting Policies

Fund Accounting — The Federation records its transactions in three self-balancing groups of accounts. Each Fund reflects only those transactions applicable to its designated functional area.

General fund — Reflects transactions related to the general operations of the Federation.

Reserve fund — Reflects transactions related to assets which have been segregated to insure against any potential operating deficiencies in the General fund.

Defense fund — Reflects transactions related to assistance to local unions directly affiliated with the AFL-CIO while on authorized strike.

Property and Equipment — Property and equipment are carried at cost. Depreciation is computed using the straight-line method over the estimated useful lives of 3 to 50 years. When assets are retired or otherwise disposed of, the cost and related accumulated depreciation are removed from the accounts and any resulting gain or loss is recognized in expense for the period. The cost of maintenance and repairs is charged to expense as incurred.

Investments — Investments are stated at cost, adjusted for amortization of premiums and accretion of discounts using the effective interest method. The adjusted cost of a specific security sold is used to compute the gain or loss on the sale of that security.

Income tax — The Federation is exempt from federal income taxes under Section 501(c)(5) of the Internal Revenue Code, except for net income, if any, from unrelated business activities. No provision for income taxes is required as of December 31, 1990 and 1989.

Per capita taxes — Per capita taxes are recorded on the basis of amounts payable by affiliated national and international unions based on their reported memberships, net of exonerations granted by the Executive Council.

Pension — The Federation funds accrued pension cost on its noncontributory multiemployer pension plan covering substantially all employees. Prior service cost is amortized over 30 years through July 1, 2013.

2. Investments

Investments at December 31, 1990 and 1989, consisted of:

General fund:

<u>Description</u>	<u>1990</u>		<u>1989</u>	
	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Market Value</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Market Value</u>
U.S. Government securities:				
Treasury bill	\$ 3,299,960	\$ 3,301,830	\$ 2,967,584	\$ 2,980,974
Treasury note	3,113,442	3,129,063	7,188,632	7,185,250
Bankers acceptance	-	-	3,980,326	3,980,326
	<u>\$ 6,413,402</u>	<u>\$ 6,430,893</u>	<u>\$14,136,542</u>	<u>\$14,146,550</u>

Reserve fund:

<u>Description</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Market Value</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Market Value</u>
Cash and cash equivalents	\$3,079,355	\$3,077,072	\$2,581,816	\$2,581,816
Government trust certificates	11,135,605	11,509,313	10,231,878	10,478,078
U.S. Government securities:				
Treasury strips	853,104	877,501	785,240	800,938
Treasury notes	7,216,223	7,261,454	1,029,280	1,019,999
Treasury bonds	339,866	337,402	-	-
Federal Farm Credit notes	3,553,742	3,568,453	-	-
Corporate bonds	7,491,662	7,003,893	3,211,632	3,185,088
Common stocks	<u>1,159,323</u>	<u>1,205,887</u>	<u>1,327,972</u>	<u>1,354,825</u>
	<u>\$34,828,880</u>	<u>\$34,840,975</u>	<u>\$19,167,818</u>	<u>\$19,420,744</u>

3. Leases

The Federation leases various office equipment, automobiles and office space under long-term operating leases. Future minimum annual lease payments under noncancelable leases as of December 31, 1990.

<u>Year</u>	
1991	\$ 793,259
1992	640,677
1993	501,008
1994	463,783
1995 and thereafter	<u>545,895</u>
	<u>\$2,944,622</u>

Rental expense for operating leases was \$848,402 in 1990 and \$871,126 in 1989.

4. Reserve Fund

The Reserve fund was established in 1989 to meet the future needs of the Federation. The General fund transferred \$14,000,000 in 1990 and \$20,035,161 in 1989 to the Reserve fund in cash and other assets.

5. Pension and Savings Plans

The Federation participates in a multiemployer defined benefit pension plan covering substantially all of its employees. The total pension expense for the years ended December 31, 1990 and 1989 was \$2,669,626 and \$2,681,869, respectively.

The Federation also participates in a deferred compensation plan, commonly referred to as a 401(k) plan, covering substantially all employees. The Plan permits an employee to defer, subject to certain IRS limitations, up to 10 percent of his or her annual salary. The Federation may match a portion of the salary deferred by each employee. The Federation's 401(k) contribution expense for 1990 and 1989 was \$25,427 and \$46,243, respectively.

6. Postretirement Health Care and Life Insurance Benefits

In addition to providing pension benefits, the Federation also provides certain life insurance benefits for retired employees and health care benefits for retired employees and surviving spouses. Substantially all of the Federation's employees may become eligible for these benefits if they retire while working for the Federation. The cost of the benefits is recognized as expense when premiums are paid. The total cost of these benefits was approximately \$540,000 and \$530,000 for 1990 and 1989, respectively.

7. Depreciation Expense

Depreciation expense for the years ended December 31, 1990 and 1989 was as follows:

	Estimated useful lives	1990	1989
Headquarters building	50 years	\$ 207,576	\$ 207,576
Building improvements	10 years	45,362	45,362
Building — Paris, France	30 years	18,672	18,672
Furniture and equipment	10 years	494,414	401,709
Computer software	3 years	36,000	36,000
		<u>\$ 802,024</u>	<u>\$ 709,319</u>

Accumulated depreciation at December 31, 1990 and 1989 was as follows:

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Headquarters building	\$4,942,324	\$4,734,747
Building improvements	141,962	96,600
Building — Paris, France	74,689	56,017
Furniture and equipment	3,522,252	3,202,465
Computer software	<u>108,000</u>	<u>72,000</u>
	<u>\$8,789,227</u>	<u>\$8,161,829</u>

SCHEDULE NO. 1
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
SCHEDULES OF PER CAPITA TAXES FROM NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS — MEMBERS
YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989

	Total receipts	
	1990	1989
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated	\$ 356,791	\$ 424,065
Air Line Pilots Association	128,301	133,989
Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers International Union	183,388	181,532
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	50,400	50,400
Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, International Union, United	3,566,393	3,404,775
Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union	395,174	458,908
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of	279,277	291,682
Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, International Union of	352,800	351,120
Broadcast Employees and Technicians, National Association of	21,000	21,000
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	1,490,944	2,758,770
Chemical Workers Union, International	171,344	153,464
Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Amalgamated	655,394	720,204
Communications Workers of America	2,595,653	1,997,800
Coopers International Union of North America	903	404
Distillery, Wine and Allied Workers International Union, AFL-CIO/CLC	42,538	43,864
Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers, AFL-CIO, International Union of	629,410	699,947
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of	3,051,637	3,065,710
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	93,802	92,108
Engineers, International Union of Operating	1,386,000	1,386,000
Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, United	56,000	51,800
Fire Fighters, International Association of	634,200	612,150
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	96,535	104,197

SCHEDULE NO. 1 (Continued)

	Total receipts	
	1990	1989
Flight Attendants, Association of	95,257	132,719
Flight Engineers' International Association	2,205	2,651
Food and Commercial Workers International Union, United	3,948,416	3,928,572
Garment Workers of America, United	89,600	91,960
Garment Workers Union, International Ladies'	557,700	591,000
Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union	336,000	334,400
Glass Workers Union, American Flint	90,968	110,637
Government Employees, American Federation of	637,594	845,874
Grain Millers, American Federation of	114,328	114,822
Graphic Communications International Union	519,679	472,175
Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	700	1,050
Hospital and Health Care Employees, National Union of	-	124,800
Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union	1,129,131	1,146,969
Industrial Workers of America, International Union, Allied	230,264	196,543
Iron Workers, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental	423,521	429,594
Laborers' International Union of North America	1,558,969	1,702,108
Laundry and Dry Cleaning International Union, AFL-CIO	56,778	56,337
Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers Union, International	37,800	49,350
Leather Workers International Union of America	2,568	3,645
Letter Carriers, National Association of	882,000	866,250
Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of	80,194	58,450
Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, International	247,423	252,339
Longshoremen's and Warehouseman's Union, International	171,966	178,711
Machinists and Aerospace Workers, International Association of	2,307,603	2,168,326
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of	182,779	188,263
Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, National	222,779	165,492

SCHEDULE NO. 1 (Continued)

	Total receipts	
	1990	1989
Mechanics Educational Society of America	13,907	14,706
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Allied Workers International Union	17,842	18,516
Mine Workers of America, United	385,000	70,000
Musicians of the United States and Canada, American Federation of	194,196	200,667
Newspaper Guild, The	115,231	98,484
Novelty and Production Workers, International Union of Allied	98,356	105,249
Office and Professional Employees International Union	342,616	309,944
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union	365,273	261,835
Painters and Allied Trades of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	537,600	535,040
Paperworkers International Union, United	850,064	867,921
Pattern Makers League of North America	27,772	29,077
Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	161,700	161,700
Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America, International	1,260	1,512
Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the	923,160	914,368
Police Associations, International Union of	75,881	68,772
Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO, American	941,556	844,201
Professional Athletes, Federation of	-	3,920
Professional and Technical Engineers, International Federation of	95,992	80,815
Radio Association, American	1,117	1,236
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union	557,206	576,689
Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers, United Union of	89,410	91,932
Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, United	412,371	381,544
School Administrators, American Federation of	34,650	25,020
Seafarers International Union of North America	337,050	361,928
Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO	3,782,723	3,013,302
Sheet Metal Workers International Association	493,560	413,640

SCHEDULE NO. 1 (Continued)

	Total receipts	
	1990	1989
Siderographers	59	-
Signalmen, Brotherhood of Railroad	40,753	40,794
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical	210,350	210,000
State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of	5,056,714	4,699,383
Steelworkers of America, United	1,944,248	1,994,383
Stove, Furnace and Allied Appliance Workers' International Union of North America	19,944	17,451
Teachers, American Federation of	2,406,202	2,341,434
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	5,772,188	5,885,759
Textile Workers of America, United	80,565	80,625
Train Dispatchers Association, American	7,326	11,063
Transit Union, Amalgamated	412,405	407,228
Transport Workers Union of America	357,000	357,000
Transportation* Communications International Union	307,626	317,104
Transportation Union, United	280,195	91,394
Utility Workers Union of America	216,176	193,178
Woodworkers of America, U.S., International	90,830	97,494
Writers Guild of America, East, Inc.	13,440	3,360
Total	\$58,235,620	\$57,416,594
Accrual adjustments		
Add — per capita taxes receivable from National and International Unions, December 31, 1990 and 1989	6,605,431	6,446,330
Less — per capita taxes receivable from National and International Unions, December 31, 1989 and 1988	64,841,051	63,862,924
	6,446,330	5,157,251
Total per capita taxes, National and International Unions — Members	\$58,394,721	\$58,705,673

SCHEDULE NO. 2
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
SCHEDULES OF HEADQUARTERS EXPENSES,
ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS
AND DIVISIONS — GENERAL FUND
YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Executive offices:		
Salaries	\$1,100,649	\$1,152,873
Fringe benefits	440,920	467,368
Travel	207,720	171,047
Printing	1,378	36,639
Books and subscriptions	436	1,030
Supplies	11,647	4,657
Data processing	1,383	-
Conferences	2,764	2,370
Rental equipment	-	3,320
Interdepartment allocations:		
Data processing	77	1,798
Reproduction and mailing	88,742	141,811
Other	<u>22,663</u>	<u>13,658</u>
Total executive offices	<u>\$1,878,379</u>	<u>\$1,996,571</u>
Accounting:		
Salaries	\$ 646,624	\$ 653,201
Fringe benefits	259,037	264,804
Travel	11,679	12,054
Printing	6,995	1,611
Books and subscriptions	1,445	1,575
Supplies	4,413	1,049
Conferences	2,598	479
Rental equipment	-	1,874
Interdepartment allocations:		
Data processing	238,447	285,230
Reproduction and mailing	20,685	24,384
Other	<u>2,759</u>	<u>2,807</u>
Total accounting	<u>\$1,194,682</u>	<u>\$1,249,068</u>
Data processing:		
Salaries	\$ 966,032	\$ 828,676
Fringe benefits	386,993	335,940
Travel	19,773	16,410
Printing	-	409
Books and subscriptions	160	260
Supplies	124,749	100,611
Data processing	-	901

SCHEDULE NO. 2 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Conferences	975	915
Other professional services	500	-
Rental equipment	472,809	565,580
Interdepartment allocations:		
Data processing	(1,735,673)	(1,730,126)
Reproduction and mailing	108,549	80,084
Other	<u>96,493</u>	<u>10,431</u>
Total data processing	\$ 441,360	\$ 210,091
Library:		
Salaries	\$ 85,377	\$ 96,436
Fringe benefits	34,202	39,095
Travel	1,877	1,850
Printing	-	93
Books and subscriptions	45,976	40,752
Supplies	1,878	1,133
Data processing	6,886	3,553
Conferences	1,026	604
Rental equipment	-	226
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	38,573	22,701
Other	<u>297</u>	<u>1,985</u>
Total library	\$ 216,092	\$ 208,428
Personnel:		
Salaries	\$ 163,632	\$ 140,932
Fringe benefits	65,551	57,133
Travel	(480)	-
Printing	28	314
Books and subscriptions	1,483	1,805
Supplies	1,553	400
Other professional services	-	150
Rental equipment	-	299
Interdepartment allocations:		
Data processing	3,439	2,675
Reproduction and mailing	7,503	10,195
Other	<u>3,041</u>	<u>669</u>
Total personnel	\$ 245,750	\$ 214,572
Reproduction, mailing and subscriptions:		
Salaries	\$ 870,493	\$ 847,461
Fringe benefits	348,720	343,555
Travel	7,422	6,862
Printing	16,993	10,631
Books and subscriptions	598	-
Supplies	241,242	239,845
Postage and mailing	1,008,304	544,118

SCHEDULE NO. 2 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Conferences	-	(10)
Other professional services	8,171	200
Rental equipment	75,800	90,368
Interdepartment allocations:		
Data processing	51,853	64,604
Reproduction and mailing	(1,742,487)	(1,903,142)
Other	<u>23,987</u>	<u>2,079</u>
Total reproduction, mailing and subscriptions	<u>\$ 911,096</u>	<u>\$ 246,571</u>
Purchasing:		
Salaries	\$ 145,161	\$ 140,386
Fringe benefits	58,152	56,958
Printing	6,278	6,162
Books and subscriptions	144	(95)
Supplies	69,223	66,200
Postage and mailing	-	(7)
Conferences	-	183
Other professional services	640	-
Rental equipment	-	544
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	9,570	6,813
Other	<u>8,649</u>	<u>3,623</u>
Total purchasing	<u>\$ 297,817</u>	<u>\$ 280,767</u>
Facilities management:		
Salaries	\$ 131,573	\$ 130,281
Fringe benefits	52,708	52,769
Travel	4,778	1,461
Printing	-	28
Books and subscriptions	475	443
Supplies	2,853	3,927
Conferences	953	893
Rental equipment	-	1,487
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	10,425	19,235
Other	<u>5,628</u>	<u>195</u>
Total facilities management	<u>\$ 209,393</u>	<u>\$ 210,719</u>
Total headquarters expenses, administrative departments and divisions — General Fund	<u>\$5,394,569</u>	<u>\$4,616,787</u>

SCHEDULE NO. 3
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
SCHEDULES OF HEADQUARTERS EXPENSES, OTHER
DEPARTMENTS AND COMMITTEE — GENERAL FUND
YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Organization and field services:		
Salaries	\$ 777,201	\$ 896,386
Fringe benefits	311,347	363,389
Travel	219,543	193,618
Telephone and telegraph	2,402	-
Printing	107,278	65,223
Books and subscriptions	3,601	5,165
Supplies	7,469	4,748
Postage and mailing	-	991
Data processing	5,397	5,388
Organizing campaigns	60,220	169,263
Conferences (net of registration fees)	45,473	30,050
Other professional services	16,301	74,397
Rental equipment	18	6,268
Promotion	5,027	2,411
State Central Bodies — National Affiliation Program	240,755	244,342
State and local central bodies subsidies	297,091	177,037
Special projects	791,693	190,797
Interdepartment allocations:		
Data processing	1,811	8,973
Reproduction and mailing	165,898	235,046
Other	<u>109,358</u>	<u>64,104</u>
Total organization and field services	\$ 3,167,883	\$ 2,737,596
Information:		
Salaries	\$ 688,584	\$ 717,225
Fringe benefits	275,847	290,758
Travel	13,263	19,721
Printing	100,430	230,230
Books and subscriptions	11,065	4,964
Supplies	16,886	12,709
Data processing	1,178	-
Conferences (net of registration fees)	7,206	1,359
Other professional services	29,951	33,803
Rental equipment	-	2,193
Promotion	42,414	50,280
AFL-CIO News	747,565	724,356
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	167,177	271,635
Other	<u>6,160</u>	<u>6,582</u>
Total information	\$ 2,107,726	\$ 2,365,815

SCHEDULE NO. 3 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Economic research:		
Salaries	\$ 854,581	\$ 866,384
Fringe benefits	342,345	351,227
Travel	39,220	25,663
Printing	17,476	22,531
Books and subscriptions	38,451	30,500
Supplies	19,338	2,203
Data processing	56,887	49,749
Conferences (net of registration fees)	3,272	5,197
Other professional services	18,470	-
Rental equipment	-	2,240
Interdepartment allocations:		
Data processing	209,750	112,519
Reproduction and mailing	127,297	135,908
Other	<u>59,390</u>	<u>56,843</u>
Total economic research	<u>\$ 1,786,477</u>	<u>\$ 1,660,964</u>
Education:		
Salaries	\$ 490,383	\$ 501,202
Fringe benefits	196,448	203,184
Travel	57,531	48,956
Printing	95,381	72,935
Books and subscriptions	2,501	2,505
Supplies	5,993	292
Conferences (net of registration fees)	12,100	10,833
Other professional services	37,330	21,486
Rental equipment	-	2,475
Promotion	5,472	15,750
Special projects	2,625	23,740
Contributions — other	4,922	3,500
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	125,089	244,413
Other	<u>1,890</u>	<u>8,489</u>
Total education	<u>\$ 1,037,665</u>	<u>\$ 1,159,760</u>
Legislative:		
Salaries	\$ 926,405	\$ 876,320
Fringe benefits	371,118	355,255
Travel	69,963	62,364
Printing	127,362	79,045
Books and subscriptions	5,676	5,592
Supplies	30,525	2,919
Conferences (net of registration fees)	13,583	9,781
Other professional services	159,236	65,265
Rental equipment	-	54
Promotion	8,210	8,230
Special projects	2,706	38,198

SCHEDULE NO. 3 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Interdepartment allocations:		
Data processing	6,049	6,878
Reproduction and mailing	128,847	192,793
Other	<u>48,813</u>	<u>25,514</u>
Total legislative	<u>\$ 1,898,493</u>	<u>\$ 1,728,208</u>
Office of communication:		
Salaries	\$ 236,259	\$ -
Fringe benefits	94,645	-
Travel	21,984	-
Printing	10,628	-
Books and subscriptions	9,520	-
Supplies	50,525	-
Conferences (net of registration fees)	9,995	-
Other professional services	53,864	-
Promotion	(4,400)	-
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	356	-
Other	<u>21,603</u>	<u>-</u>
Total office of communication	<u>\$ 504,979</u>	<u>\$ -</u>
Legal:		
Salaries	\$ 307,198	\$ 307,532
Fringe benefits	123,064	124,672
Travel	25,769	23,930
Printing	62,472	55,370
Books and subscriptions	21,532	21,706
Supplies	2,806	1,252
Data processing	14,408	858
Conferences (net of registration fees)	25,760	29,611
Attorneys' fees	978,583	774,996
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	33,610	91,843
Other	<u>10,317</u>	<u>20,455</u>
Total legal	<u>\$ 1,605,519</u>	<u>\$ 1,452,225</u>
International affairs		
Salaries	\$ 625,271	\$ 628,888
Fringe benefits	250,484	254,947
Travel	246,537	148,120
Printing	800	32,417
Books and subscriptions	3,011	1,861
Supplies	8,419	13,295
Field offices	128,524	96,626
Conferences (net of registration fees)	220,286	109,552
Other professional services	51,286	48,259
Depreciation	18,672	18,672

SCHEDULE NO. 3 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Rental equipment	8,626	3,375
Promotion	101,658	103,039
International delegations	73,146	16,068
Special projects	72,619	28,880
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	52,689	82,838
Other	<u>46,465</u>	<u>62,658</u>
Total international affairs	<u>\$ 1,908,493</u>	<u>\$ 1,649,495</u>
Civil rights:		
Salaries	\$ 255,939	\$ 294,776
Fringe benefits	102,529	119,501
Travel	46,389	32,783
Printing	35,879	931
Books and subscriptions	1,191	1,073
Supplies	3,059	59
Field offices	-	3,670
Conferences (net of registration fees)	4,139	7,708
Rental equipment	-	1,666
Promotion	1,487	-
Special projects	493	13,110
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	17,416	17,478
Other	<u>2,265</u>	<u>3,254</u>
Total civil rights	<u>\$ 470,786</u>	<u>\$ 496,009</u>
Community services:		
Salaries	\$ 349,950	\$ 320,675
Fringe benefits	140,190	130,000
Travel	37,074	34,683
Printing	26,334	15,419
Books and subscriptions	1,228	4,222
Supplies	4,519	7,256
Conferences (net of registration fees)	30,195	7,907
Other professional services	15,678	-
Rental equipment	-	1,836
Promotion	45,253	-
Special projects	34,153	12,416
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	52,735	88,489
Other	<u>14,544</u>	<u>12,018</u>
Total community services	<u>\$ 751,853</u>	<u>\$ 634,921</u>
Occupational safety and health:		
Salaries	\$ 286,889	\$ 579,955
Fringe benefits	114,928	235,110
Travel	22,309	38,901
Printing	1,036	67,151
Books and subscriptions	3,363	7,258
Supplies	7,257	535

SCHEDULE NO. 3 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Conferences (net of registration fees)	(1,892)	1,664
Other professional services	6,167	9,643
Rental equipment	-	1,862
Promotion	(2,351)	3,590
Special projects	7,290	39,210
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	59,359	93,991
Other	<u>16,825</u>	<u>11,066</u>
Total occupational safety and health	\$ 521,180	\$ 1,089,936*
Committee on political education:		
Salaries	\$ 1,747,058	\$ 1,643,139
Fringe benefits	699,885	666,119
Travel	559,613	422,380
Telephone and telegraph	667	8,560
Printing	744,762	150,055
Books and subscriptions	28,296	18,804
Supplies	13,885	29,003
Postage and mailing	23,000	-
Data processing	151,534	12,761
Field offices	31,969	36,836
Conferences (net of registration fees)	26,541	24,985
Other professional services	55,722	22,603
Rental equipment	-	1,468
Promotion	21,521	63,439
Contribution to COPE Treasury fund	350,000	225,000
State political education activity	2,323,142	652,316
Special projects	281,403	48,870
Interdepartment allocations:		
Data processing	1,224,213	1,247,449
Reproduction and mailing	486,339	132,339
Other	<u>92,504</u>	<u>63,552</u>
Total committee on political education	\$ 8,862,054	\$ 5,469,678
Employee benefits:		
Salaries	\$ 341,618	\$ *
Fringe benefits	136,852	-
Travel	32,658	-
Printing	24,265	-
Books and subscriptions	16,638	-
Supplies	6,233	-
Conferences (net of registration fees)	5,826	-
Other professional services	28,373	-
Promotion	3,797	-
Special projects	37,570	-

* The 1989 figure represents the budget of the Department of Occupational Safety, Health and Social Security, whose functions are now performed by two departments, Employee Benefits and Occupational Safety and Health

SCHEDULE NO. 3 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Interdepartment allocations:		
Data processing	34	-
Reproduction and mailing	30,876	-
Other	<u>11,792</u>	<u>-</u>
Total employee benefits	\$ 676,532	\$ -
Total headquarters expenses, other departments and committee — General fund	<u>\$25,299,640</u>	<u>\$20,444,607</u>

SCHEDULE NO. 4 AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS SCHEDULES OF HEADQUARTERS EXPENSES, OTHER EXPENSES — GENERAL FUND YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
General:		
Travel	\$ -	\$ 1,292
Telephone and telegraph	258,592	214,335
Printing	6,997	46,245
General office supplies and expense	165,803	144,303
General insurance	17,014	16,961
Article 20 & 21	89,571	59,055
Accounting fees	69,000	54,960
Other professional services	145,709	165,385
Other taxes	120,250	98,804
Depreciation — furniture and equipment	530,414	437,709
Promotion	-	6,450
Labor Institute of Public Affairs	1,756,803	1,335,244
George Meany Center for Labor Studies	2,697,535	2,584,750
Contributions — other	-	1,950
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	<u>1,928</u>	<u>-</u>
Total general	<u>\$ 5,859,616</u>	<u>\$ 5,167,443</u>
Special activities:		
Salaries	\$ 73,281	\$ 70,877
Fringe benefits	29,356	28,733
Travel	169,056	3,022
Telephone and telegraph	1,058	-
Printing	19,386	-
Conferences	166,328	362,990

SCHEDULE NO. 4 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Convention	-	1,123,758
Other professional services	2,250	-
Promotion	100,537	28,923
Labor Institute of Public Affairs — Union Yes program	3,275,335	6,023,124
State political education activity	-	1,695
AFL-CIO Organizing Institute	650,000	-
Affiliation fees:		
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) ..	\$2,372,014	1,900,168
Trade Union Advisory Committee	109,634	120,192
Inter-American Regional Organization	181,020	137,332
Assessment — ICFTU Solidarity Fund	200,000	200,000
Special projects	56,550	38,072
Contributions — support groups and institutes	1,954,500	1,927,000
Contributions — other	646,515	873,000
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	151	-
Other	<u>42,551</u>	<u>-</u>
Total special activities	<u>\$10,049,522</u>	<u>\$12,838,886</u>
Headquarters building:		
Salaries	\$ 882,666	\$ 850,255
Fringe benefits	353,595	344,688
General office supplies and expense	5,405	-
Headquarters building:		
Light, heat and power	349,218	361,163
Taxes	462,988	394,257
Insurance	114,880	112,709
Maintenance	776,601	901,194
Depreciation	252,938	252,938
Other	282,070	218,804
Interdepartment allocations — reproduction and mailing	<u>8,673</u>	<u>11,146</u>
Total headquarters building	<u>\$ 3,489,034</u>	<u>\$ 3,447,154</u>
AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust:		
Salaries	\$ 345,017	\$ 413,658
Fringe benefits	138,214	167,695
General office supplies and expense	-	50
Other	<u>-</u>	<u>14,716</u>
Total AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust	<u>\$ 483,231</u>	<u>\$ 596,119</u>
AFL-CIO Building Investment Trust — other	<u>\$ 100,000</u>	<u>\$ 255,000</u>
Total AFL-CIO Building Investment Trust	<u>\$ 100,000</u>	<u>\$ 255,000</u>
Total headquarters expenses, other expenses — General Fund	<u>\$19,981,403</u>	<u>\$22,304,602</u>

SCHEDULE NO. 5
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
SCHEDULES OF REGIONAL OFFICES EXPENSES — GENERAL FUND
YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989

Region	Totals		Salaries		Fringe Benefits		Travel Expenses		Office Maintenance	
	1990	1989	1990	1989	1990	1989	1990	1989	1990	1989
I Chicago	\$801,519	\$819,897	\$408,838	\$435,319	\$163,780	\$176,475	\$162,616	\$151,840	\$66,285	\$56,263
II Tulsa	700,214	665,981	369,157	350,677	147,884	142,162	149,720	140,030	33,453	33,112
III Baltimore	744,673	798,867	420,437	444,838	168,427	180,335	121,325	141,640	34,484	32,054
IV Arlington	813,023	790,575	409,670	405,938	164,114	164,565	184,997	168,966	54,242	51,106
V Atlanta	847,677	858,503	434,339	445,899	173,996	180,764	163,383	179,730	75,959	52,110
VI San Francisco	821,238	742,487	424,597	401,806	170,094	162,890	123,471	113,345	103,076	64,446
VII New York	612,719	547,376	297,973	285,129	119,368	115,590	143,952	99,681	51,426	46,976
VIII Boston	545,284	530,759	299,990	294,774	120,176	119,500	81,996	75,238	43,122	41,247
IX Seattle	398,578	362,337	191,758	182,284	76,818	73,897	83,372	60,090	46,630	46,066
X Nashville	519,115	472,192	250,756	236,828	100,453	96,008	132,183	109,399	35,723	29,957
XI Denver	688,238	618,661	341,570	306,860	136,833	124,399	167,415	147,130	42,420	40,272
XII Minneapolis	419,875	464,505	213,773	230,180	85,637	93,314	82,937	102,665	37,528	38,346
Blanket Automobile Insurance	102,198	103,946	-	-	-	-	102,198	103,946	-	-
General Office	15,259	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,259	-
	<u>\$8,029,610</u>	<u>\$7,776,086</u>	<u>\$4,062,858</u>	<u>\$4,020,532</u>	<u>\$1,627,580</u>	<u>\$1,629,899</u>	<u>\$1,699,565</u>	<u>\$1,593,700</u>	<u>\$639,607</u>	<u>\$531,955</u>

SCHEDULE NO. 6
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
SCHEDULES OF CONTRIBUTIONS
YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990 AND 1989

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
SUPPORT GROUPS AND INSTITUTES		
Support Groups:		
A. Philip Randolph Institute	\$ 392,000	\$ 392,000
Coalition of Labor Union Women	110,000	100,000
Frontlash	323,500	323,500
Labor Council for Latin American Advancement	282,500	282,500
National Council of Senior Citizens	230,000	230,000
Institutes:		
African American Labor Center	166,500	166,500
Asian-American Free Labor Institute	100,000	100,000
American Institute for Free Labor Development	200,000	200,000
Free Trade Union Institute	20,000	2,500
Impact projects:		
African American Labor Center	50,000	50,000
American Institute for Free Labor Development	30,000	30,000
Asian-American Free Labor Institute	<u>50,000</u>	<u>50,000</u>
	<u>\$1,954,500</u>	<u>\$1,927,000</u>

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS		
A. Philip Randolph Memorial Fund	\$ -	\$ 20,000
African American Institute Annual Awards Dinner	3,500	3,000
Africare Bishop John T. Walker Memorial Dinner	1,000	-
Alliance for Justice	300	250
Alliance of Nonprofit Mailers	1,000	1,000
American Arbitration Association	900	850
American Association for World Health	100	-
American Child Care Foundation, Inc.	1,000	-
American Council on Consumer Interests	250	-
American Ditchley Foundation	1,000	-
American Institute for Public Service	1,000	-
American Ireland Fund	5,000	5,000
American Irish Historical Society	3,000	1,500
American Israel Committee		
to Commemorate Martin Luther King, Jr.	-	2,000
American Jewish Congress	-	1,000
American Labor Museum, Botto House	1,000	-
American Library Association	472	-
American Red Cross	-	10,000
American O.R.T. Federation	1,000	-

SCHEDULE NO. 6 (Continued)

	1990	1989
Americans for Democratic Action	2,800	2,500
Americans for Energy Independence	1,000	1,000
Anderson Portrait Fund Committee	-	500
Anti-Defamation League Appeal	-	600
AOTOS Award Committee, United Seamen's Service	3,000	-
Arthritis Foundation	-	1,500
Arthur Osborn Testimonial Dinner	750	-
A Salute to Evy Dubrow	-	2,500
Atlantic Council	-	2,000
Bargaining for the Future	-	10,000
Bayard Rustin Fund	10,000	-
Bethune-Dubois Fund	1,500	-
Blueprint For Cure	5,000	-
California AFL-CIO Earthquake Fund	-	10,000
Capitol Ballet Company	-	500
Cardinal's Committee of the Laity	1,800	1,200
CARE	2,500	-
Catholic International Council of New York	-	1,000
Catholic University of America, The American Cardinal's Dinner ..	-	2,000
Catholic University of America — Msgr. Higgins Archives	10,000	-
Catholic Youth Organization	1,500	1,200
Center for National Policy	5,000	5,000
Center for Policy Alternatives	1,500	-
Center for Public Integrity	5,000	-
Center for the Book — Library of Congress	500	-
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities	5,000	-
Childcare Action Campaign	-	5,000
Children's Defense Fund	3,000	700
Citizen Action	3,500	-
Citizens for Tax Justice	15,000	15,000
Citizens/Labor Energy Coalition	1,000	2,000
Coalition for the Homeless	250	-
Coalition to Protect Social Security	7,500	7,500
Colorado State AFL-CIO, "Career Fair," U.S.A.	1,000	-
Columbus Quincentenary Program, Smithsonian Institute	1,500	-
Committee for a New Ireland	1,000	-
Committee for Education Funding	1,950	-
Congress of Black Churches	-	5,000
Congressional Black Caucus Foundation	3,000	3,000
Consumer Energy Council of America	-	4,500
Consumer Federation of America	6,100	5,600
Council for the Advancement of Citizenship	250	-
Council of Professional Associations on Federal Statistics	500	500
Council of Foreign Relations	1,000	-
Cuban American National Council, Inc.	2,500	-
Czech and Slovak Civic Forum Foundation	2,500	-
Daniel C. Ligurotis Award Dinner	-	2,000
DC Friends of Ireland	2,750	2,800

SCHEDULE NO. 6 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, Inc.	1,500	-
Earned Income Credit Campaign	-	2,500
Eastern European Aid Fund	25,000	-
Economic Education for Clergy, Inc.	3,500	3,000
Economic Policy Council	5,000	5,000
Economic Policy Institute	5,000	-
Edward L. Rowny Scholarship Fund	-	500
El Paso Central Labor Union	-	100
Empire State College Foundation	50	-
Eugene V. Debs Foundation	2,500	-
Fairness at Eastern Fund	-	150,000
Family Day Fund	-	50,000
Florence Carrough Scholarship Fund	300	200
Food Research and Action Center	2,000	-
Freedom House	2,000	-
Friends Committee on National Legislation	50	-
Friends of Frank Gannon	-	1,500
Friends of John Hume	-	2,000
Friends of the Department of Labor - Women's Bureau	750	-
Frontlash Dinner	-	600
Full Employment Action Council	-	7,500
Fund for an Open Society	3,000	2,500
George Meany Human Rights Award	-	5,000
Goals	5,000	-
Greater New Mount Moriah Baptist Church	500	-
Group Research, Inc.	2,500	-
Guillain-Barre Syndrome Foundation International	1,000	-
Health Security Action Council	30,000	30,000
Henry Kaiser Memorial Lecture and Scholarship Fund	5,000	-
Higher Achievement Program	1,000	-
Hispanic American Festival	1,000	-
Housing Now Fund	-	25,000
Human Resources Development Institute	5,000	-
Hurricane Hugo Relief Fund	-	10,000
IAFF Burn Foundation	300	300
ILCA	-	1,000
Indo-China Resource Action Center	500	2,000
Industry Labor Council on Employment and Disability	2,500	2,500
Institute of Urban Life Scholarship Fund	1,000	-
Institute for Women's Policy Research	500	-
Interfaith Action for Economic Justice	-	2,500
International Guiding Eyes, Incorporated	-	1,000
International Human Rights Law Group	2,000	-
International Rescue Committee	2,500	5,000
Investor Responsibility Research Center Inc.	1,500	-
Irish American Labor Coalition	1,500	1,250
Irish National Caucus	1,000	1,000
Israel Histadrut, Arthur R. Loevy Testimonial Dinner	-	1,500

SCHEDULE NO. 6 (Continued)

	1990	1989
Israel Histadrut, Green P. Lewis Testimonial Dinner	-	500
Jewish Labor Committee National Trade Union Council	16,750	16,600
J.J. Barry Tribute Dinner Committee	-	1,250
Joe Hill Organizing Committee	250	-
John E. Lawe Memorial Fund	1,500	-
John Henry Newman Foundation	1,000	-
John T. Dunlop Professorship Fund, Harvard University	30,000	30,000
Joint Center for Political Studies	2,500	2,500
Joint Council for Economic Education	15,000	15,000
Juel D. Drake Dinner Committee	-	1,500
Kay McMurray Farewell	-	700
Kelly Testimonial Dinner	1,500	-
Kid's Celebrity Tennis Party	-	1,000
King Center	-	400
Labor Heritage Foundation	5,000	5,000
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	19,500	17,750
League for Industrial Democracy	15,000	16,000
Leukemia Society of America, Incorporated	-	1,000
Little City Foundation, Teamsters Invitational Golf Tournament	-	3,000
Martin Luther King Federal Holiday	-	250
Martin Luther King Labor Committee	-	5,000
Metropolitan Washington Council, AFL-CIO Reception	-	150
Metropolitan Washington Council — Labor's Sister Schools Project	175	-
Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund	2,500	-
Midwest/Northeast Voter Registration Education Program	5,500	-
Morris T. Keeton Fund	-	2,500
Moss Ceremonial Committee	500	-
NAIF Dinner	-	1,000
National Academy of Social Insurance	5,000	-
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	16,800	27,800
National Black Caucus of State Legislators	2,500	5,000
National Bureau of Economic Research	2,500	1,500
National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice	-	6,000
National Commission on Working Women	2,000	2,000
National Committee on Pay Equity	5,000	3,000
National Conference of Christians and Jews	2,500	2,250
National Consumers League	6,250	5,500
National Council for Industrial Defense	2,000	-
National Council of Negro Women, Incorporated	5,000	5,500
National Council of Senior Citizens	3,000	750
National Council on the Aging	-	500
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs	-	7,500
National Endowment for Democracy	-	20,000
National Forum for Women State Legislators, CAWP	1,000	-
National History Day	750	-
National Housing Conference	25,000	21,500

SCHEDULE NO. 6 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
National Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Forum	600	-
National Italian American Foundation	2,000	-
National Leadership Commission	5,000	-
National Low Income Housing Coalition	10,000	5,200
National Planning Association	19,500	15,000
National Symphony Orchestra Association	2,000	2,000
National Urban Coalition	5,000	7,500
National Urban League	13,500	13,000
National Women's Law Center	1,500	1,500
National Women's Political Caucus	1,500	-
NCFLD Dinner	-	1,000
Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government	2,500	1,400
New Leader	7,500	-
New York Branch of NAACP	600	-
New York Chapter, Arthritis Foundation	1,500	-
New York Daily News Strike Fund	25,000	-
New York State AFL-CIO	1,250	1,250
NFLPA/MDA	2,000	2,000
No Greater Love	4,500	4,500
Non-Traditional Employment for Women	2,500	-
NOW/Susan B. Anthony Celebration	1,000	1,000
Patriots Foundation	5,000	-
Pennsylvania State AFL-CIO	240	-
People for the American Way	5,000	5,000
President Aquino State Visit	-	1,000
President's Ball, honoring John Bowers	-	2,000
Project Interchange	2,500	-
Public Voice	300	400
Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.	3,750	-
Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Fund	-	2,500
Reading is Fundamental, Incorporated	1,000	1,000
Reception for Representative William Gray	-	1,000
Reunion of Old Timers	500	400
Robert S. McMichen Retirement Fund	-	140
Rosemary M. Collyer Farewell	-	210
Roy Wilkens Chair and Center for Human Relations Fund	-	1,000
Samuel Gompers Papers	4,500	4,500
Sasha Bruce Youthwork Inc.	500	1,000
Social Democrats, USA	5,850	4,100
Solidarnosc Citizens Commission	-	50,000
Solidarnosc Fund	-	6,000
South Carolina AFL-CIO — Emergency Assistance Fund	-	9,550
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	2,500	3,500
Southern Regional Council	5,000	5,000
Super Teams	-	1,000
Teamsters Invitational Golf Tournament	3,000	-
The September Group	1,000	-
Tribute to Franklin Delano Roosevelt	1,500	-

SCHEDULE NO. 6 (Continued)

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Tribute to Bill Usery and Collective Bargaining	1,500	-
U.S. Capitol Historical Society	4,000	-
U.S. Hispanic Leadership Conference	-	2,500
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum	25,000	-
United Negro College Fund	10,000	10,000
United Neighborhood Centers of America	-	1,000
United Way of the National Capital Area	2,500	-
University of Alabama — Tom Berill Professorship of Law Program	-	1,000
University/College Labor Education Association	1,000	1,000
Whitman-Walker Clinic, Walk for Hope	-	2,000
William Winpisinger Testimonial Dinner	-	1,500
Women's Equity Action League	-	500
Women's Legal Defense Fund	1,000	1,000
Women's Research and Education Institute	4,500	-
Work in America Institute, Inc.	1,500	3,000
Workers Assistance Program, Inc.	500	-
Workers Defense League, Incorporated	6,250	6,250
Writers Guild of America, East Foundation, Inc.	-	1,000
Total	<u>\$651,437</u>	<u>\$878,450</u>

Independent Auditors' Report

The Trustees

AFL-CIO Staff Retirement Plan:

We have audited the accompanying statements of net assets available for benefits of the AFL-CIO Staff Retirement Plan as of June 30, 1991 and 1990, and the related statements of changes in net assets available for benefits for the years then ended and the statement of accumulated plan benefits as of June 30, 1990, and the related statement of changes in accumulated plan benefits for the year then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Plan's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits.

We conducted our audits in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audits provide a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, information regarding the Plan's net assets available for benefits as of June 30, 1991, and changes therein for the year then ended and its financial status as of June 30, 1990, and changes therein for the year then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

**KPMG Peat Marwick
Certified Public Accountants**

**August 23, 1991
Washington, D. C.**

AFL-CIO STAFF RETIREMENT PLAN
STATEMENTS OF NET ASSETS AVAILABLE FOR BENEFITS
JUNE 30, 1991 AND 1990

	<u>1991</u>	<u>1990</u>
Assets:		
Investments, at fair value (cost \$89,590,129 and \$85,191,062) (note 5):		
Money market funds	\$3,125,742	\$2,844,533
Commercial paper	800,000	6,500,000
U.S. government and agency securities	22,499,256	30,573,453
Municipal securities	69,125	-
Corporate and agency securities, U.S. government insured ..	385,419	47,531
International bonds	147,048	139,664
Corporate bonds and notes	15,226,122	5,897,098
Preferred stocks	-	365,962
Common stocks	41,630,915	34,922,640
FHA and VA mortgages — single family	721,162	847,035
AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust	5,309,751	4,766,268
AFL-CIO Building Investment Trust	3,619,361	3,392,333
Other investments	<u>1,133</u>	<u>1,132</u>
	93,535,034	90,297,649
Accrued interest and dividends receivable	614,456	844,892
Advances to servicing company for mortgages in foreclosure proceedings	7,493	7,493
Cash	876,668	920,186
Prepaid insurance	<u>4,426</u>	<u>4,426</u>
Total assets	95,038,077	92,074,646
Liabilities — accounts payable	<u>230,682</u>	<u>161,366</u>
Net assets available for benefits	<u>\$94,807,395</u>	<u>\$91,913,280</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

**AFL-CIO STAFF RETIREMENT PLAN
STATEMENTS OF CHANGES
IN NET ASSETS AVAILABLE FOR BENEFITS
YEARS ENDED JUNE 30, 1991 AND 1990**

	<u>1991</u>	<u>1990</u>
Additions:		
Contributions (note 3):		
AFL-CIO	\$2,657,230	\$2,702,162
Affiliated departments and central bodies	1,373,325	1,204,546
Income from investments	5,673,193	5,795,595
Net appreciation (depreciation) in fair value of investments (note 5)	<u>(1,134,968)</u>	<u>1,548,105</u>
	<u>8,568,780</u>	<u>11,250,408</u>
Deductions:		
Payments to pensioners	4,964,758	4,831,630
Lump sum payments to employees terminating during the year	120,972	114,170
Administrative expenses (note 7)	<u>588,935</u>	<u>613,302</u>
	<u>5,674,665</u>	<u>5,559,102</u>
Net additions	2,894,115	5,691,306
Net assets available for benefits:		
Beginning of year	<u>91,913,280</u>	<u>86,221,974</u>
End of year	<u>\$94,807,395</u>	<u>\$91,913,280</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

**AFL-CIO STAFF RETIREMENT PLAN
STATEMENT OF ACCUMULATED PLAN BENEFITS
JUNE 30, 1990**

Actuarial present value of accumulated plan benefits (note 4):

Vested benefits:

Participants currently receiving payments	\$44,917,200
Other participants	<u>32,774,500</u>

77,691,700

Nonvested benefits	<u>5,264,300</u>
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Total actuarial present value of accumulated plan benefits	<u>\$82,956,000</u>
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See accompanying notes to financial statements.

**AFL-CIO STAFF RETIREMENT PLAN
STATEMENT OF CHANGES IN ACCUMULATED PLAN BENEFITS
FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1990**

Actuarial present value of accumulated plan benefits, beginning of year	\$76,556,900
Changes in actuarial assumptions (note 4)	(128,500)
Benefits accumulated	6,273,100
Increase for interest due to the decrease in the discount period (note 4)	5,200,300
Benefits paid	<u>(4,945,800)</u>
Net increase	<u>6,399,100</u>
Actuarial present value of accumulated plan benefits, end of year .	<u>\$82,956,000</u>

See accompanying notes to financial statements.

**AFL-CIO STAFF RETIREMENT PLAN
NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
JUNE 30, 1991 AND 1990**

(1) Plan Description

(a) General

The AFL-CIO Staff Retirement Plan is a noncontributory defined benefit pension plan covering substantially all employees of the AFL-CIO and those affiliated departments, related organizations and state and local central bodies which have elected to participate. Established in 1964, the Plan provides pension, death, disability and termination benefits. The Plan is subject to the provisions of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA).

(b) Pension Benefits

Regular Pension — A normal pension is payable at normal retirement age to eligible participants with at least 5 years of vesting service or a 55-80 pension is payable at 55 or over if the sum of the age plus years of service equals 80 or more. Benefits are equal to 2.7 percent of the final average salary multiplied by the number of years of credited service, not in excess of 25 years, plus 0.5 percent of the final average salary multiplied by the number of years of credited service in excess of 25 years.

Early Retirement Pension — An early retirement pension is payable at age 60 to eligible participants with at least 10 years of credited service. Benefits are equal to a regular pension reduced by 0.6 percent for each month the commencement of payments precedes the participant's normal retirement age.

The Plan also provides for a 55-80 early retirement pension payable at age 50 or over if the sum of the age plus years of service equals 80 or more. Benefits are equal to a regular pension reduced by 0.5833 percent for each month the commencement of payments precedes the participant's age of 55.

Deferred Pension — A participant whose employment is terminated after completing 5 or more years of credited service retains the right to be paid a normal pension, calculated in the usual manner, upon attaining normal retirement age. If the terminated participant has completed 10 years of credited service, the pension may begin, calculated as an early retirement pension, upon the participant's attaining early retirement age of 60.

Qualified Survivor Pension — The pension of a participant who is married to a qualified spouse on the date pension payments commence shall be paid as a Qualified Survivor Pension, unless a valid waiver is filed. A Qualified Survivor Pension means that the participant will receive an adjusted amount for life, and the surviving spouse will receive a monthly benefit for his or her lifetime of 50 percent of the participant's monthly amount. The participant's monthly amount shall be 94 percent of the full monthly amount otherwise payable as a single life pension (after adjustment, if any, for early retirement).

Joint and Survivor Pop-up Pension — The participant will receive an adjusted monthly amount for life, and if the qualified spouse predeceases the participant, the participant's monthly benefit will be adjusted upward to the level it would have been had a single life pension been the form of benefit chosen at retirement. The participant's monthly amount during the period that a pension is payable and his or her qualified spouse is living shall be 92 percent of the full monthly amount otherwise payable as a single life pension (after

adjustment, if any, for early retirement). If the participant predeceases his or her qualified spouse, the latter will receive a monthly benefit for his or her lifetime of 50 percent of the participant's monthly adjusted amount. The participant and qualified spouse must waive the Qualified Survivor Pension, in order to receive this type of pension. Once payments have begun, the election may not be revoked.

Preretirement Qualified Surviving Spouse Pension — If a participant, who has a qualified spouse, dies before his or her pension payments start but at a time when he or she had earned a vested right to a pension, a preretirement surviving spouse pension is payable to the surviving spouse. If the participant died at a time when he or she would have been eligible to begin receiving payment of a pension had he or she retired, the surviving spouse shall be entitled to a lifetime pension determined as a Qualified Survivor Pension as if the participant has retired the day before he died. If the participant died before he would have been eligible to begin receiving pension payments had he retired, the Preretirement Qualified Surviving Spouse Pension begins when the participant would have attained the earliest retirement age for which he or she would have qualified and the amount is 50 percent of what the participant's pension would have been, after adjustment, if any, for early retirement and for the form of payment.

Early Survivor Pension — Any participant who attains age 50 and completes 5 years of credited service, or a participant under 50 who completes 20 years of credited service, may elect to take a pension smaller than the amount calculated in the usual way in order that, in the event of the participant's death while in active service, a pension of one-half of the employee's reduced amount may be paid to his or her spouse. The reduction in an electing participant's pension to compensate for the early coverage is $\frac{1}{3}$ of 1 percent for each year and partial year that the early survivor pension is in effect. The eligible surviving spouse shall begin to receive such Early Survivor Pension immediately after the death of such participant, unless the participant is not eligible for an immediate pension, in which case benefits will be withheld until the spouse attains age 50.

(c) Death and Disability Benefits

Death Benefit — A death benefit is payable if assets remain in the individual account of a participant, or former participant upon the death of one of the following:

- (1) a participant, or former participant, other than a pensioner survived by a spouse or child entitled to a survivor pension; or
- (2) survivor pensioner.

Disability Pension — A disability pension is payable to eligible participants who become permanently disabled with at least 5 years of credited service. The amount of pension is calculated in the same way as if the disabled employee had attained age 65. If the employee has less than 25 years of credited service, and is found not to be entitled to a disability insurance benefit under the Social Security Act, an extra disability pension amount is provided. When the employee becomes entitled to either a disability insurance or old-age benefit under the Social Security Act, the extra disability pension is discontinued.

(d) Termination Benefits

A termination benefit is payable to a participant in lieu of a deferred vested pension upon termination of employment after at least 5 years but less than 10 years of vesting service. Benefits are equal to the greater of the following:

- (1) 3 percent of a participant's salary paid since 1965 plus 3 1/2 percent interest compounded annually;
- (2) the present value of the deferred vested pension payable at age 65.

(e) Repurchase Option

A participant who had previously received termination benefits for previous service may restore prior credited service by repaying the benefits received plus interest at 5 percent per annum. At the employee's option, this payment may be made in a lump sum or in installments over a period not to exceed 5 years.

(f) Plan Termination

In the event of termination, the net assets then remaining in the Plan shall be allocated, as prescribed by ERISA, in the following order:

- (1) Benefits attributable to participant contributions, taking into account those paid out before termination.
- (2) Benefits participants have been receiving, or would have been receiving if they had been eligible to and had elected to retire, for at least three years. The priority applies only to the terms of the Plan in effect 5 years prior to the termination date.
- (3) Other benefits guaranteed by the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (discussed below).
- (4) All other nonforfeitable benefits.
- (5) All other benefits.

Certain benefits under the Plan are insured by the PBGC if the Plan terminates. Generally, the PBGC guarantees most vested normal age retirement benefits, early retirement benefits, and certain disability and survivor's pensions. However, the PBGC does not guarantee all types of benefits under the Plan, and the amount of benefit protection is subject to certain limitations. Vested benefits under the Plan are guaranteed at the level in effect on the date of the Plan's termination. However, there is a statutory ceiling on the amount of an individual's monthly benefit that the PBGC guarantees. For plan terminations occurring during 1991, that ceiling, which is adjusted periodically, was \$2,250 per month. That ceiling applies to those pensioners, who elect to receive their benefits in the form of a single-life annuity and are at least 65 years old at the time of retirement or plan termination (whichever comes later). For younger annuitants or for those who elect to receive their benefits in some form more valuable than a single-life annuity, the corresponding ceilings are actuarially adjusted downward.

Whether all participants receive their benefits should the Plan terminate at some future time will depend on the sufficiency, at that time, of the Plan's net assets to provide those benefits and may also depend on the level of benefits guaranteed by the PBGC.

(2) Summary of Significant Accounting Policies

(a) Basis of Accounting

The records of the Plan are maintained on the accrual basis of accounting.

(b) Valuation of Investments

Except for mortgages and the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust, all investments are valued at quoted market prices. Mortgages have been valued on the basis of their future principal and interest payments discounted at prevailing interest rates for similar instruments. The fair value of the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust is based on the value of the underlying mortgages determined in accordance with the preceding sentence.

(3) Funding Policy

Contributions to the Plan are actuarially determined utilizing the frozen initial liability cost method of funding. The past service liability is scheduled to be amortized by June 30, 2013. Contributions are based on 15.8 and 16.4 percent of employees' compensation in 1991 and 1990, respectively. Contributions for 1991 and 1990 exceeded the minimum funding requirements of ERISA.

(4) Actuarial Present Value of Accumulated Plan Benefits

Accumulated plan benefits are those future periodic payments including lump-sum distributions, that are attributable under the Plan's provisions to the service participants have rendered. These benefits include those expected to be paid to (a) retired or terminated participants or their beneficiaries, (b) beneficiaries of deceased participants, and (c) present participants or their beneficiaries.

The actuarial present value of accumulated plan benefits is determined by the Plan's actuary using actuarial assumptions to adjust the accumulated plan benefits to reflect the time value of money (through discounts for interest) and probability of payment between the valuation date and the expected date of payment. The primary actuarial assumptions used were an interest rate of 7.5 and 7 percent for 1990 and 1989, respectively, life expectancy based on the 1983 Group Annuity Mortality Tables, and an assumed retirement age of 65 as of July 1, 1990 and 1989. These actuarial assumptions are based on the presumption that the Plan will continue. Were the Plan to terminate, different actuarial assumptions and other factors might be applicable in determining the actuarial present value of accumulated plan benefits.

(5) Investments

The following table presents the aggregate cost and fair value for each of the Plan's significant investment categories:

	<u>1991</u>		<u>1990</u>	
	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Fair Value</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Fair Value</u>
Investments at fair value as determined by quoted market price:				
Money market funds	\$3,125,742	\$3,125,742	\$2,844,533	\$2,844,533
Commercial paper	800,000	800,000	6,500,000	6,500,000
U.S. government and agency securities	22,552,478	22,499,256	30,831,224	30,573,453
Municipal securities	69,125	69,125	-	-
Corporate and agency securities,				
U.S. government insured	397,400	385,419	50,000	47,531
International bonds	149,312	147,048	149,312	139,664
Corporate bonds and notes	15,193,736	15,226,122	6,015,829	5,897,098
Preferred stocks	-	-	378,575	365,962
Common stocks	37,785,590	41,630,915	29,433,553	34,922,640
AFL-CIO Building Investment Trust	<u>3,619,361</u>	<u>3,619,361</u>	<u>3,392,333</u>	<u>3,392,333</u>
	<u>83,692,744</u>	<u>87,502,988</u>	<u>79,595,359</u>	<u>84,683,214</u>
Investments at estimated fair value:				
FHA and VA mortgages	752,816	721,162	900,937	847,035
AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust	5,143,425	5,309,751	4,693,620	4,766,268
Other investments	<u>1,144</u>	<u>1,133</u>	<u>1,146</u>	<u>1,132</u>
	<u>5,897,385</u>	<u>6,032,046</u>	<u>5,595,703</u>	<u>5,614,435</u>
	<u>\$89,590,129</u>	<u>\$93,535,034</u>	<u>\$85,191,062</u>	<u>\$90,297,649</u>

During 1991 and 1990, the Plan's investments (including investments bought, sold, as well as held during the year) appreciated (depreciated) in value by (\$1,134,968) and \$1,548,105, respectively, as follows:

	<u>1991</u>	<u>1990</u>
Investments at fair value as determined by quoted market price:		
U.S. government and agency securities	\$204,549	(\$424,034)
Corporate and agency securities,		
U.S. government insured	(9,512)	562
International bonds	7,384	7,920
Corporate bonds and notes	151,117	(34,730)
Preferred stocks	12,613	494
Common stocks	(1,617,048)	2,065,592
AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust	93,678	(73,157)
Investments at estimated fair value:		
FHA and VA mortgages	22,248	5,331
Other investments	<u>3</u>	<u>127</u>
	<u>(\$1,134,968)</u>	<u>\$1,548,105</u>

(6) Tax Determination Letter

The Plan has previously received notification from the Internal Revenue Service that the Plan is a qualified pension plan under the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. The Plan and its underlying trust were amended in 1986 and will be amended to conform with current tax law changes. The amended Plan instruments will be timely submitted to the Internal Revenue Service for a letter of determination that the Plan continues to qualify as exempt from federal income taxes. In the opinion of the Plan Administrator and the Plan's qualified tax advisor, the Plan and its underlying trust have operated within the terms of the Plan and remain qualified under the applicable provisions of the Internal Revenue Code.

(7) Administrative Expenses

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (the AFL-CIO) charges the Plan for certain administrative services provided to the Plan. The total amount charged to the Plan for the years ended June 30, 1991 and 1990 on account of these services was \$62,200 and \$61,649, respectively.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

PAID MEMBERSHIP

The following table shows the average per capita membership of current affiliates paid to the AFL-CIO for the year 1955, two-year periods ending in 1965, 1975, 1985, and subsequent conventions. The 1991 figures are based on the two-year period ending June 30, 1991.

Organizations	Thousands of Members					
	1955	1965	1975	1985	1987	1991
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated	34	61	76	100	95	99
Air Line Pilots Association	9	18	47	33	31	31
Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers, International Union				49	45	44
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	9	12	13	12	12	12
Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, International Union, United	1,260	1,150	a.	974	998	917
Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union				115	109	103
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of	151	108	123	110	90	75
Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, International Union of	120	120	143	95	84	84
Broadcast Employee and Technicians, National Association of	4	4	5	5	5	5
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	750	700	700	609	609	613
Chemical Workers Union, International	79	70	b. 58	40	35	34
Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Amalgamated				228	195	180
Communications Workers of America	249	288	476	524	515	492
Coopers International Union of North America	3	2	2	1	1	1
Distillery, Wine and Allied Workers International Union, AFL-CIO/CLC				14	13	11
Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers, AFL-CIO, International Union of					185	171
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of	460	616	856	791	765	744

Organizations

Thousands of Members

	1955	1965	1975	1985	1987	1989	1991
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	10	12	13	20	21	22	22
Engineers, International Union of Operating	200	270	300	330	330	330	330
Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, United			14	12	9	11	15
Fire Fighters, International Association of	72	87	123	142	142	142	151
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	57	44	40	25	25	25	25
Flight Attendants, Association of				c. 17	20	21	24
Flight Engineers' International Association	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Food and Commercial Workers International Union, United				989	1,000	999	997
Garment Workers of America, United	40	35	32	28	26	24	21
Garment Workers Union, International Ladies'	383	363	363	210	173	153	143
Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union				72	65	86	80
Glass Workers Union, American Flint	28	31	35	24	22	20	22
Government Employees, American Federation of	47	132	255	199	157	156	151
Grain Millers, American Federation of	33	25	29	30	28	28	27
Graphic Communications International Union				141	136	124	113
Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hospital and Health Care Employees, National Union of				d. 23	60	d. 58	
Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union	300	300	421	327	293	278	269
Industrial Workers of America, International Union, Allied			71	63	61	60	53
Iron Workers, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental	133	132	160	140	122	111	101
Laborers' International Union of North America		403	475	383	371	406	406
Laundry and Dry Cleaning International Union, AFL-CIO		22	20	15	14	14	14
Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers Union, International	30	34	39	21	19	15	12
Leather Workers International Union of America	2	5	2	1	e. 1		
Letter Carriers, National Association of	100	130	151	186	200	201	210
Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of						f. 3	20

Thousands of Members

Organizations1955196519751985198719891991

Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, International	50	60	65	64	62	60
Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International					g. 16	45
Machinists and Aerospace Workers, International Association of	627	663	780	520	509	534
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of	159	77	71	61	58	42
Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, Industrial Union of	27	22	22	17	12	h.
Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, National	9	9	20	22	22	48
Maritime Union of America, National	37	45	35	17	18	i.
Mechanics Educational Society of America	49	37	23	5	4	4
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Allied Workers International Workers	15	11	9	5	5	5
Mine Workers of America, United						0. 82
Molders and Allied Workers Union, AFL-CIO, International	67	50	50	32	32	j.
Musicians of the United States and Canada, American Federation of	250	225	215	67	60	54
Newspaper Guild, The	21	23	26	24	25	25
Novelty and Production Workers, International Union of Allied				23	23	23
Office and Professional Employees International Union	44	52	74	90	86	84
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union	160	140	145	108	96	71
Painters and Allied Trades of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	182	160	160	133	128	124
Paperworkers International Union, United			275	232	221	210
Pattern Makers League of North America	11	10	10	8	8	7
Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	60	68	55	46	43	39
Plate Printers, Die Stampers & Engravers Union of North America, International	1	1	1	1	1	1
Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the	200	217	228	226	220	220
Police Associations, International Union of				14	13	15
Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO, American			249	232	230	213

228

Thousands of Members

Organizations

	1955	1965	1975	1985	1987	1989	1991
Professional Athletes, Federation of				2	1	1	1
Professional and Technical Engineers, International Federation of			14	19	20	21	21
Radio Association, American	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union	97	114	118	106	140	137	128
Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers, United Union of				26	25	23	21
Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, United	163	153	173	106	97	92	89
School Administrators, American Federation of			7	9	9	9	9
Seafarers International Union of North America	42	80	80	80	80	80	80
Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO			480	688	762	762	881
Sheet Metal Workers International Association	50	100	120	108	108	108	108
Siderographers, International Association of	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Brotherhood of Railroad	15	11	10	11	11	10	10
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the							
United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical	46	50	50	50	50	50	50
State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of	99	237	647	997	1,032	1,090	1,191
Steelworkers of America, United	980	876	1,062	572	494	481	459
Stove, Furnace and Allied Appliance Workers International Union of North America	10	9	3	3	3	4	5
Teachers, American Federation of	40	97	396	470	499	544	573
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, ...							
International Brotherhood of						k. 1,161	1,379
Textile Workers of America, United	49	36	36	23	20	20	18
Tile, Marble, Terrazzo, Finishers, Shopworkers and Granite Cutters							
International Union, AFL-CIO				7	8	1.	1.
Train Dispatchers Association, American		3	3	3	3	2	2
Transit Union, Amalgamated		98	90	94	94	96	98
Transport Workers Union of America	80	80	95	85	85	85	85
Transportation• Communications International Union					113	86	73

Thousands of Members

Organizations

	<u>1955</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1991</u>
Transportation Union, United			134	88	m.	m.	64
Utility Workers Union of America	53	50	52	52	54	51	55
Woodworkers of America, International	91	49	52	34	26	23	21
Writers Guild of America, East, Inc						n.	3

a. Disaffiliated 7/1/68. Reaffiliated 7/1/81.

b. Chemical Workers charter revoked by convention, 10/3/69, and reinstated by Executive Council 5/12/71.

c. Flight Attendants charter granted 2/23/84.

d. Hospital and Health Care Employees charter granted 10/1/84. Merged into Service Employees International Union and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees on 6/1/89.

e. The membership figure shown is based on one month's per capita tax and this union was suspended in accordance with Article xv, Section 5, of the AFL-CIO Constitution.

f. Locomotive Engineers charter granted 4/1/89.

g. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union charter granted 8/22/88.

h. Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America merged with international Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers on 10/17/88.

i. Maritime Union of America, National, merged with National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association on 3/29/88.

j. Molders and Allied Workers Union merged with Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union on 5/1/88.

k. Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America affiliated 11/1/87.

l. Tile, Marble, Terrazzo, Finishers, shopworkers and Granite Cutters international Union merged with United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America on 11/10/88.

m. Transportation Union reaffiliated 8/1/89. Date of disaffiliation was 4/1/86.

n. Writers Guild of America, East, Inc. affiliated 8/19/89.

o. Mine Workers of America, United affiliated 10/1/89.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

TOTAL PAID MEMBERSHIP

The following table shows the total paid membership of the AFL-CIO for the year 1955 and subsequent two-year periods. The 1991 figures are based on the two-year period ending June 30, 1991. The totals are expressed in thousands of members.

Period	Membership	Period	Membership
1955	12,622	1975	14,070
1957	13,020	1977	13,542
1959	12,779	1979	13,621
1961	12,553	1981	13,602
1963	12,496	1983	13,758
1965	12,919	1985	13,109
1967	13,781	1987	12,702
1969	13,005	1989	13,556
1971	13,177	1991	13,933
1973	13,407		

Eighteen affiliated organizations paid a reduced monthly per capita tax on 270,200 additional associate members during the two-year period ending June 30, 1991.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The following table shows the average per capita membership paid to the AFL-CIO by former affiliates for the year 1955 and subsequent two-year periods ending in 1965, 1975 and 1985.

Organizations	1955	1965	1975	1985	
Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee AFL-CIO		2			Charter granted to Farm Workers Organizing Committee 8/23/66, bringing together Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO and Independent National Farm Workers Association.
Agricultural Workers Union, National	4				Merged into Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen 8/16/60.
Air Line Dispatchers Association	1	1	1		Dissolved, 4/1/77.
Aluminum Workers International Union	20	22	27		Merged to form Aluminum, Brick and Clay Workers, 7/23/81.
Aluminum, Brick and Clay Workers International Union					Merged to form Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers, 9/1/82.
Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United	73				Title changed to Allied Industrial Workers of America, 5/1/56.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union, American		75			Merged to form Bakery and Confectionery Workers, International Union of America, 12/4/69.

Organizations	1955				1965				1975				1985			
	136				73				42				123			
Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America													Expelled by convention 12/12/57. Merged with American Bakery and Confectionery Workers 12/4/69 to form Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America.			
Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America													Merged to form Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers, 8/17/78.			
Barbers and Beauty Culturists Union of America	3												Reaffiliated with Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists', 5/1/56.			
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen	65				73				42				Merged with UFCW, 9/1/80.			
Bill Posters, Billers and Distributors of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of	2				1								Charter surrendered 10/31/71.			
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	51				57								Merged to form Graphic Arts International Union, 9/4/72.			
Boot Shoe Workers' Union	40				40				34				Merged with Retail Clerks, 9/1/77.			
Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers, International Union of, United	45				42								Certificate of affiliation revoked, AFL-CIO convention, 10/19/73.			
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	23				21				16				Merged to form Aluminum, Brick and Clay Workers, 7/23/81.			
Broom and Whisk Makers Union, International	1												Disbanded, 8/22/63.			

Organizations

	1955	1965	1975	1985
Building Service Employees International Union	205	305		
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, United	35	30	29	
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	9	4	2	
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	97			
Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated	210	288	232	
Commercial Telegraphers Union, The	29	22		
Distillery, Rectifying, Wine and Allied Workers International Union of America	26	24	18	
Dolls, Toys, Playthings, Novelties and Allied Products of the United States and Canada, AFL-CIO International Union of	14	22	30	
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, International Union of	271	265	255	
Electronic, Electrical, Technical, Salaried and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, International Union of				

Title changed to Service Employees International Union, 2/19/68.

Merged with Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, 4/1/84.

Merged with Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, 8/6/74.

Merged with National Federation of Post Office Clerks, 12/6/61. Title changed to United Federation of Postal Clerks.

Merged to form ACTWU, 6/2/76.

Title changed to Telegraph Workers, 2/19/68.

Merged to form UFCW, 8/8/79.

Title changed to Novelty Production Workers, 2/27/78.

Title changed to Electronic, Electrical, Technical, Salaried and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, International Union of, 7/83.

Title changed to Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers, AFL-CIO, International Union of, 1/1/87.

Organizations		1955	1965	1975	1985	
Engravers and Marking Device Workers Union International Metal		1				Merged into International Association of Machinists, 9/1/56.
Furniture Workers of America, United		34	32	28	21	Merged to form Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers, AFL-CIO, International Union of, 1/1/87.
Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America, United		41	33	28		Merged to form Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers, 9/1/82.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada		47	65	75		Merged to form Glass, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers, 9/1/82.
Glass Cutters League of America, Window		2	1	1		Merged with Glass Bottle Blowers, 8/1/75.
Glove Workers Union of America, International		3				Merged into Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 12/6/61.
Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee		27				Merged into AFSCME, 8/1/56.
Granite Cutters International Association of America, The		4	3	1		Merged with Tile, Marble, Terrazzo, Finishers and Shopmen, 5/23/83 (Retroactive to 1/7/80).
Graphic Arts International Union				93		Merged to form Graphic Communications International Union, 7/1/83.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, United		32	32	15		Merged into ACTWU, 12/7/82.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, International		372				Title changed to Laborers' International Union, 9/20/65.

Organizations

1955 1965 1975 1985

Hosiery Workers, American Federation of

15

5

Merged with Textile Workers Union of America, 4/28/65.

Insurance Agents International Union

13

Merged into Insurance Workers International Union, 5/18/59.

Insurance Workers of America

9

Merged into Insurance Workers International Union, 5/18/59.

Insurance Workers International Union, AFL-CIO

21

22

Merged with UFCW, 10/1/83.

Jewelry Workers Union, International

20

14

10

Merged with SEIU, 7/1/80.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal

16

16

12

Merged with United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, 8/16/79.

Lithographers and Photoengravers International Union

30*

*Affiliated for only part of period although membership shown is average for 24-month period. Merged to form GCIU, 9/24/72.

Lithographers of America, Amalgamated

28

Disaffiliated 8/21/58.

Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brotherhood of

41

Merged into United Transportation Union, 12/16/68.

Longshoremen, International Brotherhood of

8

Merged into Longshoremen's Association, 11/17/59.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers,
Tile & Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers,
International Association of

6

8

8

Title changed to Tile, Marble, Terrazzo, Finishers and Shopmen, 2/20/76.

Organizations

	1955	1965	1975	1985	
Masters, Mates and Pilots, International Organization of	9	9			Merged with Longshoremen's Association, 5/12/71.
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of	1				Withdrew, 4/1/64.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	263	330	450		Merged to form United Food and Commercial Workers, 8/8/79.
Packaginghouse, Food and Allied Workers, United	118	71			Merged with Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, 7/9/68.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	60				Merged into Papermakers and Paperworkers, 3/6/57.
Paper Workers of America, United	40				Merged into Papermakers and Paperworkers, 3/6/57.
Papermakers and Paperworkers, United		121			Merged to form United Paperworkers International Union, 8/9/72.
Photo Engravers Union of North America, International	16				Merged into Lithographers and Photoengravers, 9/7/64.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car	10	5	1		Merged with BRAC, 4/1/78.
Post Office and General Service Maintenance Employees, National Association					Merged to form American Postal Workers Union, 7/1/71.
Post Office Mail Handlers, Watchmen, Messengers and Group Leaders, National Association of	1	1			Merged with Laborers, 4/20/68.
Post Office Motor Vehicle Employees, National Federation of		5			Merged to form American Postal Workers Union, 7/1/71.

Organizations

	1955	1965	1975	1985	
Postal Transport Association, National	22				Merged with National Federation of Post Office Clerks, 12/6/61, to become APWU.
Postal Clerks, United Federation of		117			Merged with National Federation of Post Office Clerks, 12/6/61, to become APWU.
Pottery and Allied Workers, International Brotherhood of	23	19	17		Affiliated with Seafarers, 6/21/76.
Pottery and Allied Workers, International Brotherhood of					Merged to form Glass, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers, 9/1/82.
Printing and Graphic Communications Union, International			105		Merged to form Graphic Communications International Union, 7/1/83.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International	87	100			Merged to form Printing and Graphic Communications Union, 10/17/73.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	154,	135			Merged to form United Paperworkers International Union, 8/9/72.
Radio and Television Directors Guild	1				Disaffiliated, 1/1/60.
Railroad Telegraphers, The Order of	30				Title changed to Transportation-Communication Employees Union, 2/25/65.
Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of		98			Merged into United Transportation Union, 12/16/68.
Railway Carmen of the United States and Canada, Brotherhood of	116	84	56	33	Merged with BRAC, 8/6/86.

Organizations	1955	1965	1975	1985
Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees Brotherhood of	264	186	160	102
				Title changed to Transportation Communications Union, 9/1/87.
Railway Patrolmen's International Union	3	2		Merged with BRAC, 1/1/69.
Railway Supervisors Association, American		6	6	Merged with BRAC, 8/6/80.
Retail Clerks International Union	259	410	602	Merged to form UFCW, 8/8/79.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	18	22	27	Title changed to Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers, 8/7/78.
Shoe Workers of America, United	51	45	25	Merged with ACTWU, 3/5/79.
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	2	1		Merged to form American Postal Workers Union, 7/1/71.
Stereotypers', Electrotypers', and Platemakers' Union, International	12	11		Merged to form Printing and Graphic Communications Union, 10/17/73.
Stone and Allied Products Workers of America, United	11	11		Merged with Steelworkers, 11/1/72.
Stonemasons Association of North America, Journeymen	2	2		Merged with Laborers' International Union, 2/19/68.
Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of	139			Title changed to Amalgamated Transit Union, 2/25/65.
Switchmen's Union of North America	11	9		Merged into United Transportation Union, 12/16/68.
Technical Engineers, American Federation of	10	11		Title changed to Professional and Technical Engineers, 5/73.

Organizations

	1955	1965	1975	1985	
Telegraph Workers, United			12	9	Merged into CWA, 10/17/86.
Textile Workers Union of America	203	123	105		Merged with ACTWU, 6/27/76.
Tobacco Workers International Union	27	24	26		Merged to form Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers, 8/17/78.
Transport Service Employees of America, United	3	3			Merged with BRAC, 10/1/72.
Transportation-Communication Employees Union		29			Merged with BRAC, 2/21/69.
Typographic Union, International	78	87	73	38	Merged with CWA, 1/1/87.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America	51	50	50	31	Merged with Steelworkers, 10/8/85.
Wallpaper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United	1				Merged with Pulp, Sulfate and Paper Mill Workers, 4/28/58.
Weavers Protective Association, American Wire	1				Merged with Papermakers and Paperworkers, 2/16/59.
Yardmasters of America, Railroad	4	4	4	3	Merged with United Transportation Union, 10/1/85.

Directly Affiliated Local Unions

The AFL-CIO Constitution and the Rules Governing Directly Affiliated Local Unions provides that the integrity of each Directly Affiliated Local Union shall be maintained and preserved. They further provide that Directly Affiliated Local Unions can voluntarily agree to transfer their affiliation to a national or international union. Such transfer, however, should be made only where there is some definite similarity as to the type of workers organized by the national or international union concerned and in accordance with established policy and procedures.

As of July 1, 1989, there were 32 Directly Affiliated Local Unions with a membership of 7,396. During the period of July 1, 1989, to June 30, 1991, 1 Directly Affiliated Local Union with a membership of 30 disbanded, 3 Directly Affiliated Local Unions with a membership of 655 have affiliated with national or international unions. The transfer of these Directly Affiliated Local Unions was effectuated pursuant to existing procedures. The desire of the local union membership for active participation in the affairs of a national or international union having activities and industry jurisdiction similar to theirs was responsible for such transfers.

During the same period a charter was issued to Directly Affiliated Local Union 461, Macon, Georgia.

On June 30, 1991, there were 29 Directly Affiliated Local Unions with a membership of 6,358.

Defalcations

For the period of July 1, 1989, through June 30, 1991, no Directly Affiliated Local Union was found guilty of financial irregularities or failure to comply with the AFL-CIO Constitution, the Rules Governing Directly Affiliated Local Unions or the AFL-CIO Codes of Ethical Practices.

Trusteeships

There were no trusteeships established during the period July 1, 1989, to June 30, 1991.

The Labor Movement 1989-1991

Structure and Leadership

Meetings of Executive Council

The Executive Council, governing body of the AFL-CIO between conventions, met seven times since the 1989 convention. In 1989 the council met in Washington, D.C., after the convention (Nov.16). In 1990 the council met in Bal Harbour, Fla. (Feb. 19-22), in Washington, D.C. (May 23-24) and in Chicago, Ill. (July 31-Aug. 1). In 1991 the council met in Bal Harbour, Fla. (Feb. 18-22), in Washington, D.C. (May 8) and in Chicago, Ill. (July 30-31).

Changes in Executive Council

Resignation of Vice President Larry Dugan, Jr.

The Executive Council, at its meeting held February 19, 1990 was advised by President Kirkland that he had received the resignation of Vice President Dugan. The Executive Council accepted the resignation with regrets.

Election of Vice President Frank Hanley

In conformity with the authority conferred upon the Executive Council by Article V, Section 6, of the AFL-CIO Constitution, the council at its meeting February 19, 1990, elected Frank Hanley, president of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

Mergers of International Unions

Pattern Makers League of North America International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers

At its meeting July 31, 1991, the Executive Council was advised that the Pattern Makers League of North America merged with the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

The Executive Council approved the merger with the understanding that the jurisdiction of the merged organization shall be not more or less than the jurisdiction awarded the two organizations. The merged organization will operate under the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers' present title.

The Committee on the Evolution of Work and the Strategic Approaches Committee

The Committee on the Evolution of Work

The Evolution of Work Committee continued to meet to review trends in union membership and the work force, to explore internal strategies as well as legislative and administrative changes that could greatly improve organizing capability. In pursuing its goals, the Committee faces the serious obstacle of an Administration openly hostile to legislation that might prove effective in increasing union membership. Nevertheless, the Committee continues to discuss ideas and strategies.

In one meeting the Committee reviewed some of the most important union initiatives in organizing and in strategies for preserving existing bargaining units in the face of all-out employer offensives.

In another meeting the Committee assembled a panel of successful organizers and trade unionists from Canada — Cliff Evans from the United Food and Commercial Workers, Brad James from the United Steelworkers of America and Dick Smith from the Carpenters Union. They provided an interesting overview of the Canadian system for organizing workers in the various provinces, pointing out that while there are advantages, employer resistance can have a serious impact even though Canadian laws are much more effective in translating employee sentiment for trade unionism into a collective bargaining agreement.

The Committee also heard from Dr. Eileen Applebaum from Temple University and Ron Kutscher from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. They gave

an overview of current and future work place demographics, describing the type of work force that will be needed and how employers are likely to attempt to achieve increased productivity. They emphasized the continued change in occupational restructuring, pointing out how much our traditional base has declined and noting that it is likely to continue. They also discussed the significant growth in part-time employment and how that too will continue in the next decade.

The Committee also heard from a panel of American organizers, from the AFL-CIO's Organizing Institute, the Service Employees, the Clothing and Textile Workers, the United Food and Commercial Workers and the Teamsters. They focused on the methods by which successful organizing is carried out and what would be needed to dramatically improve organizing success given the legal system currently in place.

In continuing its work, the Committee recognized that it will always be affected by the problem of the political environment and a President who not only seems unconcerned about the decline in union membership but seems willing to actively encourage that decline.

Since the last convention, the Strategic Approaches Committee, a subcommittee of the AFL-CIO's Committee on the Evolution of Work, has been actively involved in the major labor disputes affecting AFL-CIO affiliates.

Strategic Approaches Committee

Under the direction of chairman Lynn Williams, the Strategic Approaches Committee helped mobilize labor union support in these difficult situations:

New York Daily News

The Committee was approached during the February 1990 Executive Council meeting by the Allied Printing Trades Council, which coordinates activities of the ten local unions of the "New York Daily News." Nine days after the unions' contracts expired, the Daily News owner, the Tribune Co., announced that it had terminated the contracts and revoked union dues checkoff. To develop and orchestrate these tactics the company hired the union-busting firm of King and Ballow.

The unions tried unsuccessfully to bring the company back to the negotiating table. When some of the employees walked out in protest of a frivolous management decision against a fellow employee, the company refused to allow them to return a few hours later. They were told they had been "permanently replaced." That precipitated a strike of all the 2,300 employees on October 25, 1990.

The national AFL-CIO's Department of Organization and Field Services and the Industrial Union Department and New York State AFL-CIO provided regional and national staff to coordinate the campaign and to conduct an "all-fronts" campaign with the public, with advertisers and other important

business connections to force the Tribune Co. to settle the strike or sell the paper to someone who would settle.

The effectiveness of the campaign and the support for the strikers led to a drop in the Daily News' circulation from its pre-strike level of 1.1 million to 300,000.

An office for the local campaign was secured through the Ladies' Garment Workers and the national AFL-CIO loaned computer equipment.

Further, strikers leafletted locations of businesses that did not remove ads and held massive support rallies in front of the Daily News, attracting speakers such as federation President Lane Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue, numerous AFL-CIO vice presidents, international union presidents, state federation presidents, Gov. Mario Cuomo, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Cardinal John O'Connor and several members of Congress.

The corporate campaign was expanded nationally to include central labor bodies in areas where the Tribune Co. owned properties. A major effort succeeded in developing important support for the strikers by many churches and religious groups.

Meanwhile, the Community Services Department, working with several international unions, established counseling and assistance programs to help striking workers and their families through the tough times.

The campaign also focused attention on the need for federal legislation banning the "permanent replacement" of strikers.

As the company-imposed final deadline to settle or close approached, the 146-day strike ended when British publisher Robert Maxwell bought the paper from the Tribune Co. and settled with the strikers.

Eastern

The Strategic Approaches Committee began its activities supporting the Machinists at Eastern February 17, 1989. Three days later, the AFL-CIO Executive Council called on the National Mediation Board to recommend and the President to appoint an Emergency Board.

Virtually every affiliate, state and local central body supported the effort to assist the IAM. The federation designated full-time national staff and regional staff in 13 cities to coordinate the Eastern campaign.

After union workers invested nearly \$1 billion in Eastern, the company's owners demanded \$161 million in givebacks and announced plans to cut service to 14 cities and eliminate 4,000 jobs. Over 8,000 IAM members struck Eastern on March 4, 1989. Pilots and Transport Workers flight attendants honored the picket lines. Eastern filed for bankruptcy March 9.

The AFL-CIO also established the Fairness at Eastern Strike Fund which received \$1.89 million from affiliates, local unions, union members and other concerned citizens. The federation's entire field staff was used to coordinate national events such as Stand Up to Lorenzo Day and Journey for Justice, a month-long national march that began in Miami and ended on the steps of the U.S. Capitol.

Meanwhile, the Legislative Department supported resolutions on Capitol Hill calling for the appointment of an independent trustee to manage Eastern. Other labor-backed legislation called for a Presidential Emergency Board and protecting the jobs of American workers by prohibiting U.S. aircraft from routinely using foreign repair stations. Labor also lobbied unsuccessfully to override President Bush's veto of a bill calling for a blue-ribbon investigation of the airline industry.

The Community Services Department maintained strike-related support such as food banks. The Information Department put out regular strike updates, distributed by the national and local unions.

The AFL-CIO prepared alternative health care coverage for striking workers.

More than a year after Eastern filed for bankruptcy, the judge finally named a trustee. Once a trustee was appointed, the IAM tried to set up fruitful talks with him, to no avail. The bankrupt airline finally folded 23 months after the strike began.

Greyhound

The Amalgamated Transit Union asked for the committee's help nine days before its contract with Greyhound expired March 1, 1990. The committee assisted in trying to reach a settlement until the 9,000 Greyhound workers in 19 ATU locals voted to strike. Twenty cities were designated by the ATU as major strike locations. The Department of Organization and Field Services coordinated strike support activity, and the Community Services Department augmented those efforts with food banks and counseling referrals.

The Industrial Union Department spearheaded research into the company's finances, which was helpful when the campaign shifted to an effort to pressure the company through creditors. Demonstrations were held in eight cities where creditors' offices were located.

The IUD, along with the ATU, launched a corporate campaign that included enlisting a potential buyer for the bankrupt company, but that offer was rejected.

ATU also organized public rallies at bus terminals throughout the country reminding people not to ride Greyhound. State and local labor councils as well as AFL-CIO field staff assisted in coordinating the affiliates' participation in these rallies.

The AFL-CIO Frontlash program coordinated an effort to counter Greyhound's ads seeking young people to ride their buses.

As indicated by the Eastern Airlines, Greyhound, and New York Daily News strikes, the Strategic Approaches Committee has proved to be an effective force for stimulating ideas, for mobilizing both financial and staff resources, and for providing a movement-wide presence to bolster the positions and spirits of those union members engaged in the struggle. The Committee increasingly

was used for pre-strike planning and to assist in the formation of strategy that would help bring maximum pressure to bear to achieve successful resolution of the disputes.

With the Department of Organization and Field Services serving as the staff coordination arm of the Committee, the unions received more effective help in research, fundraising and grass roots mobilization. The Committee has served as a platform for the affected unions to bring all of our major affiliates into the arena.

The committee also considered numerous ways for improving its operation, particularly to enlist even greater staff support for the affected unions, to improve on fundraising drives, and to assist the unions once they had joined the battle.

Campaigns

Solidarity Day 1991

On Aug. 31, 1991, the nation watched as American labor and its allies again marched on Washington, D.C., 325,000 strong, to show "we are one, we are strong and we are determined."

Sweltering under a blazing sun that pushed the temperature to 96 degrees, marchers carried the message that workers want a ban on the "permanent replacement" of strikers, want national health care reform and want the full freedom of association at home and abroad.

They also called for passage of civil rights and workplace safety laws, for fair trade and attention to this nation's decaying cities and infrastructure.

At dawn, marchers began showing up on the Mall — an area that was transformed the day before by the addition of dozens of tents. Scores of trucks rolled into position early Saturday morning to unload food and soft drinks, picket signs and T-shirts. Thousands of union members served as marshals — of everything from security and sanitation to bus parking and entertainment.

By dusk, nearly all the marchers were headed home. The day was a success — thanks to the outpouring of solidarity among trade unionists and thanks to the extensive preparations for Solidarity Day that began in February 1991 after the Executive Council declared Aug. 31 as the date.

AFL-CIO COPE Director John Perkins was named to coordinate the preparations, reprising the role he played on Solidarity Day on Sept. 19, 1981. Scores of coordinators from AFL-CIO affiliates began meeting regularly to nail down the myriad of details that assured a smooth operation. By dialing 1-800-LABOR 91, unions could get quick answers to their questions.

"Solidarity Works" was the slogan portrayed in a striking poster by artist Jerry McDaniel. The poster was rendered as a three-story tall banner displayed for several weeks at AFL-CIO headquarters before moving to its position beside the main stage on the Mall. It also appeared as the centerfold in the AFL-CIO News on June 10 and 90,000 copies were printed on poster stock.

More than 200,000 stickers and 40,000 bumper stickers were distributed by the federation, and camera-ready art was sent to every affiliate and state and local AFL-CIO so individual local unions could print customized items in quantity for their members. A copyrighted Solidarity Day logo was printed on union materials throughout the nation. Many of the marchers wore T-shirts bearing either the Solidarity Works poster or Solidarity Day '91 — August 31 Be There!

A Solidarity Day '91 video was produced in April and widely distributed for use at union meetings. A second videotape, a 30-second public service announcement and two audio spots were circulated to the electronic news media in mid-July, with a theme of "Join Us" and a chance for unions to tailor the spots for their usage. A newsletter was produced regularly to keep union officials advised about the progress, with daily faxes going to news media and union public relations directors in a 12-day countdown before the event. The U.S. Postal Service set up a temporary postal station on the Mall to provide mailing service using a special Solidarity Day '91 hand cancel.

Individual unions reported extensive efforts to get the message out to members, especially in the 15 targeted states — those nearest to Washington.

Unions used electronic mail, fliers, newsletters and newspapers, videos and telephone banks to reach members. Information was mailed to unions members living within 60 miles of Washington. The AFL-CIO News put out a special edition, "Why We March," and 35,000 copies were distributed among selected bus captains for reading interest on the ride to Solidarity Day.

Transportation was a key concern of the event's planners, and in the end, march participants came to Washington on buses, trains, airplanes, vans, cars, motorcycles and boats. The strike at Greyhound Corp. required some chartering from areas other than the departure site.

Extensive planning alleviated most of the parking problems, as more than 3,500 buses were parked at the Pentagon and RFK Stadium, with others sent to West Potomac Park near the Mall. Thousands of vans and cars flooded into the free parking at the Metro system where Solidarity Day participants jammed the stations and waited patiently to buy tickets to ride the subway.

The AFL-CIO also got four air carriers to provide cut-rate zoned fares to union members coming to Washington to aid those from longer distances. Amtrak sold out special Solidarity Day trains coming to Washington from Boston, Providence, New York, Trenton and Philadelphia.

A day to remember

The turnout of more than a third of a million persons made the event the same smashing success as Solidarity Day I in 1981, which protested the disastrous economic and social policies of the Reagan administration inaugurated early that year.

On Solidarity Day '91, the green blanket of grass around the Washington Monument began filling at dawn. Staging areas were set up by various unions on the monument grounds and along the Ellipse in front of the White House. The entertainment, which began at 10 a.m. and lasted until 2 p.m., was headlined by Willie Nelson, who led the singing of "Solidarity Forever" and "America the Beautiful" and such big-name leaders of their own unions as Ron Silver, Theo Bikel and Jean Stapleton.

At noon, the march formed behind AFL-CIO union leaders, who were joined by international trade unionists and leaders of some of the 185 organizations that endorsed Solidarity Day. AFSCME, with the largest contingent, marched next, followed by the UAW, Steelworkers, Machinists, Electrical Workers, Service Employees, Communications Workers, Teamsters and Electronic Workers.

Other unions and allied groups were still waiting to march when the front of the column fanned across the mall to take positions in front of the stage on Third Street. Many headed for water stations and soft drink stands to quench their thirsts in the sweltering heat. Some marchers sought cover and others enjoyed welcome relief from the sprays of fire hoses set up by the local fire department.

Speakers from the rally platform stage were interspersed with entertainers and, with AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue directing traffic flow acting as emcee, Solidarity Day was finished remarkably close to the announced time of 4:30 p.m.

Health Care Campaign '89-'91

National health care reform, a priority at the 1989 AFL-CIO convention, became a major national political issue as the AFL-CIO pressed forward with its campaign. By late summer of 1991, legislation along the lines the AFL-CIO envisioned was beginning to emerge in Congress.

The primary objective of the AFL-CIO's health care campaign is "forging a consensus that we must as a nation find a solution that ensures universal access to quality care at a price our country can afford," said the federation's health care committee chair, President John J. Sweeney of the Service Employees.

That consensus was reached within the federation when the Executive Council in February 1990 adopted 10 legislative principles for health care reform: universality, public accountability, affordability and accessibility, comprehensiveness, equitable and progressive financing, fairness, portability, cost containment, quality assurance, public/private administration. Those legislative goals were further refined in an Executive Council statement in February 1991.

In addition to Sweeney, the Health Care Committee includes Owen Bieber, UAW; John T. Joyce, Bricklayers; Gerald W. McEntee, AFSCME; Albert Shanker, Teachers; Lynn R. Williams, Steelworkers; William H. Wynn, Food and Commercial Workers; Morton Bahr, Communications Workers; Lenore Miller, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union; Jack Sheinkman, Clothing and Textile Workers; George J. Kourpias, Machinists; Moe Biller, Postal

Workers; Richard L. Trumka, Mine Workers; Richard I. Kilroy, Transportation• Communications Workers; Robert A. Georgine, Building and Construction Trades; and Jay Mazur, Ladies' Garment Workers.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1990, members of the committee and their staff representatives met to discuss the federation's approach to the reform campaign. At the same time, grass-roots efforts were under way to lobby members of Congress and others on the general theme of "National Health Care — Now is the Time."

To build on that theme, the federation initiated a series of regional hearings on the U.S. health care system in the fall of 1990.

A \$3 million national television advertising campaign ran concurrently with the hearings. Two 30-second advertisements depicted the emotional and financial impact of the health care crisis for network TV viewers. One ad showed a family that had been forced to sell its home because of the overwhelming debt incurred caring for a sick child, while the other used an ambulance siren and black and white video to bring home the force of facing a health care crisis.

The regional hearings began Sept. 20 and continued through Oct. 28. Panels chaired by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland or AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue heard testimony from 94 witnesses who painted a grim picture of the U.S. health care system. Hearings were held in Providence, R.I.; Chicago; San Francisco; Louisville, Ky.; Detroit; New Brunswick, N.J.; Birmingham, Ala.; and Austin, Texas.

In January 1991, the AFL-CIO published the 485-page "Case for Health Care Reform," which contained the transcripts from the regional hearings. Kirkland took the transcripts and a 10-minute videotape to Capitol Hill, where he urged lawmakers to heed Americans' cries for help. "What we found — and what the hearing record shows — is a growing problem that is no longer exclusive to the fringes of our society," he told lawmakers. "It's now hitting at the solid, working middle class — the backbone of the country — people who do their level best to pay their bills and meet their obligations."

In still another effort to educate the public about the situation, the Labor Institute of Public Affairs produced "Health Care: Critical Condition," a 30-minute special that began running on public television stations across the nation in the fall of 1990.

The Executive Council continued to move forward on health care reform at its February 1991 meeting with a statement reaffirming the federation's commitment to continue fighting for the "long-held goal of a social insurance national health care program, while recognizing that reform may come about in stages. Accordingly, we will support measures that would move the nation toward our goals."

Upon the release of the statement, Kirkland said "The ever-growing urgency of America's health care crisis requires new alliances and new initiatives toward cooperation. Now is the time to make our health care system in the United States more efficient, effective and responsive to the needs of all Americans."

Toward that end, Kirkland has testified before committees in both houses of Congress on health care reform, stressing the urgent need to ease the suffering of the 37 million Americans — 75 percent of whom are workers and their dependents — without health insurance and the other 50 million who are underinsured. He described for lawmakers the broad alliances of formerly disparate groups coming together in hope of reforming the health care system and told them “the time is right for Congress to take advantage of this growing consensus and to take the lead in fashioning a program of national health care reform that will achieve these important goals and stem this crisis before it impoverishes the bulk of the American middle class.”

Kirkland also addressed the National Leadership Conference of the American Medical Association after AMA President Dr. John Tupper had testified earlier at the federation’s health care hearing in San Francisco.

The federation held a national teleconference on several subjects, including health care reform, in June 1991. More than 2,500 union members at 19 regional sites were updated on the health care campaign. State federations and central labor councils also were urged to begin organizing health care committees.

In addition to the teleconference, the federation used the electronic media extensively during the reform campaign. In February 1990, LIPA produced a video news release on the rising costs of health care. In August 1990, LIPA held a satellite media tour and produced another VNR on the health care crisis.

The AFL-CIO is continuing its legislative push for national health care reform, working with lawmakers and their staffs to pass legislation to meet the federation’s goals. In addition, the campaign continues lobbying and related activities on the grass-roots level.

The Workplace Fairness Bill

One of the top AFL-CIO priorities is the passage of legislation banning the use of “permanent replacements” for striking workers.

During the past decade, increasing numbers of employers have taken advantage of a loophole in the national labor law in a cynical effort to effectively deprive their unionized work forces of the right to strike.

Incredibly, while the law plainly says that it is illegal to fire employees for striking, it allows employers to “permanently replace” them.

The difference between a decision by an employer to fire a striker and the decision to “permanently replace” a striker defies logic. All the worker knows is that he or she is not going back to work with the struck employer in the foreseeable future.

To close the loophole, H.R. 5 and S. 55, the Workplace Fairness bills, were introduced by Rep. William Clay (D-Mo.) and Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), respectively. The bills ban the practice of hiring “permanent replacements” during a strike and prohibit preferential treatment given to those who cross the picket lines. These bills only apply to union workers and would restore

workers' rights, workplace fairness and stability in labor-management relations through collective bargaining, as the law originally intended.

In July, the House passed its version of Workplace Fairness, H.R. 5, by a lopsided 247-182 margin. At year's end, the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions were launching the campaign to win passage in the Senate, where a filibuster is expected. House passage came only after a year of careful and arduous campaigning.

At its February 1991 meeting, the Executive Council described the use of "permanent replacement" workers during a strike "as a direct threat to the vitality of the collective bargaining system." The practice also has enabled employers to transform disputes over the terms of the next labor contract into larger confrontations over whether the collective bargaining relationship will continue, the council said.

The AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department took the lead in developing a campaign to rally support for this issue. In 1991, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland appointed a three-person steering committee chaired by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue, and including IUD President Howard Samuel and AFL-CIO Legislative Director Robert M. McGlotten. The committee has drawn upon expertise in several international unions and various departments within the federation.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court's 1938 Mackay doctrine has been on the books for 50 years, the practice of hiring "permanent replacements" grew since the early 1980s, as greedy employers have triggered American tragedies in which workers have lost their jobs, health insurance and pensions all for exercising their fundamental right to strike. Some companies have even advertised, hired and transported "replacement" workers to the job site before collective bargaining began.

The AFL-CIO publicized the plight of hundreds of workers who shared the tragedy of being "permanently replaced." Some of these cases were particularly heart-wrenching — a mother forced to go to the Salvation Army twice a month for free food; bright, young adults forced to drop out of college; marriages cracking under the strain of unemployment; persons driven to alcoholism and even suicide.

The federation brought some of these victims to Washington, where they testified before Congress and held a nationally covered press conference, bringing the reality of their plight to the attention of millions.

Through highly visible outreach programs, the AFL-CIO has garnered support from numerous community, civic and religious groups for the strike-breaker legislation. The religious community, particularly, has been strongly supportive of our cause. The support comes from sources as diverse as Cardinal John O'Connor of New York, United Methodist Bishop Robert Morgan of Mississippi and the Executive Council of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.

The federation also sponsored a \$500,000 national radio and television ad campaign in 68 congressional districts in 20 states and the District of Columbia. The advertising strategy called for the commercials to run in Washington the

week before the July 4 congressional recess, in the targeted congressional districts during the recess while the representatives would be home, and, again in Washington the week after the recess in the days leading up to the vote.

Ads also were published in "The Washington Post," "New York Times," "Newsweek" and "Time" magazines, the "National Journal," the "Congressional Quarterly" and "Roll Call."

As part of its effort to pass the bills, the federation and affiliated unions sponsored a massive mail campaign that flooded Capitol Hill offices with almost 1 million postcards and mailgrams calling for our elected representatives to stand up for workers' basic right to strike. Members of affiliated unions also scheduled meetings with their representatives and senators to urge them to endorse the legislation.

The campaign captured the public's attention. In two separate polls, at least 65 percent of Americans said it isn't fair to "permanently replace" striking workers. In a January, 1990, poll by Penn and Schoen Associates, Inc., of Washington, D.C., 65 percent of all Americans rejected the idea that "companies should be allowed to hire permanent replacements for striking workers." An April 1991 Roper Poll revealed 67 percent of Americans have an unfavorable view of the "hiring of permanent replacements for striking workers." Finally a late April 1991 study revealed what labor has contended all along: strikes involving "permanent replacements" are longer and more bitter than strikes that do not.

The report by the Economic Policy Institute also found that "permanently replacing" workers undermines U.S. competitiveness and productivity as well as destroying families and towns.

The federation also found that when "permanent replacements" are allowed to take the place of a skilled work force, communities suffer in lost business revenue and increased taxes for city services.

Workers Memorial Day

The third time was the charm for AFL-CIO Workers Memorial Day, held each year on April 28, the anniversary of the implementation of the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

The AFL-CIO lobbied for the passage of the 1970 act, but 20 years later, the federation feels the legislation is no longer effective. Workers Memorial Day allows the union members to emphasize the need to revise the 1970 legislation and to empower workers to prevent injuries and illnesses on the job.

For the past two years, the AFL-CIO Departments of Occupational Safety and Health and Legislation have worked with Congress to improve worker protections through vigorous oversight and new legislation.

The third observance of Workers Memorial Day, in 1991, clearly benefitted from the experience of the previous events:

- The 1991 campaign focused on the gaps in OSHA enforcement which outrage union workers on the job. Those concerns led to specific legis-

lative proposals — S. 1622 and H.R. 3160 — encompassing “the right to know, the right to act and the right to refuse.”

- Local spontaneity abounded as affiliated union members planned events as varied as their imagination and creativity. Workers held memorial services, prayer vigils, rallies, dedication of permanent monuments and site inspections in over 100 workplaces and communities.

Building on the momentum begun with the November 1990 AFL-CIO safety and health conference in Milwaukee, workers put together campaigns as diverse as the dedication of a permanent memorial in Houston to an educational program and rally in Cleveland to a march in Mobile, Ala. extolling the day's theme, “Safe Jobs. It's Our Right.”

- Finally, Workers Memorial Day received some of the national media coverage it deserved. News coverage of the plight of workers without adequate job safety protection was extensive, but only on a local level, in the previous two years. The third observance forced the coverage to “trickle up” to reflect a national concern and NBC News became the first network to cover the day's activities.

Increasing public awareness of workplace safety was a grave concern to the federation. In both 1990 and 1991, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue conducted satellite broadcasts, coordinated by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs, from the federation's headquarters beaming labor's message to television stations throughout the country.

Addressing reporters around the country, Kirkland said, “With the passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act, our government set forth the policy that Americans have a right to a safe job. Today, 20 years later, it's time to make that promise a reality for every American worker.”

Also participating in the teleconference was Rep. William Ford (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, who spoke on the need for OSHA reform and labor-endorsed legislation, the Construction Safety, Health and Education Improvement Act, H.R. 1063. Construction has the highest number of workplace injuries and deaths. American construction workers are being killed on the job at the same rate as 20 years ago.

On Workers Memorial Day, 1991, trade unionists gathered by the thousands — from a crowd of 5,000 in Ripley, W.Va. to more than 1,500 people braving the rain in Lansing, Mich. Armed with the federation's call for OSHA reform, they appealed for support from legislators, employers and the general public.

They all echoed the sentiments of the chairman of the AFL-CIO's Occupational Safety and Health Committee, President Lynn Williams of the Steelworkers, who said “No worker should have to give up their very life just to earn a living.”

Another audience for workplace safety issues, elementary students, received information on labor and workplace safety in Chicago. The federation and unions throughout the country are trying educational programs within the

school system to educate children on labor and issues of importance to the American worker.

Trade unionists can read or hear stories from others on workplace conditions decades ago but few can actually relate to what it was actually like long before there was a law on workplace safety and health. At a breakfast in Los Angeles, guests and program participants experienced the 1912 New York Triangle Shirtwaist tragedy through a heart-rending monologue by a local actress.

The federation staff prepared leaflets, posters, fact sheets and stickers to help unions prepare for the observance. Other aids available to unions included a Workers Memorial Day guide, camera-ready ads and clip art sheets, a list of suggested activities and fact sheets on labor's agenda for OSHA reform. Some unions also used videotapes and broadcast quality public service announcements produced by LIPA on Workers Memorial Day and workplace safety.

North American Free Trade Agreement

The U.S. and Mexican governments announced in June 1990 that the two countries would begin negotiations for a free trade agreement, with the Bush administration pressing for "fast-track" legislative approval of a negotiated treaty. Under the fast-track plan, congressional involvement in developing the treaty is limited, with Congress unable to amend the agreement and only able to vote on acceptance or rejection of the entire pact.

The AFL-CIO, joining with environmental, consumer, human rights and other groups, mounted a campaign to draw public and congressional attention to the serious problems a trade agreement between two such different economies would create, and if possible, to bring about full congressional participation in the development of the treaty by blocking fast-track authority.

Congress did vote to extend fast-track authority for both the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) — Canada joined the talks in February 1991 — and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) on May 24, 1991. But the 231-192 vote authorizing fast-track authority in the Mexico talks demonstrated deep concern in Congress about job loss in the United States, working and living conditions for Mexican workers, pollution, toxic waste and health concerns on both sides of the border and other issues raised by the AFL-CIO. The Democratic leadership in the House sided with the White House on the issue, but got only 91 Democratic votes for the measure; 170 Democrats deserted the leadership to vote with workers and the environmentalists.

The federation's "no fast-track" campaign included an independent public opinion poll conducted by the Garin-Hart Strategic Research Group; a series of one-page print ads in "Roll Call," a Capitol Hill publication; a videotape, "No Fast Track," distributed to members of Congress and made available to network electronic and other news media; appearances by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue on MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour and other national news programs, as well as media outreach, radio and print interviews by federation

staff; news conferences on worker and food safety concerns, and publications and economic analysis of both the administration's proposals and the effects the free-trade agreement will have on U.S. workers.

Between February and May 1991, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Secretary-Treasurer Donahue testified before several House and Senate committees, outlining the federation's alternative for such an agreement. Elements the AFL-CIO stressed should be considered in such an agreement include labor rights and workplace standards, enforcement of environmental laws, differing wage levels among the three countries, a program of debt relief for Mexico, content requirements, tough rule of origin provisions and others.

Despite the Bush administration's early hope of negotiating the agreement in a very short period of time — U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills initially indicated the agreement could be completed within six months — the efforts of the federation and its allies caused the public and Congress to take a look at the administration intention that workplace standards and environmental regulations "not be on the table" in the negotiations.

The Bush administration was forced to back off its timetable and face up to the critical workplace and environmental issues by issuing a May 1 "action plan" to the congressional Democratic leadership, claiming the proposed agreement would "create jobs and promote growth in the United States."

But analysis of the Bush plan by the AFL-CIO and the Economic Policy Institute revealed more problems than assurances. The AFL-CIO pointed out the proposal's shortcomings, noting that the Bush plan made no commitment on adjustment assistance programs for workers affected by trade, rejected the inclusion of labor, safety and health and environmental matters as topics for negotiation and failed to offer any enforcement mechanism to assure that workplace and environmental concerns would be addressed.

The EPI study jettisoned the administration's U.S. job growth claims, noting that the administration's projection was based on two unrealistic assumptions: full employment and no change in investment. Using the administration's own economic model, EPI found instead a projected U.S. job loss of 550,000 over a ten-year period.

The Garin-Hart poll, released at a Capitol Hill news conference on May 1 with House Education and Labor Committee chairman Rep. William Ford (D-Mich.), found that 58 percent of respondents, after hearing the arguments on both sides, were opposed to the so-called free trade agreement. An overwhelming majority — 72 percent — said it was a bad idea for Congress to give fast-track authority to the Bush administration.

A series of 12 ads ran in "Roll Call" in May, outlining why fast track is a "shortcut to disaster." The ads covered environmental concerns, toxic waste, lost jobs, the results of the Garin-Hart poll and other elements of the campaign, and urged congressional representatives to vote against fast-track authority. The ads forced an answer from the White House, which tried to dismiss facts about impure food made by the Public Health Service and by charging the AFL-CIO with being "discriminatory" in opposing fast-track authority when, in fact, Hispanic members of Congress were split on the issue.

"No Fast Track," a six-minute video produced by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs, looked at problems for workers on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, as did "Exploiting Both Sides: U.S.-Mexico Free Trade," a publication issued in February 1991.

The AFL-CIO also worked in cooperation with the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, a group of 85 organizations, and with the National Consumers League on a news conference held at the National Press Club on the potential hazards consumers face from food processed in polluted areas in Mexico.

The federation's educational effort is continuing as NAFTA negotiations proceed — sessions have been held in Toronto and Seattle to date. During the August 1991 meeting in Seattle, union members held rallies and floated a large balloon message reading "let us in" outside the building where negotiators were meeting.

Labor representatives also have testified at a series of regional hearings held by the U.S. Trade Representative's office which began Aug. 21 in San Diego and ended in Boston on Sept. 11.

Through the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, labor is participating in a series of meeting in communities on both sides of the border, sponsored jointly by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and its Mexican counterpart. Those hearings began Sept. 16 in Brownsville, Tex., and ended Sept. 23 in San Diego and Tijuana, Mexico.

Internal Disputes Plan

The AFL-CIO Internal Disputes Plan was adopted at the 1961 Convention and went into effect in January 1962. From that date through June 30, 1991, 2,825 complaints or claims of justification action were filed with the President's Office. In the two-year period, July 1, 1989 through June 30, 1991, 184 cases were filed.

Of the 2,825 cases filed, 1,623 (57%) have been settled through discussions between the organizations involved and mediation. In the two-year period covered by this report, all cases have been mediated by Charles McDonald, Executive Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer, and Mediator Thomas Colosi. In the period July 1, 1989 to June 30, 1991, 113 cases (53%) have been settled at mediation.

The Impartial Umpires, Howard Lesnick and Paul Weiler, hear and issue determinations on cases not settled at the mediation level. Since 1962, 1,172 such determinations have been issued.

The following is a breakdown of the disposition of cases filed:

	7/1/89- 6/30/91	1962- 6/30/91
Pending at start of period	32 cases	
Filed during period covered	<u>184</u>	<u>2,825</u>
	216	2,825

Mediation

Settled in mediation	113	1,623
Pending (6/30/91)	<u>18</u>	<u>18</u>
	131	1,641

Umpire's Determinations

Violation found	51	722
No violation found	29	432
Justification reports	1	26
Pending	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	85	1,184

Appeals

Pending at start of period	2	
Filed	<u>35</u>	<u>442</u>
	37	442

Subcommittee Action on Appeals

Determinations sustained	22	303
Appeals withdrawn	8	87
Referred to Executive Council		
Appeals Committee	3	48
Pending	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
	37	442

	7/1/89- 6/30/91	1962- 6/30/91
<u>Appeals Committee Action on Appeals*</u>		
Determinations affirmed	-	20
Determinations set aside, modified or reversed	2	25
Appeals withdrawn	-	2
Pending	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	3	48

Non-Compliance

Non-Compliance Complaints

Pending at start of period	6	
Filed	<u>32</u>	<u>242</u>
	38	242

Subcommittee Action

Achieved	6	138
Non-Compliance found	1	36
Withdrawn	6	43
Pending:		
Active	5	5
Inactive**	<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>
	38	242

*Prior to January 1982, appeals were heard by the Executive Council.

**Unresolved cases involving unions in non-compliance.

Sanctions Imposed

In the period from the beginning of the plan through June 30, 1991, 21 affiliates have been found to have failed to comply with decisions of the Impartial Umpire or directions of the Subcommittees in 36 cases. In 20 instances, compliance was later achieved, and the affiliates' rights under Article XX were restored.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters is presently under sanctions as of June 30, 1991.

Policy Statements

Two new policy statements, "Continued Article XX Protection" and "Initiating Article XX Cases," were issued by the Executive Council during the period July 1, 1989 through June 30, 1991. Since 1962, 26 such policy statements have been issued.

Executive Council Action

One justification claim was denied by the Executive Council during the period July 1, 1989 through June 30, 1991.

Organizing Responsibilities Procedures

The Executive Council adopted the organizing responsibilities procedures on February 18, 1986, and they went into effect on March 1, 1986. From that date through June 30, 1991, 164 cases were filed with the President's Office. In the two-year period, July 1, 1989 through June 30, 1991, 79 cases were filed.

Of the 164 cases filed, 105 cases (64%) have been settled through discussions between the organizations involved and mediation. Cases have been handled by Mediator Alan Kistler; and Charles McDonald, Executive Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer, has been assisting with the mediation. In the period, July 1, 1989 to June 30, 1991, 62 cases (76%) have been settled in mediation.

The three umpires, Murray Finley, Doug Fraser and Glenn Watts, hear and issue determinations on cases not settled at the mediation level. There have been 51 such determinations issued since 1986.

The following is a breakdown of the disposition of cases filed:

	7/1/89- 6/30/91	3/1/86- 6/30/91
Pending at start of period	3 cases	
Filed during period covered	<u>79</u>	<u>164</u>
	82	164
<u>Mediation</u>		
Settled in mediation	62	105
Pending 6/30/91	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	70	113
<u>Umpire's Determinations</u>		
Granted exclusive rights	7	32
No exclusive rights	4	12
Split decision	-	1
Dismissed	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>
	12	51
<u>Non-Compliance Complaints</u>		
Pending at start of period	-	-
Filed	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>
	-	3
<u>Subcommittee Action</u>		
Achieved	-	2
Non-Compliance found	-	-
Withdrawn	-	1
Pending	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
	-	3

Policy Statements

No policy statements were issued during the period July 1, 1989 through June 30, 1991.

Organizing Activities

As the focal point for organizing activity, the Department of Organization and Field Services continues to provide assistance to affiliates on both the national and local level.

In order to serve the organizing activities of the affiliates, the department conducts regular meetings of the national organizing directors through the National Organizing Committee, operates seven cooperative organizing programs, develops organizing materials and publications for use by field organizers, and maintains an active coalition with the religious community for organizing campaigns and first contract negotiations. The department coordinates activities with AFL-CIO support groups to produce maximum outreach to the community-at-large during organizing drives. Department field staff operate cooperative organizing programs in Texas, California, Arkansas, Florida, Indiana, and Kentucky and assist the Chicago AFL-CIO in its program.

The Florida program has expanded to include a South Florida project focusing on Hispanic and other minority workers in the Dade County area. Operating in conjunction with the South Florida AFL-CIO, this program has already produced significant organizing victories. Included are two separate victories by the Ladies' Garment Workers at health care facilities employing more than 250 workers as well as campaigns involving the Transport Workers and the Clothing and Textile Workers. With the exception of the TWU, which is negotiating a first contract at Dynar Inc. covering 285 workers, all units have achieved first contracts.

Other major organizing victories among Hispanic workers were the Service Employees campaign which organized 2,500 janitors in Los Angeles and the Machinists' successful drive among 2,000 workers at American Racing Corp., just south of Los Angeles.

Serving as a clearinghouse for information and as a center for organizing activities, these co-ops help create a vital organizing environment and foster cooperation among affiliates in their organizing efforts.

Among other organizing victories: the Graphic Communications Union has been successful in the traditionally anti-union South in organizing Holiday Litho in Nashville and Clarksburg, Tenn., while ACTWU organized 400 workers at Seminole Manufacturers in Georgia.

On college campuses and in school districts, organizing campaigns are continuing the string of victories begun several years ago. In Florida, the Teachers organized the Volusia County teachers, while in Kansas, more than 2,000 administrative services workers joined the AFT ranks. AFSCME now represents 2,700 clerical workers at the University of Minnesota.

Organizing efforts in tandem with labor's international brothers and sisters also has produced successes. The Food and Commercial Workers organized a chain of French-owned hypermarkets in Philadelphia with the assistance of French trade unionists, and international support was instrumental in gaining

the 2,500 janitors organized by SEIU in Los Angeles a first contract. Many affiliates have utilized labor's counterparts in the international arena, with the results highlighted in case studies presented during a May 1991 conference co-sponsored by the Department of Organization and Field Services. Among the affiliates calling on international solidarity were the Carpenters; ILGWU; IAM; Communications Workers; SEIU; Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, and Mine Workers.

Department field staff have been working with affiliates to incorporate the "Union Yes" effort into organizing campaigns. The Union Privilege Benefit Program has been a key to generating interest among workers who wish to join associate membership programs which now exist in Los Angeles, El Paso, Tex., Cincinnati, and through a state-wide project in Montana. These associate membership programs have generated organizing leads which have resulted in campaigns and victories. The El Paso project also is likely to play an important role as an advocate of workers in that area who are affected by the growth of the maquiladora industry and the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement.

The AFL-CIO Organizing Institute, now in its second year of operation, provides a mechanism for recruitment and placement of organizing talent with participating affiliates. Introducing talented new organizers into the work force is key to the success of labor's mission to organize the unorganized and helps create a new "culture of organizing" among affiliates and local unions.

Resources and materials produced by the Department of Organization and Field Services to assist organizers in the field include:

- Statistical & Tactical Information Report and Report on Union Busters. Two reports which remain valuable to organizers are the Report on Union Busters (RUB) and Statistical & Tactical Information Report (STIR). These reports keep the organizer in the field abreast of current activities of union avoidance consultants and related organizing strategies.
- The Blitz: A Manual for Organizers on How to Run Fast Paced Pre-Petition Campaigns. The "Blitz" outlines a strategy of extensive preparation prior to the start of an organizing campaign and proposes the use of large numbers of volunteer organizers to make house calls to a large proportion of the unit within a few days.
- Numbers that Count — A Manual on Internal Organizing. This manual is accompanied by a set of videotapes on internal organizing techniques. It is designed to help organizers recruit new members or mobilize active members in established bargaining units.
- Labor Law Handbook. This "one-stop" manual for organizing under the National Labor Relations Act is an indispensable resource for training new organizers, as well as a companion for experienced organizers in the field. It traces representation case proceedings from determination of an appropriate bargaining unit through recognition and the duty to bargain.

Organizing videos produced by the Department include Union Organizing — A Catholic Perspective, based on a conversation with the preeminent Catholic theologian and expert on labor, Msgr. George G. Higgins. Because of the

popularity of this video among organizers, the department is producing a Spanish version to be used among Hispanic workers. It is useful not only as an organizing tool for workers, but also as an educational instrument among administrators of religious hospitals and the religious community. This video is accompanied by an "Organizer's Resource Guide" which details the church's position on the right of workers to organize, suggests ways to use the video and describes how to mobilize support among persons connected to the religious community.

A periodic newsletter, "Organizing for Social Justice in the Workplace," is directed toward more than 2,000 religious activists from all major denominations. These religious leaders have been identified by organizers, state and local AFL-CIOs and other labor representatives based on their experience in field organizing, first contract and strike situations. The newsletter is intended to keep readers abreast of organizers' efforts to broaden outreach and build community support for organizing activities.

The newest AFL-CIO support group, for Asian and Pacific Americans, will be officially chartered at its founding convention in early 1992. The group will serve an important role in organizing one of the fastest growing minority populations in the work force. This support group, to be headquartered in Washington, D.C., will facilitate organizing among Asians and Pacific Islanders by using the resources of the department, the co-op organizing projects and associate membership programs where appropriate.

Council Recommendation

Organizing is an ongoing, dynamic process which must be incorporated into every aspect of union activity. Creating an "organizing culture" among union members and staff is essential to help overcome the sophistication of union-busters who take every advantage of a weakened labor law system to frustrate and prevent workers from exercising their right to organize.

Recent Roper and Gallup public opinion polls demonstrate much improvement in the public's perception of unions. Despite the legal gridlock that exists within the National Labor Relations Board and the hostile environment created by union-busting consultants, workers are organizing unions and affiliates are responding to the concerns of unorganized workers.

A necessary component of successful organizing is to move beyond the full-time organizer to include rank-and-file trade unionists, as well as community activists who support labor's goals. Rank-and-file members should be encouraged to develop organizing leads among their unorganized acquaintances and to join volunteer organizing programs within their own unions and labor councils.

The importance of mass demonstrations of support for local organizing campaigns cannot be overstated. The experience of the Executive Council's Strategic Approaches Committee has proved that union members will respond in great numbers to demonstrate solidarity with their brothers and sisters locked

in a critical battle with an anti-union employer. This type of solidarity should be incorporated into the organizing mission.

Among affiliates there is a growing willingness to share staff and organizing data, and to conduct joint training programs. These forms of cooperation should be encouraged and expanded. State and local AFL-CIOs also can be useful in organizing programs. As a natural link between the federation and affiliates in the field, AFL-CIO labor councils can provide an invaluable network by developing organizing committees and volunteer organizer programs. Central labor councils can be the key to developing broad coalitions within the community which can exert economic, political and community pressure where appropriate. The AFL-CIO should continue its procedure for resolving organizing disputes, which has been effective in reducing wasteful inter-union rivalry.

The Department of Organization and Field Services should ensure that each of its field staff and regional directors is able to deliver organizing training programs and materials to the affiliates. Many examples exist where affiliates have utilized the services of the field staff to conduct major organizing conferences. This should be encouraged.

The primary objective of the labor movement is to bring the benefits of trade unionism to every worker possible. The AFL-CIO will continue its commitment to organizing and to carrying the organizing message to all levels of the labor movement. Utilizing its resources at the national level, the Department of Organization and Field Services, through the field staff and the Organizing Institute, will continue to work to increase cooperation among the affiliates in organizing efforts, expanded use of state and local labor councils and cooperative organizing programs.

Organizing in the United States has increasingly meant utilizing contacts and solidarity among labor's foreign allies. Greater emphasis should be given to the development of international organizing strategies. A prerequisite to such strategies is to encourage affiliates to become more active in International Trade Secretariats of their sector or sectors.

Through the use of the "Union Yes" campaign and the full range of services available from the Labor Institute of Public Affairs (LIPA) and Union Privilege, the Department of Organization and Field Services can continue to develop new and creative approaches to organizing.

At the same time, the Federation will continue to seek changes in labor law to properly reflect the intent of the stated national policy of the United States — that is, to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and to protect workers' rights to full freedom of association, self-organization and designation of representatives of their own choosing.

Historically, labor's major organizing gains have come through industry and region-wide organizing based on creating a movement with a plan for winning campaigns. Today's organizing crisis can only be met with a broad range of comparable strategies and tactics aimed at reaching larger numbers of unorganized workers.

- Strategic targeting of key manufacturing and service industries, and regions of the country is an essential part of our organizing agenda. Utilizing our analysis of industry trends and demographic changes will provide affiliates with needed assistance in developing these targets.
- Comprehensive corporate campaign tactics should become a regular part of our education and organizing programs. These types of campaigns have proven to be most effective when integrated into more traditional campaign planning.
- The Organizing Institute should continue to recruit, train and place more organizers to assist the affiliates in their organizing programs.
- Labor's international family should play a larger role and be a positive factor in today's anti-union climate. For the labor movement to fight back at home, we must continue to strengthen our relationships with trade union organizations in other countries which can assist us in our relationships with foreign investors in the United States.

The AFL-CIO Organizing Institute

The AFL-CIO Organizing Institute became fully operational two years ago, in October 1989, following a decision by the Executive Council to establish a separate office solely dedicated to advancing the craft and scope of organizing. The Organizing Institute works directly with the officers, organizing directors and staffs of affiliates which seek program assistance and wish to join a collaborative effort to upgrade organizing efforts. Based on the impressive contributions of the participating affiliates, the Institute is off to a solid start.

The Institute's recruitment and training program, which began with five affiliates, now has ten unions participating — AFSCME, Clothing and Textile Workers, Food and Commercial Workers, Service Employees, Steelworkers, Carpenters, Teamsters, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees, Communications Workers and Teachers.

The programs of the Institute have been developed out of the expressed needs of affiliates interested in expanding and re-tooling their organizing programs. Institute staff are directly involved with districts and locals through and with the participation of international unions. Organizing directors of internationals involved in such specific activities as the program to recruit and train new staff meet on a regular basis to determine how the programs should be adapted and expanded. Equally important, the Institute draws on the direct participation of dozens of the most senior and successful organizers from these affiliates as teaching fellows, to assist in clinical training of organizers and to consult on campaigns.

A New Generation of Organizers

The largest and most successful Institute program to date has been the Recruitment and Training Program for new organizers. The program has three unique features:

- An ongoing outreach effort to attract talented candidates to organizing, with particular emphasis on rank and file union members, women, African Americans, Latinos, and Asians.
- An intensive 3-day classroom session conducted by Institute staff and teaching fellows from participating unions.
- Field placement in designated campaigns which includes both training and evaluation over a three-week internship and a three-month apprenticeship.

The results of this project have been impressive. In the first 21 months, more than 400 individuals have been accepted into the program. Nearly 100 will graduate with distinction and assume full-time organizer positions with affiliated unions. More than half of the trainees are women, and almost one-third are African American, Asian, or Latino. These trainees have contributed directly to dozens of important organizing campaigns, and in some cases, have made the difference between winning and losing.

The project provides a unique opportunity for local unions from all affiliates to benefit in three distinct ways:

- Local affiliates are increasingly "sponsoring" candidates from their own organizations, using the Institute to train and evaluate them prior to employment with the local.
- Locals are requesting, through their international unions, that some of their campaigns be considered designated sites where trainees can be placed.
- Locals are looking at the pool of trained graduates as excellent prospects when considering the hiring of full-time organizers.

The salient feature of this unique training program is the Institute's reliance on dozens of the most creative and dynamic organizers among the affiliates. As teaching fellows, these organizers direct campaigns while supervising and evaluating the trainees. These teaching fellows ensure that organizer trainees gain the benefit of challenging and diverse field experiences.

Task Force of Elected Leaders

A more recent project has been the formation of a "Task Force of Elected Leaders on Building Successful Organizing Programs." This task force of 15 regional directors from various affiliates is focusing on the dilemmas local and regional union leaders face as they attempt to re-allocate resources to expand organizing programs. The first meeting in May 1991 laid the foundation for continuing efforts this fall and winter on finding ways to help local leaders

confront the challenges of allocating more resources, developing a winning staff team and building membership participation into campaigns.

Advice on Restructuring Organizing Programs

The Institute is working with internationals at the national, regional and local level to advise affiliates who seek an analysis of current organizing efforts and suggestions for improvements.

On-going consultation is directed towards such issues as how to run more and better campaigns, resource allocation, staffing, integration of volunteers into organizing programs, and how to create a "culture of organizing."

Campaign Consultation

The Institute also responds to requests from affiliates for direct assistance and consultation on specific campaigns. The priorities in this regard are:

- Large units or those which are strategically important.
- Campaigns which lend themselves to cross-training of staff from a variety of unions.
- Campaigns by unions with which the Institute is engaged in a long-term restructuring effort.

Volunteer Organizer Training

The Institute continues to assist in developing, structuring, and training Volunteer Organizing Committees. Numerous districts, regions and locals have enlisted Institute staff to conduct two-day training sessions for rank-and-file activists who want to be volunteer organizers. These VOC programs are critical in that they expand the staff capabilities of local and district operations, allowing them to target multiple sites or bigger units than previously undertaken.

Organizing Clearinghouse

An increasingly important function of the Institute is that of a clearinghouse for field organizers for current information about campaign tactics, approaches, and resources. Through the teaching fellows and other experienced organizers, the Institute provides a communication link for unions to share campaign information and advice. As part of this effort, conferences and round table

meetings bring together organizers from affiliates to discuss campaign strategies and organizing models.

All of the Institute's programs are new and evolving. But the challenge of the labor movement to organize the millions of unrepresented workers is not a new challenge. The participation and contributions of the affiliates in the first two years of this endeavor is significant and exciting. The Institute's battle cry has become — Organize: Yes We Can!

State and Local Labor Councils

State and Local Labor Councils continue to have a high visibility in state and local politics, legislation, community action and other vital areas. Nationally directed grassroots activities have also been a major priority. For example over the last two years, the help of state and local labor councils was crucial in:

- Organizing and recruiting for Solidarity Day 1991.
- Coordinating annual Workers Memorial Day activities in more than 100 cities.
- Supporting the New York Daily News, Greyhound and other national strike activities.
- Maintaining over 70 federal Legislative Action Committees
- Providing critical federal lobbying assistance on federal anti-strike-breaker legislation, opposing the Mexico-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, supporting family leave act proposals, advancing National Health Care Reform and detouring efforts to repeal state and local Buy American protections.

The State AFL-CIO's

Over the last two years state federations have produced an impressive string of state legislative victories and elected many more allies of organized labor to the state legislatures. A summary of some of the major state legislative accomplishments are contained in the Report on State Legislation.

To strengthen these efforts, the Department of Organization and Field Services, through its Office of State Government Liaison (OSGL) continues to facilitate a pro-active national approach to state legislation by encouraging state federations to: help develop collaborative state legislative strategies on a regional and/or state-by-state basis; develop in-tandem federal/state legislative strategies; and build upon minimum federal standards legislation.

In addition, OSGL tracks state legislative trends and on request provides key legislative information to state federations. A principal reference source is

the monthly publication, "State Ties" which serves as a clearing house of information on legislative developments and other topics for State AFL-CIO's.

Interaction with a variety of state government organizations, is also an important adjunct of OSGL operations. These groups include the National Conference of State Legislatures, the Council of State Governments, and the National Association of Governmental Labor Officials. OSGL also works with other progressive state-focused coalitions including the Labor Caucus of State Legislators, Center for Policy Alternatives, the Black Caucus of State Legislators and the State Issues Forum.

The Central Labor Councils

The 614 central labor councils are equally instrumental in advancing labor's program at the grassroots. This is particularly true in the area of politics, legislation, community service, organizing, education and coalition-building outreach activities.

For those councils that have full-time officers, in 1990 and 1991 a conference of major central council officers was held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. This was a new program that allowed larger, predominantly full-time, Councils from major metropolitan areas to interact and learn from each other.

However, the overwhelming number of central labor councils continued to be led by part-time or volunteer leaders. Their efforts are often hampered by low local union affiliation rates. To assist them the Department of Organization and Field Services has developed and implemented a training program geared toward small and medium size central labor councils. The program is designed to recruit and train new activists and provide programmatic guidance for councils. Councils targeted to receive this developmental assistance are agreed upon by the state AFL-CIO, the affected local council and regional offices of the AFL-CIO.

The field staff of the Department are primarily used as instructors for this project. Other labor educators have also been trained and where appropriate have been utilized. The components of the program include a videotape, a handbook, training calendar and a series of classroom exercises with follow-up activities.

Since the implementation of this training program in 1990, AFL-CIO regional offices have reported significant success. Over 130 training sessions have been held involving over 1500 local council activists. Following the training session every council is required to set a measurable and achievable goals to be accomplished on a timetable set by the delegates to the central labor council.

For the near future new components including council based information and training programs for Central Labor Council Delegates are being developed as well as a financial training package for secretary-treasurers.

Council Recommendation

As more and more federal responsibility is shifted to state and local government, state and local labor councils will play an ever increasingly important role in advancing labor's agenda. At the same time these pivotal organizations are indispensable in providing the necessary grassroots support for the AFL-CIO's federal objectives.

Crucial to the success of state and local central labor councils is local union affiliations. Maximum affiliation provides the essential membership and financial resources necessary to drive local programs. In turn, services that enhance local programs are critical to attracting local union affiliations. To this end the AFL-CIO Department of Organization and Field Services should continue to support the programs and goals of state and local labor councils by:

- Maintaining and expanding its training and orientation programs for councils and state federations including the annual round table meetings for officers.
- Providing essential legislative and other information through OSGL.
- Encouraging state federations to take on a greater role in coordinating council activities on state and federal issues.
- Strengthening interaction between labor and the organizations representing state and municipal governments.
- Assisting the Department of Legislation in their servicing of the Legislative Action Committee grassroots lobbying program.
- Encouraging international unions to urge their local unions to affiliate to state and local labor councils.
- Continuing to offer such organizational support as reviewing of constitutions and by-laws, monitoring of financial reports and resolving disputes.

Collective Bargaining

Collective bargaining results have improved since 1989. In both 1989 and 1990 new contracts called for higher wages than the agreements they replaced. But the recession that began in July 1990 has made bargaining tougher — as has the corrosive effect of striker replacements on the freedom to bargain collectively.

The union member continues to do much better than the unrepresented worker. According to the Labor Department's report of Employer Costs for Employee Compensation, unionized workers receive 36 percent more in compensation than non-union workers. The figures for March 1991 show that union workers earn an average of \$19.76 per hour in wages and fringe benefits combined. Non-union workers earn \$14.56 per hour in total compensation.

The average wage increase for major collective bargaining settlements in 1990 remained at 4 percent (as it was in 1989) for the first contract year and 3.2 percent annually over the life of the contract. For the first three months of 1991, the average wage increase was 4.5 percent in the first contract year and 3.4 percent over the life of the contract. Settlements concluded during the second quarter called for wage increases averaging 3.4 percent in both the first contract year and over the life of the contract.

However, these figures do not include COLAs, which provide automatic wage adjustments based on the Consumer Price Index. While these increases are better than they have been in prior years, they still lag behind inflation (CPI-W) which averaged 6.1 percent in 1990. Inflation has eased some in recent months, largely from reduced oil prices. In April 1991, unadjusted inflation was 4.7 percent above the year earlier level.

Twenty-three years of union solidarity paid off again when a pattern settlement for electrical manufacturing reached by the Coordinated Bargaining Committee, made up of 14 national unions, with General Electric and Westinghouse. The new agreements continued and improved the cost-of-living formulas, provided special skill adjustments for skilled workers, and increased the maximum coverage for health care to \$1 million.

The Rubber Workers' settlement with Bridgestone/Firestone is likely to be the industry pattern. The firm's Japanese ownership continues with the positive, albeit rare, policy that the work force is a basic resource and the firm is in the market for the long haul. The new settlement continued the COLA formula and increased pension benefits from \$23 to \$30 per month per year.

The Air Line Pilots, Machinists and Flight Attendants have reached agreement with United Airlines three years after the conclusion of the last agreement. During the three years of negotiations, there have been three employee-led buyout attempts. Worker ownership did not result, but the efforts contributed to traditional collective bargaining goals. The AFA requested, and got, the involvement of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland in moving both the carrier and the National Mediation Board to either renew bargaining or release the attendants to strike.

President Bush, who refused to intervene in the strike at Eastern Airlines, signed legislation ordering 235,000 railway union members back to work and authorized a three-member panel to impose a settlement. The settlement includes a cost-of-living clause, lump sum payments, and provides for arbitration on changes in work rules.

The Postal Workers and Letter Carriers representing 560,000 employees of the U.S. Postal Service had to resort to arbitration again to gain modest wage increases and retain the COLA formula and health care coverage.

A four-year agreement was reached 11 months before the old contract was to expire between 57,000 members of the Communications Workers and the IBEW and NYNEX. The settlement will bring an overall 16 percent increase in base wages over the life of the contract, agreement to union membership in every area of the company, significant pension benefit increases, and a new managed health care program.

Non-monetary workplace issues changed and evolved constantly in bargaining since the 1989 AFL-CIO convention. The increasingly globalized economy, drastic industrial shifts, and changing corporate structures, as well as slowed economic activity, have motivated unions to use collective bargaining to address issues like job and income security, out-sourcing, health care reform, and family needs.

The UAW made job and income security its top negotiating priority in auto negotiations. For the first time, workers in the three major auto companies are protected from market volume-related layoffs. Layoffs are limited to 36 weeks during the entire three-year contract. Once the 36-week limit has been reached, the worker must either be recalled or be put into a "job bank" position that provides full pay and benefits. The new contracts also give the UAW access to information on procedures used to make source decisions and the right to grieve source issues.

The Broadcast Employees and Technicians reached agreement with NBC limiting reductions in force to no more than 4 percent and providing employee "buy-outs."

Escalating health care costs have caused a continual struggle as employers have tried to shift insurance costs to union members by increasing deductibles, co-payment formulas, and even decreased coverage. In spite of the difficult circumstances, many recent settlements — the Clothing and Textile Workers' nationwide agreement in men's clothing, the UAW auto contracts and the URW agreement with Bridgestone/Firestone — have maintained health benefits and called for joint union-company measures to battle increased costs and to support a national health care policy.

The Food and Commercial Workers at Campbell Soup Co. increased the weekly sickness and accident benefit \$20 to \$180 per week and the vision care benefit to \$75 for employees and family members while adding a mail order prescription drug program. And the Teamsters at Honeywell retained "first dollar" health care coverage; they also brought Stroh Brewery Co. members under the Central States health and welfare plan. The Service Employees cleaning contract in Philadelphia increased employer health care contributions from \$128 per month to \$253.

Two-member working family needs have prompted unions to press for extended leaves for family needs with continued seniority protection, health insurance coverage, and other family protections. The Newspaper Guild reached agreement with the Oakland Tribune on more flexible scheduling, and the Electrical Workers' contract at GTE Northwest includes dependents under a flexible employee assistance program. ACTWU in its national clothing and cotton agreements negotiated six weeks of unpaid parental leave and established local committees to study the availability of child care facilities.

These family bargaining objective are augmented by drives for state and national legislation on family needs like parental leave, family leave and child care. President Bush's veto of family and medical leave means the union contract is the only avenue to address these needs of working families.

In addition to aiding the economy through increasing purchasing power, collective bargaining has also led the way in the development of practical and workable procedures to deal with the radical changes of the workplace which affect millions of working people and their families. Today's collective bargaining achievements can become tomorrow's standard for everyone.

Union Privilege

In the past two years Union Privilege has added two more valuable membership benefit programs and has enhanced several of its existing programs. The eight Union Privilege programs help to build better lives for union members when they are at home or off the job, making the union an even more important part of their lives.

Union Privilege also works to find new ways to attract additional members into the labor movement. To do this, Union Privilege works with affiliates to use members-only benefits in internal organizing campaigns and to attract associate members who are not currently employed in an organized bargaining unit.

Membership Benefits

Union Member Mortgage

This program, developed by Union Privilege in conjunction with the AFL-CIO's Housing Investment Trust, was introduced in May 1991 and has proven extremely popular with union members. In the first four months of operation (May 1 to August 31, 1991) over 40,000 union members were served by the Program, and members receive almost \$70 million in mortgage commitments.

Union Member Mortgage is designed to help union members and their immediate family members buy a home — one of the largest and most important purchases of members' lives. This program makes buying a home easier and more affordable. Members can talk to an expert mortgage counselor whose sole job is to help union members understand the home buying process and select a mortgage that best meets the member's needs. The program offers competitive rates, down payments as low as five percent and "no-points loans." Each mortgage also carries with it strike protection, which will cover part or all of monthly mortgage payments during prolonged strikes — a unique feature not available anywhere in the U.S. A welfare fund will also help with mortgage payments during periods of unemployment or disability.

Union Member Mortgage also offers several features to help members struggling to attain the American dream of owning their first home. These features reduce the up-front costs of purchasing a home — the principal barrier for most union members who are shut out of the housing market. The qualification rules for first-time home buyers are also liberalized. This first-time home buyers program is made possible by the participation of the union-owned Amalgamated Bank of New York and by Freddie Mac.

Union Privilege Loan Program

Following a successful test, Union Privilege has developed a loan program to assist union members who need to borrow money and whose needs cannot be met by a credit union.

The program features unsecured personal loans in larger amounts and for longer terms than generally available from credit unions or banks. These loans are made at favorable rates and have been used by union members to consolidate preexisting loans, to pay medical bills or to finance home improvements.

The program also offers home equity loans for members who would not qualify for a conventional second mortgage and it provides government-guaranteed college loans.

The loan program will feature a heavy emphasis on consumer education and offer special union features such as skipping regular monthly payments if needed.

Union Privilege MasterCard

Still the most popular Union Privilege benefit, the Union MasterCard has saved the 2 million members and their families who carry this no annual fee, low rate credit card over \$250 million. The rate for this card was 13.5 percent as of August 31, 1991, a full 5.5 percent lower than the average rate charged by the largest credit card issuers.

Because of the success of this program, Union Privilege has been able to add several new features that broaden the availability of the card to members, increase the number of "customized" cards and enable the union-owned Amalgamated Bank of New York to share in the rewards of the program.

A new "Credit Builder" card has been introduced on a test basis and a new Secured Credit Card program became operational in June 1991. Members who apply for the regular Union MasterCard and do not qualify are being considered for the Credit Builder card. The Secured Card, issued by the union-owned Amalgamated Bank of New York, assists those who cannot qualify for the regular card or the Credit Builder due to credit problems. And new "customized" cards are being introduced so that nearly all cardholders will carry a card reflecting the identity of their international union.

Also, using the strength of the program, Union Privilege was able to arrange accommodations to meet the special needs of members in 1990 and 1991. In October 1990 when it appeared that federal employees would be furloughed, Union Privilege secured special skip payment privileges for AFGE cardholders.

When banks and credit unions were closed in Rhode Island in January 1991, Union Privilege was able to arrange skip payments and credit line increases for affected members. Reduced rates and special payment plans were offered to cardholders serving in the military during Operation Desert Storm.

Other Membership Benefits

The other Union Privilege programs continue to serve the needs of union members and their families.

The Union Privilege Life Insurance Program offers members supplemental life insurance protection at rates up to 25 percent below other plans marketed to working Americans. Over 40,000 union members participate in this program and they have obtained close to \$2 billion in insurance protection.

With a growing panel of nearly 800 participating law offices in all 50 states, the Union Privilege Legal Service remains one of the nation's largest sources of free and discounted legal services. This program reduces the costs of legal services through free initial consultations, free follow-up letters and phone calls and reduced rates for additional services.

Because travel is a major expenditure for union families, the Union Privilege Travel Plus Club seeks to reduce travel costs for union members and their families. The Club provides an entire family, for an annual fee of \$29, with a 5 percent rebate on all airfare, hotels, motels and car rentals booked through the club, plus a host of services designed to make travel easier and less expensive.

The Union Privilege Health Needs Service, a mail-service discount pharmacy, reduces the high costs of prescription drugs for union members or the families or relatives of members whose health insurance does not cover prescription drugs. For those without such insurance coverage the program has been enormously valuable.

The UnionRATE Savings Program serves union members who keep their savings in low-yielding passbook savings accounts. This money market deposit account offers a safe FDIC-insured alternative for members who do not have access to a labor-sponsored credit union.

Membership Development

Although Union Privilege develops benefits for union members, its ultimate aim is to use those benefits to attract additional members into unions as full members or, where full membership is not possible, as associate members.

Union Privilege continues to explore ways of using its benefit programs as the core for associate membership. Five experiments were developed in 1990 to test this theory. Union Privilege helped the Air Line Pilots launch the Association of Independent Airmen, an organization to serve pilots who are not employed by organized carriers. Union Privilege also worked closely with 9to5,

the National Association of Working Women, an affiliate of the Service Employees, to help them recruit successfully on a mass basis.

In addition to single-occupation associate membership organizations, Union Privilege is also experimenting with three associations to serve working men and women in a specific geographic area. Tests are being conducted in Cincinnati, Ohio; El Paso, Texas, and in the state of Montana.

Union Privilege benefits can also be of great use in internal organizing. Because "free riders" are guaranteed full workplace representation without joining the union, membership benefits may be the only privileges that can legally be denied free riders. Therefore, these benefits may help to persuade free riders to join the union and remain as union members.

Council Recommendation

In the past two years, Union Privilege has further expanded the range of benefits union members derive from their union. For example, the new Union Member Mortgage Program will make purchasing a home easier and more affordable for union members. It also will open the door to home ownership to many members who would otherwise be locked out of the housing market. The Union Privilege Loan Program will help union members who need to borrow money to do so at a lower cost.

The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of Union Privilege. Union Privilege should continue to use the collective purchasing power of the 14 million federation members and their families to develop further services and benefits to meet the needs of union members at home as well as in the workplace. Union Privilege should likewise continue to work with affiliates to explore ways of using the membership benefits developed by Union Privilege as tools to help attract new members to the labor movement and retain existing members.

AFL-CIO Pension Investment Program

The past two years have brought significant changes to the Pension Investment Program that should augment its growth and improve services to participants.

The program, which began in 1964 with the original Mortgage Investment Trust, has evolved into two separate real estate funds that provide competitive

returns while promoting union jobs and generating community-based housing and economic development nationwide.

The Housing Investment Trust (HIT) and Building Investment Trust (BIT), sponsored by the AFL-CIO, operate with administrative costs that are among the lowest in the industry and at no profit to the labor federation.

HIT, which invests in single- and multi-family construction and permanent loans for union-built residential, intermediate care, and nursing home facilities, has sustained steady growth. As of June 30, 1991 assets reached \$412 million, a 59 percent increase from two years earlier.

HIT's 263 investors have benefitted from the solid returns achieved by the diligent efforts of HIT staff to seek out investment opportunities. HIT's total rate of return was 11.48 percent for the year ending June 30, 1991, its three-year return was 11.48 percent, and 10-year return was 12.71 percent. Including the activities of its predecessor fund, HIT has financed more than 25,000 units of union-built housing, representing more than \$800 million in commitments across the nation.

BIT has developed from its beginning in 1988 into a solid investment program, providing its 29 pension fund investors with a diversified portfolio of both debt and equity instruments backing commercial and industrial facilities nationwide. Since its inception, the fund yield stands at 8.46 percent, and as of June 30, 1991, its assets were \$116 million. As with HIT, all BIT investments must be 100-percent union-built.

Growing Awareness

Institutional funds have become more sophisticated about the opportunities provided by targeted investment strategies. The AFL-CIO Pension Investment Program has successfully keyed into this trend, and in 1990 attracted its first public-sector pension investors, the Ohio Public Employees Retirement System and the California Public Employees Retirement System.

The trusts make every effort to return the funds to communities where participants are located by financing projects in those regions, a practice that has proven attractive to investors. Since June 1989, more than 90 new investors have committed to the AFL-CIO Pension Investment Program, while many existing investors augmented their HIT and BIT holdings.

HIT Charter Changes

One significant challenge that faced HIT in the two years between the 1989 and 1991 AFL-CIO conventions was the reduced commitment of the federal government to the housing market. Because HIT traditionally has relied on federal guarantees and insurance to provide security to investors, this retrench-

ment threatened to stem the future availability of projects that could meet the trust's investment criteria.

In response, the trust's board and fund participants recently approved changes in its charter to permit reliance on state and local guarantees, as well as on Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac backing, in the event that opportunities for federally-backed projects are insufficient.

In tandem with these new powers, HIT has joined in partnership with the AFL-CIO's Union Privilege Program to provide union members with mortgages that are guaranteed by Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. Further, in 1991 the trust developed its own direct mortgage initiative for 100-percent union-built homes, with the initial "ProLoan" mortgage program beginning operations in St. Louis, Mo. That program stemmed from the joint efforts of HIT, the Carpenters District Council of Greater St. Louis, the Building and Construction Trades Council of St. Louis, and several area banks.

Public/Private Partnerships

A core belief of the Pension Investment Program is that the money of union members should be invested prudently to promote an economy that serves labor's interests. In pursuing this goal, the program has recognized the benefits of working in cooperation with cities and states. Building public/private partnerships can structure local development opportunities that are attractive from the standpoint of the prudent investor, organized labor, and the community.

To this end, HIT has worked on affordable housing projects in Columbus, Ohio; Indianapolis, Ind.; Bensenville, Ill.; and Washington, D.C., that have state and local government financial support. Further, negotiations are in progress with several states to establish long-term partnerships. The investment program expects to continue these efforts.

Council Recommendation

The record shows that the AFL-CIO Pension Investment Program offers funds sound investment opportunities while promoting goals of the labor movement. Funds can invest in geographically diversified portfolios of real estate projects and achieve competitive returns while adding diversification to their portfolios. Because the assets in pension and benefit funds represent workers' deferred wages, unions should take the lead in promoting prudent investment strategies that have a positive impact on the economy. Therefore, labor representatives are urged to invest at least five percent of the assets of funds covering their members in the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Pension Trust and Building Investment Trust.

Human Resources Development Institute

Entering the 1990s persistent unemployment and increasing skill requirements in the workplace present a critical challenge to the labor movement and its employment and training arm, the AFL-CIO Human Resources Development Institute (HRDI).

Since 1989, the priorities of HRDI have been shaped by a continuing need to assist AFL-CIO affiliates and organizations develop and improve their technical capabilities. These challenges include new skill demands, rising unemployment rates, continuing worker layoffs and growing national debate over the role of work - based education and training.

A top HRDI priority is to help AFL-CIO affiliates and organizations contribute actively and effectively to the national job training system and to promote human resource development policies that are essential to meeting labor market needs beyond the 1990s. The Institute offers an array of services to expand unions' expertise and help them advance their workplace objectives: training and literacy programs; a "career ladder" model for skill upgrading and advancement; innovative strategies for serving disabled workers; technical services for labor representatives serving on job training councils; conferences for union officials on the techniques of program operation; and financial management advice for unions as operators of government funded programs.

These changes present additional opportunities for labor to work in partnership with business, government and community organizations contributing first - hand knowledge of worker's job training needs. HRDI continues to bring labor resources to bear in formulating policies to serve the unemployed, dislocated and disadvantaged. HRDI continues to assist the labor movement and the nation's job training system at the federal, state and local level and will continue to assist unions to promote national work force readiness goals by expanding labor's internal capacity to develop and implement training, retraining and upgrading programs for their members.

Expanded Labor Representation in National Job Training Programs

Building upon the increases in labor representation on State Job Training Coordinating Councils, HRDI continues to strengthen labor participation in JTPA planning and policy development. Those responsibilities include developing statewide JTPA planning; promoting union involvement in the implementation of rapid response, outplacement and retraining services for

dislocated workers and advancing the quality of training and placement services for all JTPA participants.

Strengthening Labor's Role in Job Training

Drawing upon over 23 years of experience, HRDI offers a broad range of services to assist labor organizations design, develop and implement programs for the unemployed, dislocated and disadvantaged. Technical assistance and training is provided to those labor affiliates that have an interest in job training programs and related issues, and to the job training system as a whole.

Relying on its broad access to the labor movement nationwide, HRDI has prepared and disseminated many technical materials to assure that labor is an informed and effective partner with business and government in the JTPA system. These technical materials, developed since 1989, include "Worker-Centered Learning: A Union Guide to Workplace Literacy," the "JTPA Labor Representative Handbook" as well as a video "Training America's Workers: Unions in the Job." These materials have been used in presentations at more than 100 training conferences and workshops since 1989. Another technical guide which is in the process of being completed is "Achieving Fiscal Integrity." This manual will cover the financial management of government funds.

HRDI also provides direct assistance to labor organizations interested in operating job training programs. HRDI devoted particular attention in assisting labor organizations with programs providing rapid response services and re-training for dislocated workers. Since 1989, the Institute helped labor organizations design and implement over 50 funded programs.

Meeting the Challenge of Work Force Readiness

HRDI is working with unions to develop new approaches to work force readiness. These innovative approaches include:

Work Force Literacy and Basic Skills

To help unions meet their members' changing skill needs, HRDI has published "Worker-Centered Learning: A Union Guide to Workplace Literacy." The guide uses union examples to demonstrate how education programs can help unions achieve their highest workplace priorities, such as enhancing job security and responding to technological change. HRDI has helped a number of unions and employees implement workplace education programs.

Demonstrating Worker-Centered Learning

HRDI is collaborating with companies and unions in the aerospace, health care and manufacturing areas to demonstrate the effectiveness of structured work - based training in promoting upward work mobility for union members.

Providing Financial Management Services

HRDI is currently providing customized services as to international unions and state AFL-CIOs who operate programs with federal funds. Items covered include: advising in the development of financial management systems, budget preparation and monitoring, evaluating internal controls, recommending changes to comply with fiscal management requirements and providing information about audit preparation, cooperation and resolution, including the provisions of the new OMB Circular A - 133.

Services for Workers With Disabilities

HRDI's Projects with Industry staff (PWI) located in two sites to place disabled workers in jobs so that they may reenter the economic mainstream.

HRDI also works closely with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in matters related to the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and its implementation.

National Labor Resource

HRDI continues to serve organized labor as a central resource on job training issues. Coordinating with the AFL-CIO Department of Education and the George Meany Center, HRDI serves as a clearinghouse on workplace literacy and training programs. HRDI also works closely with the AFL-CIO Departments of Organization & Field Services and Community Services to assure that national and field representatives are fully informed about job training issues.

HRDI Operating Level

The national funding level for HRDI has not increased appreciably since 1989 and as a result of this situation HRDI has been forced to eliminate its field offices and restructure its national office operations.

Officers and Staff

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland serves as chairman of HRDI's Board of Trustees and AFL-CIO comptroller William Collins as Secretary-Treasurer.

Alan Kistler, former AFL-CIO Director of Organization and Field Services, remains President of HRDI. The 21-member Board of Trustees continue to include the principal officers of national and international unions representing workers in most sectors of the economy.

Council Recommendation

Massive layoffs continue to occur at an alarming rate in many industries including service, manufacturing and trade.

Fully funded and effectively designed employment, training, and education programs continue to be essential ingredients needed in national policies.

Labor welcomes the national interest in workplace literacy and structured work-based training which supports unions' advocacy of lifelong training to help workers respond to increasing skill demands.

Labor should continue to be actively involved in state and local major training issues planning and be given opportunities to provide a full array of needed services - from early plant-specific assistance to longer-term training and adjustment activities for unemployed workers.

The AFL-CIO supports HRDI's continued work with labor organizations and the job training system to expand workers' opportunities for jobs and training. HRDI should continue to do the following:

- Provide technical assistance to affiliated union and state and local labor bodies to strengthen their role in the JTPA system. To effectively carry out its mission it is imperative that HRDI receive sufficient funding from the U.S. Department of Labor.
- Assist unions in developing and operating employment and training programs for unemployed, disadvantaged and dislocated workers as well as those with disabilities at the national, state and local level.
- Expand its work with unions in further developing new approaches for worker upgrading and retraining, including basic skills and work force literacy upgrading, as well as the establishment of training trusts.
- Assist unions to maximize the those opportunities under advance notice and worker retraining legislation as well as their participation in state early warning, rapid response and labor-management activities.
- Provide financial management services to those unions operating programs with public funds.
- Assist affiliated unions, AFL-CIO departments, and state and local central bodies in addressing their concerns regarding employment and training related issues.
- Provide capacity-building to unions with regard to the provision of services to disabled members and in understanding protections for members with disabilities afforded by the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA).

George Meany Center for Labor Studies

Over 12,000 trade unionists have come to the Center since 1989 to attend seminars and workshops providing practical and tested leadership methods. Over this two-year period attendance increased 18 percent over the previous two years.

The increase in the scale of operations was accompanied by four initiatives originally envisioned in the proposal for a National Center for Labor Studies when the Center was founded in 1969 by the AFL-CIO:

- The establishment of a permanent labor studies center that would develop educational materials and audiovisual aids "not only to help upgrade its own programs, but as a service to affiliated unions";
- The education of specialists, from among staff and membership of affiliates, in pensions and the administration of health and welfare programs;
- The development of off-campus programs through correspondence and other means to reach local union officers who might not otherwise be able to participate in Center programs or as a supplement to continue study at home after a period in residence;
- The establishment of regional programs to introduce Center courses to unionists throughout the United States.

The four new directions are an evolutionary step in keeping with the original mission of the Center and a natural outgrowth of the challenge presented by reaching residential capacity many weeks at the Silver Spring, Maryland campus. While the core of the Center's approach to labor education continues to be based on small seminars in a residential setting, the capability to supplement that work through educational materials development and continuing education programs has now been achieved.

The Center's new educational design unit offers technical assistance to affiliates' education staff for field and classroom-based programs. For example, "Off Center," a quarterly audio magazine created on campus last year by staff of the Center and the AFL-CIO Department of Education, is a continuing connection to George Meany Center institutes and faculty for thousands of union staff and officers. Special editions of "Off Center" have been created for union staff directors and education coordinators to serve as their own educational link to field staff and regional officers.

Similarly, the Center's audiovisual specialists have, as part of the new educational design unit, prepared a range of classroom tools requested by national unions, including videotapes, teachers' manuals, and classroom workbooks. Through major grants from the U. S. Centers for Disease Control and the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, the educational design staff working with the AFL-CIO Department of Occupational Safety and Health, have developed comprehensive educational programs on AIDS in the workplace and workers' exposure to hazardous materials.

The early plan to provide training for pension and other benefit fund administration at the Center led to the establishment in late 1989 of a complete range of courses to prepare union leaders to take the ten national examinations required of Certified Employee Benefit Specialists (CEBS). The Center now offers all ten courses on a short but intensive schedule designed for full-time union staff for whom the usual night school or traditional full-time study program is not suitable. Participants in the CEBS program at the Center enroll in a one-week intensive course and take the examination shortly thereafter.

The pass rate for Center participants for this nationally recognized professional certification now exceeds 90 percent. The structure of the program, keyed to the schedule of full-time union officers and staff, was modeled on the pioneering design of the George Meany Center-Antioch University Degree Program.

The 1969 AFL-CIO plan for correspondence based programs, a part of the George Meany Center-Antioch Degree Program, is now extended to many other programs as a supplement to residential study. For example, construction industry seminars, including organizing, labor law and negotiations, are supplemented by the Construction Audio Project prepared by the George Meany Center in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Department of Education, Cornell University's Division of Extension and Public Service and the Labor Relations and Research Center at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

The entire faculty and the Education Department use "Off Center" to provide updates in every labor education subject area for Center participants and others who subscribe. Communication between the staff of "Off Center" and subscribers is encouraged not only through letters and calls, but more significantly, through continuing home study by audio tape leading to return visits to the Center.

The George Meany Memorial Archives reaches an audience of nearly 10,000 readers every year with its now well established and award winning national magazine, "Labor's Heritage." While in the past only degree candidates studied labor history at the Center, the magazine's lively coverage now makes that important area of labor studies a part of many participants' continuing education in non-degree programs as well.

Readers and listeners to these new continuing education programs include an audience far wider than could be reached by the Center's regular workshops and seminars. For example, over 2,000 high schools and colleges receive "Labor's Heritage" every three months, many with supplemental reading materials to explore American labor history in the public schools. The audience for "Off Center," the Construction Audio Project and "Labor's Heritage" includes non-full-time officers and shop stewards who do not generally attend campus programs.

In June 1991 the Center and the AFL-CIO Department of Education inaugurated the Western Semester at the University of California at Berkeley. The Center's core curriculum was offered alongside education techniques courses of the Education Department, and nearly every one of the nine seminars was over-subscribed. There were 238 participants in attendance from 29 western

states and 41 national unions. The Center staff, together with the AFL-CIO Education Department staff, sought the help of western states' university and college based labor education programs in approximating the environment of the George Meany Center—a residential campus where union leaders from diverse backgrounds share ideas and study with a nationally respected faculty in an atmosphere of union solidarity. Participants' evaluations have led to the scheduling of a second Western Semester in a similar educational setting in Ventura, California for June 1992.

The period from 1989 to 1991 was, then, a period of continued growth for the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, both in numbers of participants and in the variety of educational opportunities offered to labor leadership. In addition, it was a period in which the educational programs developed on campus were extended through educational design techniques and the Western Semester developed to reach a far wider range of union leaders than could otherwise be reached.

The George Meany Memorial Archives

The George Meany Memorial Archives has taken its place as a major educational and service arm of the George Meany Center for Labor Studies since moving into its new state-of-art facility in August 1987. The archives work is devoted to preserving and disseminating the heritage of the labor movement through literature, photography, and lecture series.

The federation's history is constantly updated as non-current records regularly are transferred to the archives from all AFL-CIO departments, its constitutional trade and industrial departments and affiliated institutes. To improve the orderly flow of records into safekeeping, the archives has created a file and records manual for the use of AFL-CIO office personnel and conducts training sessions for departmental clerical staff with proper procedures for the transfer of non-current material.

Researchers are also served by the continuing series of lectures and symposia. Through the Larry Rogin Memorial Lecture Series held in the winter and the George Meany Memorial Lecture Series in the spring, the archives brings key individuals from the academic and public affairs communities to audiences from the labor movement and the general public. The symposia series each fall provides a setting for scholars working on similar subjects to present their work-in-progress and exchange ideas; recent symposia topics have included American Labor and World War I, The American Artisan, and The History of Occupational Safety and Health.

"Labor's Heritage," the archives' quarterly illustrated magazine, is also a popular service, bolstered in part by the growing number of school, community and academic libraries that subscribe and increasing sales at bookstores and newsstands. The staff now works with teacher consultants to produce teacher's guides geared to specific articles in "Labor's Heritage." These are distributed to subscribing teachers and school libraries to encourage the teaching of labor history in the classroom.

A corollary organization to "Labor's Heritage" magazine — the National Labor's Heritage Society — was launched in April 1991 to further promote the preservation and dissemination of labor's heritage. The society's newsletter features articles on labor's heritage events and preservation activities and advance notice of events at the Meany Archives and Meany Center.

The success of "Labor's Heritage," with its extensive use of photographs from archives across the country, has drawn further attention to the archives' own photograph collection. Many affiliates celebrating their centennial anniversaries have drawn on this collection for images of their union's activities, leaders and rank and file. The archives contains tens of thousands of images from the last half century arranged by subject.

From time to time the archives acquires major backlogs of earlier materials ranging recently from accumulated files from the AFL-CIO Research Department, extensive records of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department's Southern Organizing Office in Atlanta, warehoused records of the African-American Labor Center, and historical files from the Paris office of the AFL-CIO.

In addition, the archives receives donations of important related records, such as the papers of key AFL-CIO personnel. The papers of long-time Civil Rights Department director Boris Shishkin which were donated by his family, were the subject of an article in "Labor's Heritage."

The archives' staff keeps documentary material in suitable order for qualified researchers to use after a prudent period of time. While original materials are used under supervision in the archives' spacious research room, the archives has responded to widespread scholarly interest in by making the minutes of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, 1893-1955, available on microfilm.

The archives not only serves as a research resource for affiliates but aids them with their records problems. By maintaining close relations with a network of labor archives across the country, archives staff members are able to help affiliates establish fruitful working relationships with appropriate archives who can provide records services at all levels of union administration. In emergency circumstances, the George Meany Memorial Archives can also provide special records assistance to affiliates, as it recently did in arranging to salvage the endangered records of Local 18 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers in Mobile, Ala. The story of this operation was presented in the "National Labor's Heritage Society Newsletter."

COPE Activities

Effective AFL-CIO action in the 1990 elections helped sustain a steady comeback by progressive forces from the political nadir of a decade earlier. Then, right-wingers took the presidency, numerical control of the U.S. Senate and ideological control of the House of Representatives.

In election years since, consistent successes for candidates responsive to working families — largely fueled by labor's efforts — have wrested control of the Congress from the conservatives.

In terms of party representation, Democrats netted nine House seats last year to reach a 267-167 margin, with one independent. They picked up one seat in the Senate, increasing their advantage to 56-44. The total is now 57-43 following the death of Pennsylvania GOP Sen. John Heinz and the appointment of a Democratic successor. A special election will be held Nov. 5, 1991, to fill out the remainder of the term.

A standoff occurred in the 1990 gubernatorial elections. Each party lost one seat overall, though several states underwent party-control changes. Independents were elected in two states, Alaska and Connecticut.

The AFL-CIO campaign was a major component in many key victories for progressive candidates of both parties. Organized labor's efforts produced great success in the three most significant political measurements — member/family turnout, support of endorsed candidates and percent of victories for endorsed candidates.

Once again, participation by AFL-CIO members and families greatly exceeded that of the electorate at-large. While the trend in voting performance continued to drop among the general public — only 36 percent of all those eligible went to the polls — member and family voting reached almost 50 percent.

According to an election night national poll among a representative sampling of 1,207 AFL-CIO households, union members and their families voted in overwhelming percentages for labor-endorsed candidates: 74 percent for Senate, 70 percent for House, 69 percent for governor.

The keys to generating high member turnout and support of endorsed candidates were the number, quality and dedication of volunteers participating in COPE programs in their local unions and state and local AFL-CIOs. Many were veterans of previous political campaigns, but many newcomers responded to a special drive in volunteer recruitment and training.

More than 320,000 volunteers took part in COPE programs, a record number for a non-presidential year. They provide a ready source of help for upcoming campaigns.

Organized labor endorsed candidates in 404 contests for U.S. House, U.S. Senate and governor. Of these, 288 won for a 71.3 percent overall success rate. In House races, 343 were endorsed — 253 won, a 73.8 percent success level. Figures for the Senate were 28 endorsed, with 17 victories or 60.7 percent; for governor, 33 were endorsed and 18 won for 54.5 percent.

Results also were encouraging in state legislative elections. This fact is made more critical by the post-1990 Census redistricting and reapportionment undertaken by legislatures that convened in 1991.

As remapping began early this year, labor's friends controlled both legislative houses in 30 states. Control was split in 12 states.

The three states gaining the largest number of congressional seats on the basis of the census were California, Texas and Florida. Workers' supporters held sufficient legislative strength in California to assure fairness in remapping — even if it is ultimately decided by a court. They were strengthened in Texas and Florida by winning previously conservative-held gubernatorial seats.

Program

COPE programs built on experience gained in recent campaigns. More accurate and sophisticated procedures were developed for targeting high-vote-yield precincts and exploiting their potential through extra attention to registration, special direct mail appeals to homes of members, and member Election Day turnout.

These activities were buttressed by widespread training of union officials and activists at all levels and of many thousands of volunteers. Training dealt with all aspects of the COPE Member Contact Program — targeting, direct mail, literature distribution, one-on-one contact, phone banks, registration, get-out-the-vote, volunteer recruitment, development and operations of local union COPE committees.

The computer program once more was central to success in reaching and motivating members. The program holds the names, addresses, phone numbers and political data on the approximately 14 million members of AFL-CIO unions. It is hoped the few affiliates not yet providing, or providing only partial, membership lists soon will make full lists available. Then all members can be accessed by COPE programs.

In the 1990 elections, the computer expedited mailing of almost 5 million personally addressed messages to members — endorsement letters, candidate promotion letters, persuasion mail to undecided members, get-out-the-vote (GOTV) letters and cards to registered members.

Direct mail reached members in 42 states in behalf of more than 500 endorsed candidates for U.S. Senate and House, governor and state legislature. The mail program was most intense in targeted areas and marginal contests.

1992 Elections

While the 1992 presidential contest is expected to be a focus of AFL-CIO activity, equal effort will be devoted to U.S. Senate and House contests.

Regardless of the AFL-CIO role in the 1992 presidential nominating process, the federation will — as it did in 1988 — provide members with full information on the records and policies of all candidates for nomination from both parties. In 1984, AFL-CIO unions reached a consensus for Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota and was involved in the presidential primaries; with no such consensus in 1988, the AFL-CIO General Board did not endorse until after the party conventions.

In addition, there will be full-scale participation in the primary-caucus cycle that determines selection of delegates to the party nominating conventions. The AFL-CIO will strive for maximum representation to assure that the concerns of working families are reflected in convention deliberations and decisions.

The present progressive advantage in the House — 100 seats — cannot assure victories for labor-supported legislative proposals. More than 40 seats are held by Democratic conservatives. When labor-backed initiatives are passed, the House margin is insufficient to override a presidential veto, a weapon used more frequently by the present administration than any other recent administration.

Any loss of seats in 1992 would tend to gridlock the House. Gains will not be easy. Most incumbent conservatives represent iron-clad districts.

In the Senate, the progressive numerical advantage could be at risk. Many pro-worker incumbents are freshmen narrowly elected in 1986. They face tough challenges in 1992. All are targeted by business and conservative PACs.

Among those expected to confront difficult re-election battles are Sens. Richard Shelby (Ala.), Tim Wirth (Colo.), Bob Graham (Fla.), Wyche Fowler (Ga.), John Breaux (La.), Harry Reid (Nev.), Terry Sanford (N.C.), Kent Conrad (N.D.), Tom Daschle (S.D.), and Brock Adams (Wash.).

In California, simultaneous contests will be run for the two Senate seats. In one, incumbent Alan Cranston is stepping down. The other is to fill the two years remaining of Gov. Pete Wilson's unexpired Senate term. His successor, Republican John Seymour, was appointed by Wilson to serve through 1992.

Council Recommendation

The key political objectives of the AFL-CIO in 1992 will be victory for the federation's endorsed presidential candidate and an increase in the progressive margins in both houses of Congress.

All affiliates are urged to intensify their COPE programs — to strengthen registration, education, get-out-the-vote and fund-raising efforts — and to cooperate fully in National COPE activities.

We call on all affiliates to:

- Provide to COPE accurate, up-to-date lists of members' names and addresses, so that all AFL-CIO members may be reached by AFL-CIO campaign efforts.
- Observe the policy, reaffirmed by the Executive Council, to make no individual union endorsement for presidential nomination pending action by the federation as a whole.
- Participate in, and assist, the AFL-CIO campaign in the delegate selection process, seeking more labor representation than ever at 1992 party nominating conventions.
- Recruit and train volunteers to serve in the COPE programs in their communities.
- Emphasize formation of a COPE committee in every local union to take responsibility for the basic political programs of registration, education, GOTV and fund-raising among the local's own members.
- Encourage local unions to secure voluntary political check-off in their contracts, and through other means, to approach all members to sign check-off authorization cards.

Legislative Activities

National Legislation

The 1990 legislative session — the second session of the 101st Congress — dashed all hopes that the Bush administration would depart from the anti-worker agenda of its predecessor. The first session of the 102nd Congress is confirming the viewpoint that Bush has no positive domestic agenda.

Perhaps the strongest indication of this administration's attitude toward working people was the president's perfect veto record in 1990 on six progressive bills, including bipartisan civil rights legislation, Hatch Act reform, textile trade legislation and the Family and Medical Leave Act.

Despite those setbacks, the past two years have not been without significant legislative gains for the labor movement and its allies.

Workers' Rights

Workplace Fairness (Anti-Strikebreaker Bill) — First introduced in the 101st Congress and approved 247-182 by the House of Representatives in the 102nd Congress, the Workplace Fairness Bill seeks to eliminate a judicially-created loophole in the National Labor Relations Act that allows employers to "permanently replace" employees engaged in a lawful economic strike, even though the law continues to prevent employers from discharging those same employees.

Solidarity Day featured the Workplace Fairness Bill as one of its primary themes and demonstrated the necessity of its enactment into law. The bill will face a filibuster in the Senate, prompting the federation to mount a thorough and aggressive grass-roots effort to make the Senate aware of the elementary unfairness of current law.

Family and Medical Leave — Legislation introduced in the 101st Congress and supported by the AFL-CIO would have allowed up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the birth, adoption, or serious illness of a child. The legislation would also have allowed leave for a worker's own serious illness or the care of

an elderly dependent. The bill passed the House and the Senate, but President Bush vetoed the legislation. The House then failed on its override vote. Similar bills were passed by this Congress.

Hatch Act — Under the terms of the 1939 Hatch Act, nearly 3 million federal and postal workers are virtually shut out of the political process. Hatch Act reform, passed in the 101st Congress, would have allowed these workers to more fully participate in the democratic process by engaging in activities such as working in a political campaign, holding office in a political party or club and participating in a partisan voter registration drive.

However, President Bush vetoed the bill and the accompanying override vote failed in the Senate. The AFL-CIO will work for a reversal of fortune when the 102nd Congress considers new Hatch Act reform legislation.

Child Care — Today, 70 percent of all mothers with school age children work outside the home. But licensed day care slots are scarce: 2.5 million for the 36.2 million children with parents in the workforce. The AFL-CIO supported a comprehensive child care bill, which would have expanded Head Start and provided grants for child care services for infants and toddlers. Eventually, several provisions were enacted in omnibus budget reconciliation legislation.

Electronic Monitoring — In both the 101st and 102nd Congresses, the AFL-CIO has supported legislation to regulate the increasingly frequent practice of employers monitoring telephone conversations between their employees and customers — a practice used on a large scale in the telephone, insurance, banking and airlines industries.

Drug Testing in the Transportation Industries — Ignoring the AFL-CIO's contention that some forms of drug testing represent a blatant invasion of an individual's right of privacy, the Senate, in both 1990 and 1991, passed legislation that allows for mandatory, random, pre-employment drug testing of employees in the airline, bus, truck, rail and maritime industries.

Drug Laboratory Certification — In an effort to protect the reputations and jobs of employees subject to drug testing by their employer, the AFL-CIO supported legislation designed to require employers to use laboratories which have been certified as meeting certain quality standards.

In 1990 the legislation was approved by the House but never considered in the Senate. Similar legislation has been introduced in the 102nd Congress.

Child Labor — The federation is currently supporting legislation introduced in the Senate that would link the employment of our nation's young people with their education, and would stiffen criminal penalties for violations of the child labor provisions contained in the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Airline/Maritime Workers' Rights — As part of an immigration bill that was passed and signed into law, the AFL-CIO supported the provisions that 1) prevented U.S. carriers in the shipping and airline industries from using foreigners as "scabs" when American crew members go out on strike; and 2) restricted foreign crews from handling cargo on foreign-flag ships by enforcing employer sanctions.

NLRA Amendments — Original restrictions in coverage by the National Labor Relations Act have been broadened through questionable NLRB and

court interpretations to include a growing number of occupations. Legislation introduced in the House of Representatives during the 101st Congress, and backed by the AFL-CIO, would have amended subsection 9 (b)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act to restore collective bargaining rights to tens of thousands of "guards" who have been denied the right to organize. Legislation was also introduced, but not acted upon, that would have altered the NLRA to allow employers and unions in the performing arts to enter into agreements under which employers would hire union subcontractors only. No final action was taken on any of these proposals in the 101st Congress.

Artists, Performers, University Teachers — Many AFL-CIO members — artists, performers, university teachers, supporting craft and technical people — are employed in activities which receive support from the National Endowments of the Arts and Humanities. In the 101st Congress both endowments came under a heavy right wing attack. Legislation reauthorizing both programs was passed and signed into law.

Unemployment

Unemployment Insurance — The AFL-CIO has continued to push for urgently needed comprehensive and substantive reform of the unemployment insurance system. Pending legislation would introduce federal standards which improve benefits for the long-term unemployed, provide assured financing for administration of state unemployment insurance and employment services, and significantly improve financing through the federal employment tax.

Emergency Extended UI Benefits — In mid-1991 the House and Senate passed AFL-CIO supported legislation to provide three-tiered, fully federally-funded extended unemployment benefits to provide up to 20 weeks of extended benefits. Funds for the benefits could come from the EB trust fund surplus, thereby avoiding a tax increase. The President signed the bill, but did not declare an emergency which would have released the funds to pay the benefits. His actions, in effect, killed the bill.

In October, the House and Senate passed similar extended benefits legislation. However, the Bush administration, despite the fact that more than 2 million jobless Americans had exhausted unemployment benefits, declared the recession over and vetoed the legislation. The Senate failed, by two votes, to override.

Compensation

Davis Bacon — Throughout the 1980s, and now in the 1990s, various anti-labor groups have sought limitations or repeal of the federal Davis-Bacon prevailing wage standard. In the 101st Congress, legislation was introduced to raise the implementation threshold to \$250,000.

While opposing this bill, the AFL-CIO did support realistic revisions in both the 101st and 102nd Congress. At present, the federation has endorsed legislation raising the current \$2,000 threshold to \$100,000 for all new construction, and \$15,000 for rehabilitation and renovation work.

The AFL-CIO will continue to vigorously oppose all Davis-Bacon repeal efforts.

Davis-Bacon and Apprenticeship Program Regulations — For the past 10 years, the Reagan and Bush administrations have been attempting to implement new regulations under the Davis-Bacon Act which would allow employers to re-classify certain workers as “helpers” in order to avoid compliance with the prevailing wage standard. In response to this tactic, the AFL-CIO and the Building and Construction Trades Department obtained enactment of language that prohibits the Department of Labor from spending funds to implement regulations creating this new class of “helpers.” The language also prohibits the department from spending funds to implement new “apprenticeship” regulations which would have disrupted and undermined current apprenticeship programs.

Minimum Wage — Long-overdue increases in the federal minimum wage standard were enacted during the 101st Congress. The minimally adequate increase of 90 cents in the wage was achieved through two 45-cent increases, April 1, 1990 and April 1, 1991.

In the 102nd Congress various employer groups are seeking legislation to take away minimum wage coverage for millions of workers. The AFL-CIO is opposing this effort, pointing out that more than 3.2 million already low-paid workers would lose minimum wage, overtime, and equal pay protections.

Pay Equity — Seeking to eliminate sex-based wage discrimination in the workplace, the AFL-CIO endorsed legislation in the 101st Congress that would have established a clearinghouse for information on efforts to overcome such discrimination in the public and private sectors. No final action was taken in the 101st Congress.

Fringe Benefits-Education Expenses — Section 127 of the Internal Revenue Code allows employers to provide up to \$5,250 for educational benefits without it being taxed as income. The 101st Congress extended this tax break until December 31, 1991. The AFL-CIO will be actively pursuing a permanent extension of this valuable benefit.

Fringe Benefits-Pre-Paid Legal Services — In the same fashion as the educational assistance benefit, the tax-exempt status of pre-paid legal services was only extended until Dec. 31, 1991 by the 101st Congress. Legislation introduced in the 102nd Congress seeks to make this exemption permanent.

Job Safety

OSHA Reform — American workers continue to die and suffer serious injuries and illnesses on the job some two decades after OSHA was created. A

tragic example of the serious flaws and shortcomings of OSHA was seen in September when 25 workers were killed and another 55 injured during a fire at Imperial Food Products poultry processing plant in Hamlet, N.C. Workers were trapped behind locked doors. There had been no fire drills or safety training. There was only one fire extinguisher in the plant and the plant had not been inspected by either federal or state OSHA.

In response to the tragedy the House and Senate accelerated hearings on major OSHA reform legislation which the AFL-CIO has been working to achieve. The sweeping reform will go a long way toward guaranteeing American workers a safe workplace.

The bills give workers a voice in workplace safety by requiring employer-employee participation in safety areas. The legislation requires that employers establish safety and health programs for the workplace and that they provide training and education concerning workplace dangers for employees. Also the legislation mandates the creation of joint safety and health committees with an equal number of employee and employer representatives. The bills also allow worker participation in the enforcement proceedings and prohibit retaliation against employees for reporting unsafe violations.

In addition OSHA will be required to speed up the standard setting process for key workplace hazards. OSHA will also be able to require immediate employer corrective action if a condition or practice poses an imminent danger of death or serious injury.

The AFL-CIO will be working closely with Congress to secure passage of strong OSHA reform during the 102nd Congress.

Construction Workers — Despite the creation of OSHA in 1970, the last 20 years have shown a dramatic increase in deaths and injuries to construction workers. Legislation, which was reported by both the House and Senate Labor Committees in the 101st Congress and has been re-introduced in the 102nd Congress, would establish an Office of Construction Safety, Health and Education within the Department of Labor's Occupational Safety and Health Administration. In addition, the legislation would act to improve inspections, investigations, reporting, and recordkeeping on construction sites.

OSHA Criminal and Civil Penalties — Noting the frequency and seriousness of willful violations of OSHA standards which result in worker deaths and serious injuries, the AFL-CIO embarked upon a push to enact stiffer OSHA criminal penalties for such willful violations. This criminal penalty language was not enacted in the 101st Congress but in the 1990 Budget Reconciliation Act, OSHA maximum civil penalties were increased seven times to \$70,000 with a mandatory minimum fine of \$5,000 for a willful violation.

Whistleblower Protection — The AFL-CIO supported legislation in the 101st Congress that would have provided adequate protection for those employees who speak out about health and safety violations in the workplace. The legislation failed to reach the floor of either chamber.

Federal Nuclear Facilities — The AFL-CIO has been working in support of various proposals addressing the serious concerns relating to worker safety and environmental contamination within federally-owned facilities.

Currently, the AFL-CIO is seeking approval of legislation requiring such facilities to comply with federal and state hazardous waste laws. House approval was obtained in June, and Senate action is likely in 1991.

Asbestos Removal — In 1990 the AFL-CIO supported successful legislation which set training standards for workers involved in asbestos removal from schools and also allowed non-profit groups, such as unions, to receive grants to set up asbestos removal training programs.

Black Lung — A black lung reform bill has been introduced in the 102nd Congress with the support of the AFL-CIO. The bill would streamline administrative procedures for claimants and also re-state their rights and those of their survivors. It would also ban a favorite coal company practice of "doctor shopping" used in attempts to deny claims.

Hazardous and Toxic Waste — In the 102nd Congress the AFL-CIO is backing legislation which would require the federal government to comply with its own and with states' hazardous and toxic waste laws. Federally-owned facilities are among the worst polluters and offenders of the nation's environmental safety laws.

Pensions

Terminations and Reversions — Throughout the 1980s, a disturbing trend developed involving terminations of employee pension plans. Employers have taken nearly \$20 billion from approximately 2,000 pension plans since 1981. In 1990, the AFL-CIO fought vigorously to protect retirement benefit security by working to advance legislation that would have guaranteed workers a fair share of their pension plan assets if that plan was terminated.

Substantive provisions reflecting the objectives of the legislation were incorporated into the 1990 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act and were signed into law.

Federal Deposit Insurance for Pension Monies — House banking reform legislation moving through the 102nd Congress contained disturbing language that would repeal the 25-year-old FDIC policy which insures pension plan investments or deposits in banks against loss due to a bank failure. Under existing law, that insurance is "passed through" for the protection of each participant in the pension plan.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliates were successful in removing this damaging language from the bill during the House Banking Committee mark-up.

Banking reform legislation introduced in the Senate retains "pass through" insurance for "qualified" pension plans.

Taxation of Short Term Investment — In the 101st Congress, legislation was introduced in the Senate, and opposed by the AFL-CIO, that would have taxed pension investment income resulting from the sale of assets held for six months or less. Hearings were held, but no action was taken.

Executive Life Insurance Company — On the heels of savings and loans collapses and bank failures, the insurance industry faced uncertain times beginning in 1991. The collapse of the Executive Life Insurance Company put the retirement income security of hundreds of thousands of workers and retirees in serious trouble. There were troubling signs in mid-1991 that other insurance companies could face the same severe financial problems. The AFL-CIO is working closely with Congress to make sure that the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) is fulfilling its promise to provide an adequate safety net to protect pension benefits promised to workers.

Railroad Retirement — A two-year extension to allow the Railroad Retirement System to continue to receive general revenues to supplement its funds was enacted as a part of the 1990 reconciliation legislation.

Jobs and the Economy

FY 1991 Budget — The fight over the FY 1991 budget and reconciliation package to reduce the deficit was one of the longest and nastiest ever. The AFL-CIO insisted to Congress that any budget deal had to be centered on tax fairness and humane spending cuts.

In late September, a budget summit agreement featuring regressive taxes and massive cuts in Medicare and unemployment compensation was strongly opposed by the AFL-CIO and soundly defeated.

The AFL-CIO then worked closely with House Democrats to develop a progressive and fair reconciliation package that shifted the tax burden from lower- and middle-income working Americans to the upper income and wealthy. The House package was relatively protective of Medicare beneficiaries and unemployed workers.

The bulk of the House package's details was contained in an amendment offered to the Omnibus Reconciliation bill by the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and was approved by a 238-192 vote. A final budget package containing most of the Ways and Means provisions was approved and signed into law.

Clean Air-Worker Protections — During development of the Clean Air Act amendments, the AFL-CIO recognized the need to address the job loss issues resulting from newly required reductions in sulfur dioxide levels - generally resulting from reductions in the use of coal.

The final congressionally-approved conference agreement, signed into law by President Bush, contains a five-year \$250 million authorization for an additional six months unemployment compensation, plus worker training programs to be provided to workers displaced by implementation of clean air technology.

Capital Gains Tax — The AFL-CIO vigorously, and successfully, opposed the Bush Administration's proposal to reduce the capital gains tax rate for two years from its current level of 28 percent to 19.6 percent, arguing that

80 percent of the tax cut would have benefitted those people earning \$100,000 or more and would cost the U.S. Treasury \$11.5 billion in lost revenues over five years. The federation convinced Congress of the inequity of this proposal and it was stripped from the 1990 Budget Reconciliation bill.

Highway and Mass Transit Authorization (Surface Transportation Program) — The 102nd Congress is working on legislation designed to map a strategy for the nation's highway and transit needs into the 21st Century. The AFL-CIO opposes the Bush administration's five-year reauthorization plan, and is seeking adjustments to the final congressional package. The Senate has already completed action on its version of the plan, and the AFL-CIO was successful in removing language that would prohibit the new construction of billboards.

Eastern Airlines-Emergency Board — The congressional battle affecting 30,000 workers at Eastern Airlines, on strike since March 4, 1989, carried over into the second session of the 101st Congress.

More than a year after the strike began, Congress failed to override President Bush's veto of AFL-CIO-endorsed legislation that would have established a four-member bipartisan panel to investigate the dispute and recommend a solution to the strike. The override vote in the House, 261-160, failed to achieve the necessary two-thirds.

Eastern Airlines-Resolution — Early in the 101st Congress, the AFL-CIO attempted to obtain congressional approval of a resolution designed to encourage the bankruptcy judge to approve a plan of reorganization that would provide for full resumption of Eastern's operations, including the appointment of a trustee. Although the measure passed the Senate overwhelmingly, 94-0, the House did not act upon this resolution.

Greyhound Strike — The AFL-CIO pursued passage of a congressional resolution urging Greyhound management to resume meaningful negotiations with striking workers. The resolution passed the Senate and was reported out of committee in the House.

Cargo Preference — The AFL-CIO supported legislation introduced in the 101st Congress to set more stringent cargo preference requirements which would have been a big boost to the U.S. - flag merchant marine. While no action was taken on the bill, the AFL-CIO was successful in beating several efforts to weaken cargo preference requirements in the 1990 farm bill.

Federal Employees-Reduction in Force — The AFL-CIO is currently seeking congressional approval of legislation requiring the federal government to provide 60 days notice to employees prior to a reduction in force. The bill was approved by the House on June 24, 1991 by a voice vote.

Airline-Bankruptcies — The 101st Congress saw the AFL-CIO advancing legislation tailored to prevent parent holding companies, or other related entities, in the airline industry from remaining outside of bankruptcy and beyond the reach of creditors. If an airline were to seek protection under Chapter 11, then every member of its "controlled group" would simultaneously become a debtor under Chapter 11. Both the House and Senate bills failed to reach the floor.

Airlines-Foreign Maintenance — Citing new Federal Aviation Administration rules that would threaten the jobs of thousands of American airline maintenance workers and increase safety risks, the AFL-CIO supported legislation to reverse the trend of U.S. airlines servicing and maintaining their aircraft overseas.

In the Transportation Department's FY 1991 appropriations bill, which was passed by the House and Senate and enacted into law, a provision was adopted that required foreign maintenance stations to be certified.

Amtrak Reauthorization — Wielding his veto pen once again, President Bush rejected legislation authorizing funds for Amtrak. The House of Representatives overrode the veto, 294-123, but the Senate failed to override by a vote of 64-36. Both the House and Senate passed new authorizing legislation, but without the administration-opposed provision and without giving the Interstate Commerce Commission explicit authority to review acquisitions of a single major rail carrier by a non-railroad to ensure the transaction is in the public interest.

Balanced Budget Amendment — The House defeated an effort to amend the Constitution to require a balanced federal budget.

Recognizing that such an amendment would place inflexible fiscal restrictions upon the Congress during economic crisis, a sufficient number of representatives voted against the amendment, denying the two-thirds needed for passage.

Betts Legislation — In 1990 the Senate approved, 94-1, legislation supported by the AFL-CIO, designed to overturn the Supreme Court's Betts decision. The Senate amended the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA) to make clear that employers cannot discriminate against older workers in the types and amounts of employee benefits they offer. The House followed suit, approving the bill 406-17 and President Bush signed the legislation into law.

Section 936 — Section 936 of the U.S. Tax Code grants lucrative tax breaks to certain companies which establish manufacturing facilities in U.S. territories and Puerto Rico. Many U.S. firms have left the mainland to take advantage of the tax break and lower wage rates. In 1991 the AFL-CIO is supporting a bill in the House which would deny this tax break.

Economic Conversion — Hundreds of thousands of union workers and their families depend on the defense industry for their security. The AFL-CIO backed legislation enacted in the 101st Congress which provided federal funding for training of displaced defense workers and provided for community involvement in planning for alternative industries in communities affected by defense budget cuts.

Farm Bill — Because there are many thousands of AFL-CIO members involved in agriculture, from actual farming to production of equipment, processing and selling, the AFL-CIO worked closely with Congress in 1990 to help produce a farm bill which protects farm workers' safety, helps the family farmer, protects food stamp and nutrition programs and encourages the export of U.S. agricultural products.

OPIC — The AFL-CIO has long opposed the Overseas Private Investment Corp. which writes risk insurance for U.S. companies doing business overseas to protect them from expropriation. These companies often reduce employment in the U.S. when they open foreign facilities. The AFL-CIO was successful in several cases in the 101st Congress in establishing trade union and workers' rights conditions before approving OPIC eligibility in Eastern Europe. The federation continues to oppose OPIC insurance because of the impact on American workers.

Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Amendments — In the 102nd Congress, the AFL-CIO advocated legislation to curb the abuse of private civil RICO action. A bill to begin this process was marked up in House committee.

Job Training Partnership Youth Employment — The House approved AFL-CIO supported legislation in 1990 which increased funding for Job Training Partnership Youth Employment programs (JTPA) serving economically disadvantaged youths and adults. But the legislation died in the Senate.

Trade

GATT/Mexican Free Trade Agreement — As a prelude to its negotiations with the government of Mexico over a North American Free Trade Agreement and for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Bush administration sought approval for "fast track" authority from the Congress. Under "fast track" the Congress forgoes its ability to ensure that significant issues of wage disparities, environmental pollution, and health and safety standards will be effectively addressed.

Opposing "fast track," the AFL-CIO urged the Congress to retain its ability to engage in full and open congressional consideration, with the opportunity to amend such a critically important agreement. The legislation to disapprove "fast track" authority reached the House floor on May 23, 1991. On the key vote, 170 House Democrats defied their leadership, and they, along with 21 Republicans and 1 independent, voted in support of the Dorgan resolution which, nevertheless, failed by a vote of 231-192.

Despite the outcome of the vote, the AFL-CIO did succeed in forcing the administration to make issues like workplace standards, environmental protection and child labor part of the negotiations.

Most Favored Nation Status-China — The AFL-CIO supported legislation passed by both the House of Representatives and the Senate during the 102nd Congress to condition the renewal of most favored nation status beyond 1992 upon changes in China's policies regarding human rights, worker's rights, weapons proliferation, and trade.

Trade-Textiles and Apparel — The 1980s were disastrous for textile, apparel and footwear workers. An unchecked flood of imports cost some 400,000 jobs and about 1,800 factories closed their gates. To address the

problem, the AFL-CIO backed the Textile, Apparel and Footwear Act of 1990. The legislation did not contain a rollback of imports, but instead provided for orderly growth that would help American workers maintain their jobs in this import-sensitive industry.

Both the House and Senate approved the bill, but once again President Bush brushed aside any concerns for American workers and vetoed the bill. In October 1990 the House fell 10 votes shy on its vote to override the veto, 275-152.

Caribbean Basin Initiative — The 101st Congress extended the Caribbean Basin Initiative which provides duty free access to many goods from countries in that region. The AFL-CIO has long-opposed CBI because it can exploit workers in those countries and also cost American jobs as U.S. firms move production to take advantage of low wages and lax regulations. Though CBI was extended, the legislation contained several new provisions protecting U.S. workers.

Trade-FSX Technology Transfer — During 1989, the Bush administration sought to assist the Japanese with the development of the FSX fighter aircraft. Believing that this project would result in an aviation technology transfer to our chief economic competitor, the AFL-CIO backed legislation that would have prohibited the Japanese from transferring sensitive aviation technology when a decision is made to produce the FSX. This legislation cleared both the House and Senate, but was vetoed by the President. An override attempt in the Senate failed by one vote, 66-34.

Trade-Steel Imports - Acting to stem the tide of foreign-subsidized steel imports that undermine the competitiveness of U.S. steel products, the AFL-CIO worked to achieve a 2-1/2 year extension of the Steel Imports Stabilization Act. The final product was contained in the Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989.

Trade-Aviation — The AFL-CIO sought approval of a resolution designed to protect the livelihood of thousands of airline employees by removing U.S. domestic aviation from the current GATT Round. The GATT agreement, including aviation, could result in the repeal of U.S. cabotage laws. This would mean that foreign government-subsidized airline carriers will do business in our domestic markets on the same basis as U.S. carriers. There was no action on the resolution, and the GATT round is continuing.

Energy

Automobile Fuel Efficiency — The AFL-CIO supports a national energy strategy, including the need to increase fuel efficiency for motor vehicles. However, a bill introduced in the 101st Congress, and re-introduced in the 102nd Congress, would require exceedingly strict standards for fuel efficiency of motor vehicles out of reach with present technology. If enacted, the legislation would have resulted in plant closings and significant unemployment. Fortunately, the bill failed to gain the three-fifths majority needed for cloture and

effectively was killed for the session. It remains to be seen how the Congress will deal with this bill in 1991.

Environment

Food Safety-Fish Inspection — Most Americans do not realize that there is no mandatory federal inspection program covering the seafood that they eat. Among the several bills establishing a fish inspection program introduced in the 101st Congress, the AFL-CIO supported a proposal that vested such program authority within the Food and Drug Administration. The federation-supported legislation also contained strong whistleblower protection language, because plant employees would need protection from employer reprisals for reporting violations.

The House and Senate passed a bill, but it died in conference.

Timber Harvesting — The 102nd Congress is expected to determine whether or not the ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest will be placed off-limits to timber harvesting. An outright ban would potentially eliminate more than 100,000 jobs in the logging and timber-related industries. The AFL-CIO is actively opposing such a ban and instead is seeking support for compromise legislation that would protect the ancient forests and forest industry jobs.

Indoor Air Quality — The “sick building” syndrome is a growing health problem affecting thousands of workers who would benefit from legislation pending before the Congress that mandates joint agency research into the threat posed by indoor air contaminants. The AFL-CIO supports the legislation and will continue to seek its approval.

Agriculture-Pesticide Recordkeeping — The 101st Congress approved language, supported by the AFL-CIO and contained in the conference report on the Farm bill, that will require maintenance of records of certain pesticides used in agriculture and other commercial activities.

Health and Disability

Health Care Reform — The AFL-CIO supported legislation in the 101st Congress that would require all employers to offer a defined minimum health care benefit package to their employees. The Kennedy-Waxman bill sought to drastically reduce in number the estimated 37 million Americans who are currently without any form of health insurance. The bills did not advance beyond the committee stage.

The AFL-CIO will continue to play an active and leading role in assisting the Congress in establishing a program of comprehensive and affordable health care benefits that assures delivery of high quality services including those needed for long-term and chronic health care.

In August House and Senate bills were introduced which go a long way towards achieving the kind of comprehensive health care reform the AFL-CIO has sought, based on access, quality, cost containment, waste and red tape and retiree health care. The AFL-CIO will continue to work with Congress to reform the nation's health care and health delivery system.

Catastrophic Health Care — The 101st Congress repealed a law to provide short-term catastrophic medical coverage for Medicare beneficiaries. The AFL-CIO opposed the repeal effort, arguing that the great majority of Medicare recipients need catastrophic care protection.

Disability Discrimination — One of the major achievements of the 101st Congress was the enactment of legislation to prohibit discrimination on the basis of disability in the areas of employment, public services, public accommodations, and telecommunications relay services. The AFL-CIO strongly endorsed the Americans with Disabilities Act, citing the need to open full and equal opportunities to disabled Americans.

Education

Higher Education Act — The AFL-CIO is working to ensure that during the 102nd Congress the Higher Education Act reauthorization bill contains specific provisions designed to address the higher education needs of working families. Specifically, we will be seeking to expand grants to middle income students, provide more equitable support for "non-traditional" students, strengthen oversight of financial aid programs, expand cooperative educational programs and expand teacher recruitment.

Literacy Act — The 102nd Congress has picked up where the 101st Congress left off by seeking early approval of AFL-CIO-supported legislation that would establish a comprehensive national strategy to strengthen the federal role in adult literacy, provide assistance to state initiatives and recognize the importance of work force and family literacy through expanded research and demonstration programs.

Vocational Education — President Bush signed into law legislation endorsed by the AFL-CIO that provides an improvement of vocational education services by downplaying set-asides and mandating more cooperation among educators and job trainers. In addition, the law maintains the integrity of union apprenticeship programs.

Welfare

Housing — The Housing and Community Development Act of 1990, supported by the AFL-CIO, reauthorizes and improves many of the existing housing programs run by the Department of Housing and Urban Development

(HUD) and the Farmers Home Administration (FHA), including programs to assist first-time home buyers.

During consideration of the bill, an amendment was offered to maintain state and local authorities' rights to set structural, electrical, and plumbing codes for modular homes. The Building Trades unions strongly supported the amendment to ensure the safety and sound construction of manufactured housing, and the continued implementation of construction safety regulations appropriate to local needs. The amendment was defeated by a margin of 211-200. The remaining bill passed both the House and Senate and was signed into law.

Product Liability — The AFL-CIO continued its opposition to legislation establishing uniform federal rules governing product liability suits and punitive damage awards, including limiting the liability of product sellers and of multiple defendants in proportion to their responsibilities.

While the federation favors a balanced, comprehensive reform to the current rules governing product liability suits, the repeated re-introduction of legislation designed to limit or eliminate the liability of manufacturers and suppliers of unsafe products does not constitute reform and will garner the federation's vigorous opposition.

General Government

Social Security-Off Budget — The Social Security Trust Fund surplus, rising steadily throughout the 1980s, provided federal lawmakers with a convenient way of masking the true size of the federal budget deficit. In response to this unwise budget policy, the AFL-CIO supported legislation that removes the Trust Fund from the budget deficit calculations and would ensure its solvency.

The 101st Congress enacted this proposal as part of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990.

Social Security-Tax Cut — The AFL-CIO supported legislation to return the Social Security system to its original pay-as-you-go formula, and provide workers with a meaningful tax cut. Under the legislation, workers would enjoy a Social Security tax rate reduction from the present 6.2 percent to 5.2 percent over a five-year period. The proposal was designed to build and maintain a safe level of reserves in the Social Security trust fund.

A procedural amendment was offered to the FY 1992 budget resolution which would have cleared the way for a vote on this issue. However, a motion to table the amendment was approved by a vote of 60-38 on April 24, 1991, in effect killing the proposal for this year.

Postal Appropriations-Revenue Foregone — Continuing its efforts to retain the postal subsidy for unions and non-profit organizations, the AFL-CIO supported legislative provisions in the 101st and 102nd Congress designed to protect these subsidies from elimination, thereby ensuring that such organizations can maintain their capability to communicate with their membership.

Postal Service-Off Budget — Because it is self-sufficient and should not be used to balance the federal budget, the AFL-CIO supported legislation that would remove the U.S. Postal Service from the federal budget and return it to the “off budget” status that it enjoyed from 1974 to 1985. The Congress and the president agreed and the bill was signed into law as part of the 1990 Budget Reconciliation bill.

Campaign Finance Reform — Once again, the Congress is grappling with the issue of campaign finance reform, and the AFL-CIO is actively working to protect the opportunity for working people to match the political influence of corporate officials and the wealthy.

Political action committees allow people with shared beliefs to participate in the political arena on the same basis as the wealthy. The AFL-CIO will continue to oppose legislation, such as that which passed the Senate on May 23, 1991, on a 56-42 vote, that seeks to eliminate PAC contributions.

Voter Registration-“Motor Voter” — The United States has the lowest voter turnout of any democracy in the world. The National Voter Registration Act was introduced in the 101st Congress and backed by the AFL-CIO and a broad coalition of groups. The bill would have set nationwide standards for federal elections by allowing “motor voter” registration where each state’s driver license application (along with non-driver IDs) would be considered a voter registration application. Citizens would also be allowed to register by mail.

The legislation passed the House during the 101st Congress, but died in the Senate. The bill has been re-introduced in the 102nd Congress and was reported out of the Senate Rules Committee.

Line Item Veto — The AFL-CIO once again opposed legislation granting presidential authority for a line item veto. Bills introduced in the 101st Congress died in committee.

Paperwork Reduction Act — The Office of Management and Budget has repeatedly overstepped its authority under the Paperwork Reduction Act (PRA) to interfere with important government safety and health regulations. The AFL-CIO supported legislation in the 101st Congress which reauthorized the PRA but with more stringent rules to open its review procedures to the public with reasonable time frames for such reviews. No final action was taken on the legislation.

Civil Rights

Civil Rights Act (1990 and 1991) — The Supreme Court, packed with Reagan appointees, issued a series of rulings in 1989 which seriously scaled back legal remedies for victims of racial or sexual job discrimination.

The AFL-CIO vigorously supported legislation in both the 101st and 102nd Congress which would repair the most serious damage done to the law by the court. The legislation clarified what was considered racial harassment in the workplace and returned the burden of proof to the employer to show the business

necessity for a practice that has proven to be discriminatory. The 101st Congress passed the legislation only to have it vetoed by President Bush, and sustained on an override vote.

In the 102nd Congress, the House approved a similar bill again, but by a margin which was less than would be required to override another promised veto. Efforts by GOP and Democratic senators to develop a compromise have been continually undermined by the White House.

Handgun Control — The AFL-CIO backed the "Brady bill" which requires a seven-day waiting period for handgun purchases. It passed the House in 1991 and the Senate crime bill contained a shorter waiting period. The differences were expected to be ironed out in conference.

Foreign Affairs

Foreign Aid-Eastern and Central Europe — Because of the unprecedented pace of change occurring in Eastern Europe, the AFL-CIO has advocated expanding the current program of U.S. aid to these emerging democracies. In addition, the AFL-CIO worked to include provisions for explicit worker rights and other democratic standards, including free elections, which must be met to qualify for economic assistance.

Foreign Aid-National Endowment for Democracy (NED) — The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) for several years has assumed an important role in providing effective support to democratic institutions in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin American. The NED has provided funding to the AFL-CIO's International Institutes for developmental assistance to independent trade unions.

Legislation re-authorizing NED for two years was passed and signed into law during the 101st Congress.

Foreign Affairs-ILO Convention 105 (Forced Labor) — ILO Convention 105 on forced labor, adopted June 25, 1957, is elementary to advancing the rights of working people throughout the world.

In April of 1991, the Senate ratified the convention by a vote of 97-0. No action was necessary in the House of Representatives.

Immigration — One of the labor movements's concerns about current immigration law has been the admission of aliens as non-immigrant temporary workers. The current law has not adequately protected American workers from displacement or having their wages and working conditions undermined by employers bringing in such workers.

The 101st Congress approved legislation, with the support of the AFL-CIO, that would strike a balance between minimum protections for American workers' jobs and the establishment of visa numbers that are realistic in light of present employment of alien workers and the employers' reasonably foreseeable needs.

Cash Transfers — In recent years “cash transfers” have increasingly replaced legislation, commodity imports and project-type aid as a form of American foreign aid. The AFL-CIO supported an amendment in the Senate’s Foreign Assistance Authorization Act of 1991 which would require countries receiving American “cash transfer” aid to purchase U.S. products and commodities with that aid. The amendment was included in the authorization bill, which has yet to become law.

Legislative Action Program

Issue Campaigns — The AFL-CIO developed issue campaigns designed to achieve support for its positions on the Mexican Free Trade Agreement and the Workplace Fairness Bill.

On Mexico, the federation commissioned a poll to gauge public opinion on the issues of a free trade agreement in general and the granting of “fast track” authority by the Congress.

In both instances, the public overwhelmingly agreed with the AFL-CIO’s position. Results of the polling data were combined with an issue videocassette and distributed to the Congress, the press, and opinion leaders.

State federations were enlisted to apply pressure on their congressional delegations, as well as seeking the assistance of their state legislative bodies and governors to contact the congressional delegations.

Many emotional and intense meetings were conducted around the country between union activists and members of Congress.

Paid advertisements produced by the federation appeared in various Washington periodicals and called on Congress not to embark on a “shortcut to disaster.”

In connection with the striker replacement, or Workplace Fairness Bill, the AFL-CIO embarked upon its largest issue campaign ever. Combining grassroots lobbying activities, coalition building, and paid media, the goal was to pressure wavering members of Congress and enlist the support and sympathies of the general public and the press. State federations, regional directors, and central labor bodies were mailed leadership packets, fact sheets, press materials, and instructions outlining the course of action to be followed. Direct mail appeals were sent directly to union members in “key” congressional districts around the nation. Each recipient was asked to call his/her legislator’s district office (an enclosed flyer provided phone numbers and instructions), mail an enclosed postcard to the member, and call the AFL-CIO’s Striker Replacement Hotline to send an overnight mailgram to the member.

Because of the effort of the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, millions of postcards, mailgrams, and petitions signatures arrived on Capitol Hill urging support for H.R. 5 and S. 55.

Dozens of meetings have taken place between trade union members and “key” members back in their congressional districts. Other in-district activities have included rallies and demonstrations.

A media campaign — radio ads and a limited number of TV spots — was run in 68 selected congressional districts.

The House Democratic Leadership, recognizing the need for this legislation, met with newspaper editorial boards, appeared on television news programs, held press conferences and lobbied their colleagues.

A coalition of religious, civil rights and community groups was organized and actively involved itself in the campaign by writing letters and organizing press events in various target states.

Legislative Action Committees

With the AFL-CIO embarking on two high visibility issue campaigns relating to the Mexican Free Trade Agreement and the Workplace Fairness Bill, the Legislative Action Committee program has generated a tremendous amount of interest among the central labor councils. Requests are continuing to arrive for assistance in starting up LACs. The Department of Legislation will engage in a thorough examination of the LAC program to determine the direction and goals, as well as updating the resources available to LAC participants.

The Department will continue to advocate increased grassroots activity as a cornerstone of its legislative program and has committed the necessary resources to improve its operation.

State Legislation

State federations continue to initiate legislation to improve those areas of traditional concern to labor including minimum wage, unemployment compensation, occupational safety and health and child labor laws.

Much of 1991, however, has been spent thwarting attempts to use the layoffs of public employees as a solution to massive budget deficits plaguing many states. Federations have also been busy beating back the annual attacks on prevailing wage and workers compensation laws as well as the imposition of so-called "right to work" legislation.

In addition, in the last two years, new pressures on workers and their families and the lack of action on the federal level have challenged states to step into the breach. Striker protection legislation, health care coverage, employment discrimination, workplace privacy as well as a number of state initiatives to limit the terms of elected officials have focused our state federations' attention on the statehouse.

Term Limitations — Frustrated voters in the 1990 elections helped push initiatives through in California, Oklahoma and Colorado to limit the number of terms public officials can serve in office. Term limitations have also been adopted for officials in 5 cities. Organizations operating as the Americans to Limit Congressional Terms (ALCT) are actively pushing term limits. In 1991, 45 state legislatures saw some form of term limitation legislation introduced. In addition, voter initiatives have been filed in Washington and Ohio for the 1991

fall ballot and in eight states thus far for 1992. If successful, state and local governments could lose some of their most able and experienced elected officials. In order to meet this challenge, a coalition of former public officials, political scientists and constitutional scholars has been formed under a mandate to "Let the People Decide-Americans for Ballot Freedom". This committee is working with state and local labor councils to educate voters in targeted states. An Executive Council committee chaired by AFSCME President Gerald McEntee is working closely with this anti-term limitations coalition.

Restrictive Legislation — So-called "right-to-work" proposals were successfully fought back in Colorado, Minnesota, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Montana, with the issue likely to be revived in New Hampshire. Legislation calling for "fair share fees" to unions from non-members was defeated in Idaho, Kansas and Nevada.

Minimum Wage — Passage of the federal minimum wage increase to \$4.25 triggered 24 states to follow suit. The federal provisions for a sub-minimum wage also prompted several states to adopt similar legislation. Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio and South Dakota adopted training wages for employees under age 20, with Utah and Wisconsin statutes calling for "learner" and "probationary" rates respectively.

Four states - Alaska, Oregon, Rhode Island and Connecticut have minimums that exceed the federal rate. Legislation enacted in New Jersey and Iowa will raise their rates above the federal minimum in early 1992.

Health Care — With more than 37 million Americans without medical insurance, states are beginning to address the problem of providing access to adequate health care for everyone. Almost every state has some form of legislation pending calling for health care reform. At the present time only Hawaii has passed legislation calling for universal health care coverage. To avoid passage of 50 different health care systems, states need to support legislation that is consistent with national goals of the AFL-CIO that include universal access, significant cost containment, quality care and progressive financing.

Family Leave — New Jersey joined Rhode Island and Minnesota in granting employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for birth or adoption of a child, or the serious illness of a spouse or parent. At least 20 states have passed or attempted to pass some form of family leave including Oregon, Maine, Hawaii, Pennsylvania, Kansas, Colorado and Connecticut. The governors of California and Illinois both vetoed family leave legislation in their states.

Prevailing Wage — Attempts to weaken prevailing wage laws occurred in almost every state, but lobbying efforts enabled labor to defeat these amendments. Numerous improvements to the laws were also proposed, and most met with success. New Mexico was able to expand coverage to projects costing \$20,000 or more and Montana to \$25,000 or more.

Employee Testing — Testing of workers for drug and alcohol use continues to gain attention across the nation. Thirteen states have tried to balance the issues of workplace safety and worker privacy through some form of legislation. Provisions in South Dakota and Georgia allow testing of state employees in

safety-sensitive positions. Arizona can test drivers in school districts while the Georgia law requiring applicants for public school jobs to be tested was struck down by the U. S. District Court.

Discrimination — States are taking steps to assure that their laws are in compliance with federal statutes prohibiting discrimination in the workplace based on age, sex or disability, including AIDS. Wisconsin prohibits the use of an HIV test as a condition of public sector employment while Nebraska bars discrimination on the basis of an individual being suspected of suffering from AIDS.

Striker Protections — At least 18 states have attempted to secure protections for strikers threatened with permanent replacement. State proposals have focused on the continuation of medical benefits during strikes, making strikers who are replaced eligible for unemployment benefits, maintaining lists of workers who offer themselves as scabs, prohibitions against advertising for replacements or importing replacements from out of state, and the disqualification of business tax credits for costs associated with hiring replacement workers. Hawaii and Louisiana passed legislation which prohibits hiring strikebreakers by persons not directly interested in a labor dispute while New Jersey and Oklahoma prohibit the use of prisoners during strikes or lockouts.

Child Labor — Growing concern over child labor abuses and its effect on school performance produced legislation in 12 states to restrict employment of minors during the school year. Indiana requires employment certificates for 17 year-olds and has the authority to revoke the certificate if there is a sharp drop in a student's grades. Ohio and Tennessee restrict 16 and 17-year-olds from working at night during school weeks. Wisconsin and Ohio passed laws restricting the employment of children for door to door sales, an area of frequent exploitation. Utah will now impose a penalty of up to \$500 for child labor violations. Florida and Hawaii have initiated studies of their child labor laws.

State federations have also been active in securing passage of "motor-voter" legislation requiring the inclusion of a voter registration card in all applications for driver's license or non-driver identification cards. "Motor-voter" provisions were enacted in Montana and New Mexico and are pending in a number of states.

The fiscal crisis in the states has prompted legislation to privatize state services and prison construction as a solution to state budget problems. Labor has been successful in defeating these short-sighted solutions.

Restrictive Labor Legislation

Significant victories were scored by the AFL-CIO in its on-going fight against "right-to-work." An effort by "right-to-work" advocates on the Navajo Nation Council to strengthen a "right-to-work" provision which applied to the reservation was defeated and the reservation's existing "right-to-work" law was eliminated.

The National Right to Work Committee's (NRTWC) campaign to win "right-to-work" legislation in Montana and Oklahoma suffered a major set-back

as the result of AFL-CIO victories in the 1990 Montana legislative races and Oklahoma gubernatorial election. Moreover, efforts by the NRTWC and its allies to revive "right-to-work" initiatives in New Mexico and West Virginia failed dismally. AFL-CIO campaigns to modify state "right-to-work" laws to allow for a "fair share" provision are being pursued in a number of states with state bodies in Idaho and Virginia taking the lead.

While these developments are worth celebrating, the National Right to Work Committee continues its unceasing program to place more states in the "right to work" column by launching new campaigns in Colorado and Pennsylvania. Moreover, the activities of the NRTWC to expand the effect of the Beck decision on national, state and local levels are being pursued with a vengeance.

Navajo Nation

In an important victory for labor, the Navajo Nation Council in late October 1990, voted to eliminate a long-standing "right-to-work" provision from its basic labor law. The Navajo Nation covers parts of Arizona, Colorado, Utah and New Mexico. Besides being the largest nation within a nation in the world, the reservation lies in the middle of two "right-to-work" states and two free collective bargaining states targeted by the NRTWC. By a narrow vote of 34 to 33, with four abstentions, the provision was abolished.

Union leaders testified before the Navajo Council that removal of the provision, on the books since 1958, would strengthen existing Navajo labor laws to increase employment opportunities for tribal members. Tribal members of the United Mine Workers of America led efforts to repeal the provision and defeated attempts to place further restrictions on union activities.

Oklahoma

If there was any state election in which the AFL-CIO needed to defeat the concerted campaign of the NRTWC in a dramatic way, Oklahoma was it. The AFL-CIO's commitment of staff and resources to the 1990 Oklahoma elections gave the state body an edge which resulted in a critical defeat of the NRTWC and its allies.

The Oklahoma AFL-CIO was instrumental in electing a democratic governor who is pledged to vetoing any "right-to-work" legislation. Labor was successful in electing four new state senators who oppose "right-to-work" while maintaining the margin of state house members who support labor on this issue. Moreover, a Teamsters business representative was elected state labor commissioner and will serve as an important voice against the state's "right-to-work" proponents.

In spite of these election victories the NRTWC is alive and well in Oklahoma and labor must be ever vigilant.

Four "right-to-work" bills were introduced in the House during the past session but all were stopped in committee. No attempts were made to bring these bills out of committee or to attach them as amendments to pending legislation.

A "right-to-work" bill in the Senate was also stopped in committee and no effort was been made to bring it out. Recently, the governor of Oklahoma publicly stated that he was opposed to "right-to-work" and, in his view, there would not be a bill any time soon.

It is hoped that the election of a sympathetic democratic governor along with a democratically controlled legislature insures a reapportionment formula which will be helpful to labor's efforts to fight "right to work" in the 1990s. At this time labor and its political allies in Oklahoma seem strong enough to defeat any attempt by the NRTWC to pass "right to work" legislatively.

Montana

The Montana AFL-CIO was successful in defeating the NRTWC's campaign to elect pro-"right-to-work" candidates to the Montana state legislature. The results of the election saw Democrats gaining six seats in the Montana senate and eight seats in the house. The Senate is now comprised of 29 Democrats and 21 Republicans. The House margin now stands at 61 Democrats and 39 Republicans. The president of the Montana AFL-CIO was re-elected to a House seat and was chosen House Majority Leader.

The NRTWC reported to the state elections commission that its Montana Right to Work Political Action Committee made contributions to 22 legislative candidates and paid the expenses of a field organizer to promote "right to work" candidates. The Montana AFL-CIO is challenging these figures and maintains that the NRTWC has incorrectly reported actual contributions to legislative candidates and monetary support for field staff.

The state's governor remains an active "right-to-work" advocate who would support "right-to-work" legislation. Many Democrats in both houses of the legislature are weak on the "right-to-work" issue. However, it appears that labor's overwhelming victory in the 1990 state legislative races has stymied the NRTWC's campaign in Montana for the present. At the end of the past legislative session no "right-to-work" bill had been introduced.

As a part of the strategy to counter the argument that "right-to-work" is a panacea for Montana's deep economic problems, the AFL-CIO state body is utilizing a report of the Corporation For Enterprise Development (CFED). This report argues that economic development should not be pursued at the cost of needed worker protections and proposes a program to meet the economic needs of the state.

The CFED report has been sent to 1,100 state opinion-makers such as civic and business leaders, legislators, and clergy. It has been received favorably by the press and is beginning to generate keen interest throughout the state. As the next phase of this offensive to frame the debate on "right-to-work," a partnership of labor, business, civic and religious groups is being established to propose alternatives to the economic crisis which confronts Montana.

New Mexico

A "right to work" bill was introduced into the state house during the last week of January, 1991. It received a negative vote in committee and was subsequently defeated by a vote of the full house. This activity by the National Right to Work Committee was not anticipated given labor's strength in the legislature.

A court decision knocked down a Clovis city ordinance which permitted "right-to-work" on a local level. The legal challenge to this ordinance was led by the New Mexico AFL-CIO.

Colorado

A "right-to-work" bill was introduced in the Colorado house during the second week of February 1991. The introduction of "right-to-work" in Colorado was totally unexpected and is indicative of the on-going activity of the NRTWC to bring more states into the "right-to-work" column.

The "right-to-work" bill which was introduced in the Colorado House was defeated by a vote of 31 to 30. All of the Democrats voted against the bill as well as five Republicans. A Republican House member chaired the session and it was her vote that broke an initial tie. The Republican House leadership delayed the vote for two days in order to line up its "right-to-work" legislators but failed to pass the measure. Defeat of the bill in the House came as a plus since the Colorado AFL-CIO originally felt it would pass the House and the battle for its defeat would be waged in the Senate.

Idaho

The Idaho Attorney General ruled that the Idaho "right-to-work" law does not apply to the state and its political subdivisions and, therefore, only relates to private sector and not to public employees. No collective bargaining law for public employees presently exists in the state, but teachers and fire-fighters are given the right to bargain under separate state statutes. A few cities in the state also have local ordinances which allow for collective bargaining agreements with public employees under their jurisdictions.

The NRTWC was unsuccessful in its efforts to include Idaho state employees in coverage under its "right-to-work" statute. In 1990, a bill which would include all public employees under the state's "right-to-work" statute came out of the Idaho legislature. The measure was vetoed by Gov. Cecil Andrus who was severely criticized by the NRTWC for this action.

In 1991 a bill which would require payment for services rendered to non-dues payers who desire representation for grievances was introduced by the state AFL-CIO in the state house. The bill was defeated by a tie vote in committee.

Council Recommendation

As the labor movement enters the 1990s, the reality of the National Right to Work Committee's on-going campaign to threaten free collective bargaining continues. Recent NRTWC initiatives in Pennsylvania, Colorado, Oklahoma and other states cannot be ignored — and the battle can be expected to be fought all over again in the legislature in 1992 in New Hampshire. The activities of the NRTWC and its base of right wing supporters with strong ties to the business community are a constant threat to the effort of working men and women to achieve economic and social justice.

At the close of the last decade, the AFL-CIO successfully fought challenges by the National Right to Work Committee in New Mexico, Oklahoma, West Virginia and Montana. In the case of the Navajo Nation, "right-to-work" was repealed on tribal lands. Election victories by the AFL-CIO dampened NRTWC hopes of victories in many states which they had targeted.

As a direct result of the Beck decision and the anti-worker agenda of the Reagan-Bush administration, unions are under assault by the radical right for protecting the interests of workers in the political arena. Union advocacy of minimum wage, social security benefits, national health care reform, increased workers compensation benefits, adequate unemployment compensation, occupational health and safety laws, child care, parental leave and workplace fairness legislation are all anathema to the right wing architects of the National Right to Work Committee.

The future of the American labor movement depends on the defeat of "right-to-work" initiatives — in New Hampshire and wherever else they may arise — and the AFL-CIO rededicates itself to that objective. The AFL-CIO stands ready to commit all of its resources in the battle to defeat the agenda of the radical right and its allies in the business community to destroy free collective bargaining.

The AFL-CIO will develop effective grass-roots political action on the local level and continue to form alliances with religious, civil rights and community-based organizations.

The AFL-CIO will provide leadership in the areas of political education, fund raising and volunteer recruitment for the labor movement to effectively battle the forces of "right-to-work" in the states.

The AFL-CIO will devise strategies to combat the effects of the Beck decision, give assistance to state labor federations in their efforts to develop new and creative approaches to combating "right-to-work" campaigns, and develop economic arguments which best illustrate the human devastation "right-to-work" wreaks on working people.

The AFL-CIO will be open to the possibilities for repeal campaigns in "right-to-work" states and will bring together the leadership of our state federations to plan coordinated strategies to counter the campaigns of the NRTWC.

National Economy

The Economic Situation

Sluggish expansion gave way to outright recession in mid-1990, even before the chilling effect of the jump in oil prices that followed Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. Working people have paid a heavy price for the vagaries of the economy compounded by errors of government policy. Millions lost their jobs; millions more were put on reduced working hours. Those who remained at work suffered a reduction in purchasing power, continuing a distressing, long-term trend that threatens to turn the United States into a low-wage economy for millions of workers at the base of the nation's increasingly unequal economic pyramid. Corporations continued to disinvest from America and export their U.S. workers' jobs.

Problems in the financial system have given this recession an especially anxiety-producing twist. A wave of failures, first among the savings and loan associations and now among hundreds of commercial banks, unparalleled in scope since the 1930s, casts a pall over the economic outlook. As a result of the number and cost of these bank failures, the government's Bank Insurance Fund is teetering on the brink of insolvency for the first time since federal deposit insurance was established more than half a century ago.

Despite Administration denials, it increasingly appears likely that hard-pressed working Americans will be forced to forego badly needed, long-deferred expenditures for such vital public investments as their children's education or improvements in health care because their tax dollars will be diverted instead to pay for another multi-billion dollar bailout of the tattered financial system.

Even before the recession, a combination of sluggish economic growth and Reagan-era tax cuts for the wealthy had robbed government of the resources needed to invest adequately in the nation's future. In a cynical strategy to shrink the size of government, the Reagan and Bush administrations ran up huge federal deficits to be used as a club to hold down spending for many programs vital to the quality of life and effectiveness of the economy. They have also crippled the ability of government to use one of its most potent tools, expan-

sionary fiscal policy, to ease the pain of recession. The entire burden of fighting recession has fallen to monetary policy carried out by central bankers more concerned about inflation than unemployment, with predictable but unfortunate results.

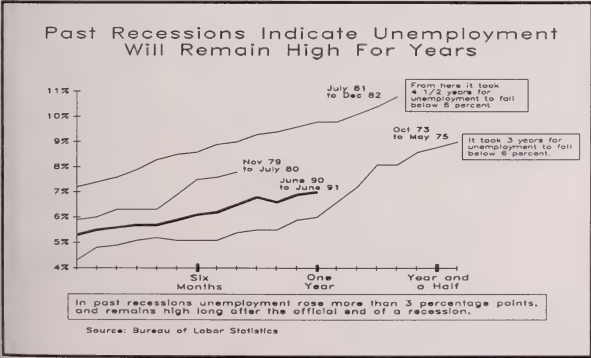
The trade deficit has dropped temporarily — but mainly because of recession, not because needed trade and industrial policies have been put in place. Meanwhile, the nation sinks deeper into international debt. Rather than adopt policies which could help cure the sickness, the government instead changed its method for calculating international debt statistics in an attempt to deflect attention from the severity of the disease.

Spurred by price jumps for medical care and energy, inflation reared its ugly head in 1990. Wages lagged far behind price increases. After adjusting for inflation, weekly earnings fell faster in 1990 than in any year of the 1980s, a decade which saw declines in real earnings in all but three of its years.

Neglect or worse in the 1980s left the nation totally unprepared to face the challenges that lie ahead in energy, environment, health care, education, housing, transportation, child development and the urban crisis. High unemployment, declining real wages and job quality, massive trade and budget deficits and serious financial system fragility continue to loom ahead.

Unemployment and Jobs

Unemployment is not only a personal tragedy for its victims, it is a terrible economic waste. Each 1 percent of unemployment costs the U.S. Treasury \$33 billion — \$28 billion in lost tax revenues and \$5 billion in added unemployment, welfare, food stamps and other costs.



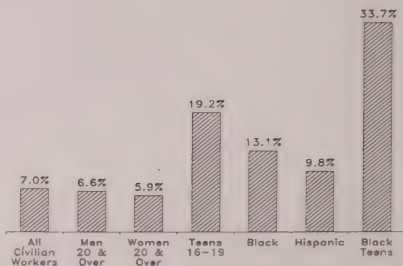
As recession took its toll, the national unemployment rate increased to 7 percent in June 1991, the highest unemployment rate since the aftermath of the severe recession of 1981-82. The number of persons officially counted as unemployed rose to 8,745,000, an increase of 2.2 million or 33 percent from June 1990, when the unemployment rate was 5.3 percent. The number of long-term jobless, unemployed six months or more, shot up 76 percent to 1.2 million between June 1990 and June 1991.

Although it has virtually escaped the attention of the nation's economic policy-makers, high unemployment will plague the economy for years to come. After the 1973-75 recession, it took three years for unemployment to fall below 6 percent, and in the ensuing 16 years, it never fell to its pre-1975 recession rate of 4.3 percent. After the 1981-82 recession, it took four and a half years for unemployment to fall below 6 percent.

As bleak as the official statistics are, they do not come close to capturing the full extent of labor market distress. In June 1991, there were 980,000 "discouraged workers" in addition to those officially counted as unemployed. These individuals had given up actively looking for work because they believed their prospects for finding a job were so poor. Another 5.7 million workers were working part-time because they could not find a full-time job. Including involuntary part-timers and discouraged workers, 15.4 million workers were victims of unemployment or underemployment as of June 1991.

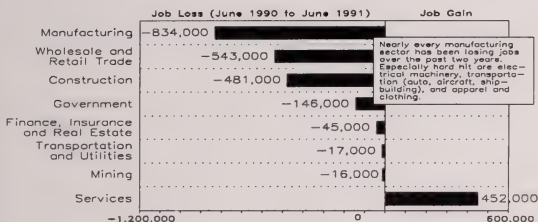
Unemployment is especially severe among the nation's most disadvantaged groups. In June 1991, the unemployment rate was 13.1 percent among black workers and 9.8 percent among hispanic workers. Among young workers the unemployment rate is particularly high. In June 1991, the unemployment rate

Unemployment
Among Selected Groups
June 1991



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

1.6 Million Jobs Lost Since June 1990



was 19.2 percent among all teenagers and was a shocking 33.7 percent for black teenagers.

Certain regions of the country have been especially hard-hit by the recession. Michigan, battered by the steep slump in the auto industry, had 9.1 percent unemployment in June 1991. In Massachusetts, the unemployment rate was 9.5 percent, highest among the eleven largest states, reflecting the severity of New England's economic downturn. New England's recession was worsened by troubles in high tech, defense, financial services, state and local government and — most seriously — real estate. Employment levels in the region, according to one respected forecaster, will remain below the 1989 peak for at least five years.

In addition to swelling the ranks of the unemployed, the recession has cut deeply into employment levels throughout much of the economy. Payroll employment declined by 1.6 million between June 1990 and June 1991. Manufacturing and construction workers were dealt especially heavy blows. The number of jobs in the nation's manufacturing industries declined by 834,000 between June 1990 and June 1991. Even before the current recession officially began, manufacturing employment had resumed its worrisome decline; the number of manufacturing jobs was down 1.3 million between January 1989 and June 1991. Employment in state and local government also dropped by 146,000 jobs between June 1990 and June 1991.

Tattered Safety Net

The unemployment insurance system is a national disgrace with only 37 percent of the unemployed receiving unemployment insurance benefits in June 1991. The President made a bad situation worse with his cynical refusal in

August to declare the emergency that would bring extended benefits newly provided by Congress and his callous threat the following month to veto subsequent extended benefits legislation that was adopted overwhelmingly. A far higher percentage of the unemployed were protected in past recessions. During the 1975 recession, more than three-fourths of the unemployed received unemployment insurance benefits; during the 1981-82 recession, the proportion receiving benefits was 43 percent.

Moreover, unemployment benefit checks for those who do receive them are woefully inadequate. The average unemployment insurance benefit was just \$161 per week in 1990, only 37 percent of average weekly wages in covered employment. This proportion is far below the 65 percent of wage replacement which is the labor movement's goal. It even falls considerably short of the 50 percent wage replacement that was recommended at a minimum by a respected commission that studied the unemployment insurance system at the government's request some years ago.

More than a decade of neglect has left the federal-state unemployment compensation system so frayed that it no longer functions as a safety net for America's jobless workers. The federal government and the states have continually restricted worker eligibility for benefits and have failed to put the unemployment compensation trust funds on a sound financial basis. The "trigger" for extended benefits has become so stringent that as of September 1991, in the midst of a steep recession with national unemployment near 7 percent, extended benefits were "triggered" in only two states. States have underfunded the program by putting employer payroll tax rates too low. Unemployment taxes as a percentage of total wages have dropped from 1.35 percent of payroll 10 years ago to 0.7 percent.

Dislocated Workers

The recession accelerated damaging changes in the nation's economy and labor market that had been underway for more than a decade — extracting an even heavier toll from millions of workers. Between 1985 and 1989, 4.3 million workers who had been with their employers for three or more years became unemployed as a result of plant closings, relocations, or other permanent elimination of jobs. In manufacturing and construction, such job loss affected roughly one worker out of every eight with three or more years on the job. In mining, the proportion displaced during this five-year period was more than one in five.

Although comparable figures are not yet available for 1990 or any part of 1991, the recession will make the dislocated worker problem even worse. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported recently that the number of mass layoffs involving 50 or more workers for 30 or more days increased by 12.6 percent between 1989 and 1990. Nearly one in seven of these mass layoffs involved the closure of a plant or other workplace. More than half the mass layoffs were in

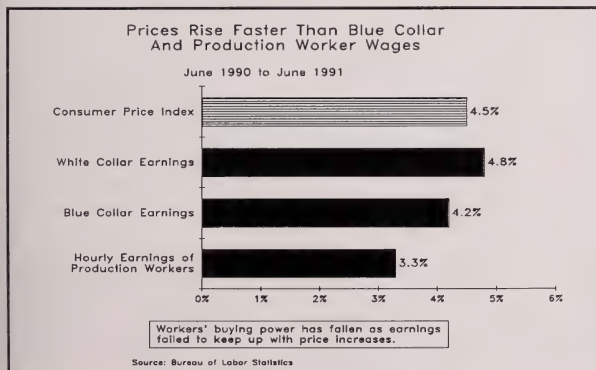
manufacturing industries in 1990, and more than half of the manufacturing layoffs occurred in the durable goods industries.

While the burden of permanent job loss continues to fall by far most heavily on blue collar workers in mining, construction and manufacturing, the incidence of job displacement has become more widespread than it had been in the early 1980s. For example, the number of workers with three or more years on the job who lost their jobs in the finance, real estate and insurance industries increased 173 percent between 1979-83 and 1985-89. The number of longer-service workers displaced from the retail trade and communications industries increased sharply. Job displacement among a number of white-collar occupations also became much more prevalent during the late 1980s.

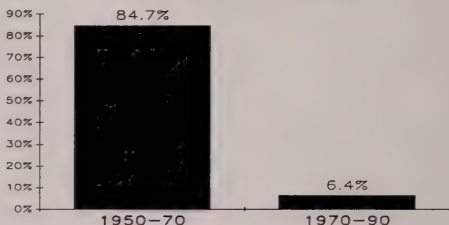
Displaced workers continue to experience long spells of joblessness. As of January 1990, fully 28 percent of workers displaced between 1985 and 1989 still did not have a job. Many others were forced into part-time jobs. Nearly half of displaced workers suffered earnings losses, often steep losses, especially workers who had been displaced from manufacturing jobs. Many important job-related benefits — like medical insurance — were lost. As of January 1990, one in every four workers displaced from jobs with health coverage had no medical benefits of any kind.

Family Incomes Squeezed

Since the early 1970s, the purchasing power of average weekly earnings of production and non-supervisory workers has declined \$64 or 16 percent, falling to \$345.69 for 1990. Through the first half of 1991, the purchasing power of workers' earnings continued to decline.



Change in Real Median Family Income 1950-70 And 1970-90



Source: Bureau of the Census

Last year's decline of 1.7 percent compared with 1989 was the sharpest year-over-year drop in real average weekly earnings since 1980. The drop for 1990 was the fourth straight year-to-year decline, and the seventh to occur in the last ten years.

With workers' earnings in decline, family income has fallen or stagnated for more than a decade. Real incomes for families with only one wage earner have fallen sharply over the last decade, and even those with a second earner have made only modest gains.

The squeeze on living standards of typical working families is reflected in sharp increases in the proportion of family income required to pay for shelter, transportation, education and health care. According to the recent report of the Rockefeller Commission, the proportion of median family income required to make the payments on a median-priced house increased from 25 percent in the 1970s to 44 percent by the late 1980s. Over the same time period, the average price of a new car increased from 35 percent of median family income to 48 percent; the cost of a year's tuition at a private college increased from 28 percent of median family income to 38 percent; and out-of-pocket medical expenses increased from 4.3 percent of median family income to 5.6 percent.

Younger families have been especially hard-hit. Median real income of families headed by workers under the age of 25 has declined by 31 percent since 1973.

Recent modest increases in the minimum wage, the best that could be achieved given the strenuous opposition of the Bush administration, have not come close to restoring its lost purchasing power. As of mid-1991, the \$4.25 minimum wage represented 17 percent less in purchasing power than the \$3.35 minimum provided in January 1981, and 25 percent less than the \$2.65 minimum provided in January 1978.

Income Distribution

The gap between rich and poor, which reached an all-time high in 1989 since family income statistics were first published in 1947, showed little change in 1990. In 1990, the richest 5 percent of American families received 17.4 percent of all family income and the richest 20 percent received 44.3 percent. The poorest 20 percent of families received only 4.6 percent of family income, almost the lowest such percentage on record. The richest 5 percent of families received more income in 1990 than the poorest 40 percent combined.

Between 1980 and 1990, the richest fifth of families were the only ones whose share increased; the share received by the other 80 percent of families declined.

Family Incomes Become More Unequal

	Shares Received	
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>
Lowest Fifth	5.2%	4.6%
Second Fifth	11.5	10.8
Third Fifth	17.5	16.6
Fourth Fifth	24.3	23.8
Highest Fifth	41.5	44.3
Top 5 Percent	15.3	17.4

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

Poverty

In 1990, 33.6 million people were in poverty as officially defined, 13.5 percent of the nation's population. The yardstick used by the government to measure poverty is hardly generous; the official poverty line for a family of four was \$13,359 for 1990 and \$13,900 if calculated for June 1991.

These shocking figures on the incidence of poverty last year reflect an increase of 2.1 million persons over 1989, when 12.8 percent of the nation's population were officially counted as poor. In 1990, 4.3 million more people were poor than in 1980, a shameful increase of 15 percent.

While unemployment contributes greatly to poverty, especially among minorities, young people and inner city dwellers, one of every six members of poor households works year-round, full time. Wages are too low for many jobs to let workers escape poverty either for themselves or their families. The minimum wage, currently \$4.25, would have had to be increased to \$5.20 as of mid-1991 to enable a full-time, year-round minimum wage worker to generate yearly earnings at the poverty line for a family of three.

Half of the nation's poor are children (40 percent) or elderly (11 percent). The poverty rate for children under age 18 was 21 percent for 1990, higher than for any other age group. More than 13 million children are being raised in poverty. Among children below the age of three, nearly one in four lives in a poor family. Poverty rates among young families have almost doubled since the 1970s.

Low wages are an especially serious cause of poverty among families with children. Two-fifths of poor two-parent families with children include a full-time, year-round worker. The shockingly high incidence of poverty among children is a tragedy and a national disgrace. It is also sowing the seeds of poverty for generations to come.

The poverty rate for the nation's elderly is also higher than for those between the ages of 18 and 64 and in 1990, the elderly made up nearly one fifth of the "near poor," defined as those whose incomes are just above the poverty line (within 25 percent).

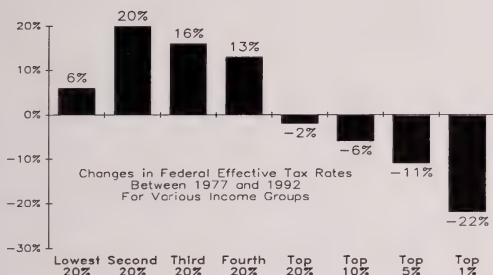
Inflation

In 1990, consumer prices rose 6.1 percent, the largest such increase since 1981 and well above the rate for 1989, when the December-to-December increase was 4.6 percent.

Energy and health care caused much of the increase in inflation. Consumer prices for energy rose 18.1 percent in 1990, sparked by whopping increases of 36.5 percent for motor fuel and 29.8 percent for fuel oil. The bulk of these increases occurred between July and October, after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the UN-sanctioned embargo. Energy prices came down in November and December, but not enough to offset the hefty increases earlier in the year. These price increases clearly had a disruptive impact on the economy, which was already weak and sliding into recession. They underscored the nation's continuing vulnerability to energy shocks and supply interruptions from abroad, and the serious consequences of the failure to develop and implement a far-sighted, comprehensive energy policy.

Medical care costs continued out of control, rising another 9.6 percent last year. Over the last decade, the cost of medical care has risen more than twice as fast as consumer prices overall. Only comprehensive national health care reform can address the disasters of cost and lack of access and quality control that are causing the nation's health care nightmare.

Tax Rates Are Down for the Rich, But For the Majority They are Up



Source: House Ways and Means Committee, 1991 Green Book

Budget and Taxes

Distorted budget priorities and grossly unfair changes in tax burdens and benefits continue. To make matters worse, the massive federal deficits of the past 10 years have produced budget gridlock, blocking social progress and urgently needed public investment at every turn, while robbing government of the ability to use fiscal policy to combat recession. Crises in the financial system threaten to absorb massive amounts of federal revenues that could be put to far better use.

Between 1980 and 1990, federal spending on national defense increased 47 percent in real terms. The interest burden on the mushrooming federal debt shot up 113 percent, absorbing 14 cents of every federal dollar spent, compared with 9 cents in 1980. By contrast, federal spending for education and training declined 25 percent between 1980 and 1990, while outlays for low-income discretionary programs dropped 52 percent. Housing programs were especially hard-hit; at a time when millions were homeless in the richest country on earth, federal spending on housing was slashed by 73 percent.

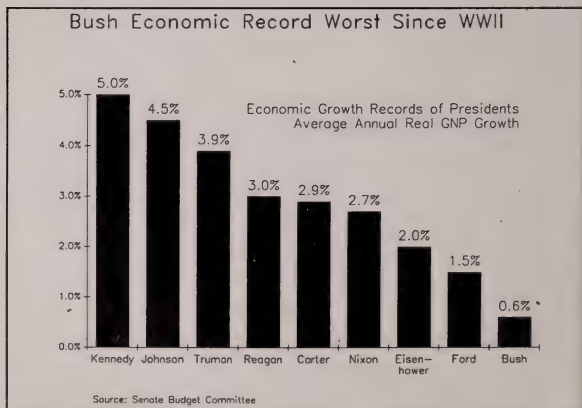
Federal cutbacks have also worsened substantially the budget crisis of state and local governments. This crisis, in turn, has had serious adverse consequences for social services, for the jobs of state and local government workers, and for taxpayers in the low to moderate income brackets. Cutbacks at the state and local level have also worsened the recession and cloud the prospects for recovery.

Although major increases in military spending without raising the revenue to pay for them contributed significantly to the federal budget crisis, its most

fundamental cause is enormous and wholly unjustified tax cuts bestowed upon the rich. Meanwhile, tax burdens on middle class and working Americans have actually increased. Since the late 1970s, tax rates on the richest 1 percent of income earners declined by 22 percent. The middle three-fifths of the nation's taxpayers, by contrast, experienced an increase in tax rates ranging from 13 percent to 20 percent, as slightly lower federal income tax rates were more than offset by sharply higher payroll taxes and state and local income taxes.

The latest budget submitted by the Bush administration for fiscal year 1992 shows little change in these misguided priorities. The administration proposed further benefit cuts in programs for middle- and lower-income people, including medicare and low-income energy assistance, while advocating yet another bonanza for the super-rich in the form of a deep tax cut on capital gains. The cut in capital gains taxes would be worth \$10 billion per year to taxpayers with incomes of more than \$200,000 per year, an average of \$15,000 for each of them. The top tax rate on capital gains was not increased when the top rate on ordinary income was raised to 31 percent.

There was nothing in the administration's proposed budget to fight the recession or help the unemployed. Nor was there anything to address the growing backlog of urgent, unmet public investment needs. Progress in meeting these public investment needs was also hampered and will continue to be hampered for years to come by the multi-year budget agreement reached late in 1990. This complex agreement requires spending increases to be matched either by tax revenue increases or offsetting spending cuts. It has not prevented further increases in the budget deficit to a projected \$360 billion all-time high, but it has put the nation into a budgetary straitjacket that will hamstring social progress until this ill-conceived agreement is rescinded.



Council Recommendation

Despite America's wealth and economic potential, prosperity is an unfulfilled promise for millions of people and even survival with dignity is an unachieved goal for many more. Recession has moved the economy farther away from justice and prosperity, and the nation's policymakers have sought to ignore the suffering of the recession.

Working families face increasing difficulty making ends meet. Wages continue to lag behind price increases. Young families have been especially hard hit and the squeeze continues for middle-class, middle-income Americans. Poverty remains a disgrace for a nation that once displayed the will to reduce poverty levels.

Meanwhile, those at the top of the economic pyramid have garnered a grossly disproportionate share of income and wealth. Much of the progress toward reducing extreme economic inequality that was made in the 1960s and 1970s has been undone during the past 11 years.

The worst cruelty, unemployment, afflicts millions of Americans and the recession swells their ranks. Even if the optimists are right that recovery lies just around the corner, unemployment will remain unacceptably high for years to come.

Millions who remain at work face worsened conditions. Well-paid jobs have disappeared. Part-time, temporary and subcontracted work, often with minimal or no benefits, has been substituted by employers for secure, full-time jobs with adequate pay.

The safety net for working people and their families is badly frayed. Millions of the unemployed are not receiving unemployment compensation, and those who do receive too small a percentage of their prior earnings to afford basic necessities. Even these insufficient benefits are paid for a far shorter time than they are needed. Programs for worker training and retraining are woefully inadequate.

Budget gridlock hamstrings social progress and serves as an excuse to deprive government of one of its most important tools for stimulating the economy to combat recession. Urgently needed public investment in education, health care, child development, housing and infrastructure is held hostage to the largest and longest string of federal budget deficits in the nation's history.

Resources needed for public investment are absorbed by wasteful, inequitable and incredibly expensive bailouts of first, the savings and loans, and now most likely of the commercial banks. The failure of so many of the nation's banks has given the current recession an especially anxiety-producing twist.

Wealthy Americans and corporations pay a lower proportion of their income in taxes than they did in the 1970s, while the tax burden on working and middle-class, middle-income people has increased.

Interest rates remain too high, partly as a result of overly tight monetary policies carried out by a powerful but unaccountable Federal Reserve Board. Adequate credit is not available to finance productive, job-creating investment. A legacy of deregulation and lax anti-trust enforcement has left the public

vulnerable to the savings and loan ripoffs, bank failures, corporate raiders, polluters and price-gougers.

The trade deficit continues at a level that only a few years ago would have been cause for sounding an alarm. Meanwhile, the nation sinks deeper into international debt and the industrial base continues to erode.

Despite these and other difficulties, the American economy has enormous resources and its workers have enormous resourcefulness. Many of the most pressing social and economic problems can be solved. What's lacking is the national will to set the economy on a fairer, more productive and more prosperous course.

AFL-CIO Program

Stronger medicine is needed to assure recovery from the recession and achieve a broad-based prosperity with economic progress and social justice.

Policies are urgently needed to put the unemployed back to work. The nation's growing list of unmet needs means that there is plenty of useful work for them to do. The AFL-CIO urges the nation's economic policy-makers to place full employment at decent wages back on the agenda as a high-priority national goal.

The quality of employment opportunities must also be improved. High-wage, high-skill jobs are not being developed, while the fabric of American life is being torn apart by the switch to low-wage, dead-end jobs, including a host of involuntary part-time and temporary jobs with inadequate benefits or none at all. Training and retraining opportunities must be provided for all workers who want and need them. Better education is needed for young people before they enter the labor force. A comprehensive strategy is needed to make sure that corporations reinvest in America to retain and create good jobs here at home.

The tattered safety net must be re-stitched to assure an adequate level and duration of benefits for the nation's unemployed. The employment service must be upgraded and provided with the funding and other resources needed to do its job.

The badly eroded purchasing power of workers and their families, especially young families, must be increased. The ranks of the middle class and the purchasing power of middle-income families must be enhanced, not continually squeezed. Collective bargaining and trade union representation must be strengthened if working people are to have any chance of getting their fair share of productivity gains. It is time for policy-makers to recognize that the nation cannot prosper if its workers do not.

Policies are needed to move the nation toward fairness and away from unequal distribution of income and wealth. Such policies would make the economy less vulnerable to speculative excesses.

Policies are needed to counteract poverty, including a substantial increase in the minimum wage. Nearly 34 million Americans live in poverty, an increase

of 15 percent since 1980. The special problems of children being raised in poverty must be addressed on a priority basis. One of every five children is being raised in poverty; the rate of infant mortality is higher in the United States than in 21 other countries around the world.

Older Americans continue to face poverty at a substantially higher rate than do those who are of middle age; their needs must also be met.

Policies are needed to reduce the trade deficit and restore the health of the industrial base.

Budget gridlock must be overcome, to allow the use of fiscal policy to stimulate the economy during times of recession and to provide sufficient resources to meet the nation's increasingly urgent public investment needs. Education, health care, child development, housing and infrastructure are among the many key areas where public investment must be increased. This will require that the multi-year budget agreement be rescinded.

Solutions are urgently needed to the nation's festering urban crisis which continues to render many of America's central cities unlivable. The escalating financial burden on states and cities will require the federal government to shoulder its fair share of responsibility.

Military expenditures can and should be reduced. As military spending is reduced, a portion of the resources which are freed up must be earmarked for a comprehensive program of economic conversion.

A substantial increase in federal revenues to finance badly needed public investment is also required. Closing current tax loopholes which encourage speculation and reward offshore investment would help to raise those revenues while at the same time encouraging more socially and economically appropriate corporate behavior. Other progressive tax changes are needed as well to make the wealthy and corporations pay their fair share. The top income tax rate should be raised, and capital gains should be treated the same as other income. Estate and gift tax loopholes should be closed, and serious consideration should be given to establishing a tax on high levels of wealth.

We call upon the Federal Reserve Board to accommodate the nation's needs with more expansionary monetary policies. Structural reforms are needed to make the powerful Fed more accountable to the public. Interest rates must be brought down. Inflation is a serious concern, but targeted policies aimed at runaway sectors like energy and health care could dampen inflationary pressures without damaging the entire economy with across-the-board tight money.

Anti-trust and other regulatory policies which have been allowed to languish during the last 11 years must be strengthened and enforced. They are needed in their own right and could also be used far more aggressively to restrain unwarranted price increases.

The financial system needs more adequate governmental regulation. The deposit insurance fund urgently needs to be recapitalized. But bailout costs should not be passed on to taxpayers with the least ability to pay, as happened in the S&L crisis.

Regulators must see to it that in its lending practices the financial system emphasizes job-creating, socially responsible investments — not real estate

speculation or junk-bond financed corporate takeovers which eliminate jobs and create nothing.

Proposals to end Glass-Steagall distinctions between commerce and banking should be rejected. Concentration of ownership and control is antithetical to financial system soundness and stability.

Proposals for nationwide interstate banking and branching must not be allowed to result in a drain of funds away from businesses and individuals in low-income regions and communities, or a drain of funds offshore that are badly needed in the United States.

Social justice, economic prosperity and employment opportunities with decent wages and conditions for all Americans who want and need them are the AFL-CIO's most basic and highest priority goals. We urge the nation's policy-makers to support the far-reaching policy agenda which is needed to achieve these objectives.

International Trade and Investment

While America's international trade position has improved since 1989, the merchandise trade deficit remains at an historically high level, and continues to cause hardship for millions of American workers and scores of communities. Since 1982, this country's trade shortfall has totaled more than \$900 billion, and has made the United States the world's largest debtor nation. The magnitude of these deficits present a clear and present danger to the economic health and security of the nation, and will be a massive burden on the United States for decades to come.

Totaling \$109 billion in 1989, the U.S. merchandise trade deficit declined to \$101 billion in 1990, and is expected to show additional improvement in 1991. These gains were due to particularly strong export growth, caused in part by a lower valued dollar that made U.S. goods less expensive in overseas markets. Since the beginning of 1991 however, the dollar has appreciated sharply against the currencies of the nation's major trading partners, making additional improvements in the U.S. trade balance more difficult to achieve. Slower import growth also contributed to the shrinking of the U.S. trade deficit over the last two years. Paradoxically, this improvement is a direct result of the Bush recession, that reduced demand for imported goods. When a recovery begins, imports will again surge into this market, unless essential new trade policies are in effect.

Central to America's trade problem is the imbalance in manufactured goods trade. The 1990 shortfall of \$90 billion represents 90 percent of the total merchandise trade deficit. Ten years ago, the United States enjoyed a trade surplus in this vital sector. This rapid and massive shift in terms of trade has

weakened America's industrial base. If improvement in U.S. trade is to continue, it will have to take place in this sector.

Ninety-five percent of America's trade deficit is accounted for by just 10 countries. The U.S. trade deficit with Japan, alone, amounted to \$41 billion in 1990.

The continuing deficit has required the United States to borrow heavily from abroad. This borrowing has transformed the United States from being the world's biggest creditor nation — \$137 billion in 1982 — to the world's largest debtor, owing \$760 billion at the end of 1990. Interest payments on this debt sent overseas are staggering and are partly responsible for reduced domestic spending on goods and services, and the reduction in U.S. living standards.

The impact of the U.S. trade deficit on employment has been severe. While total employment has grown over the last ten years, that growth has taken place solely in the service sector. Employment in manufacturing has declined substantially. Millions of well-paying and high-quality job opportunities in the middle tier of the nation's income structure have been sacrificed as a result of America's trade decline.

The Bush administration's response to America's trade problems has been misguided and ineffective. The theoretical benefits of free trade and open markets continue to be the administration's justification for the minimal actions taken to support domestic industry and workers. Yet, government policies that promote exports, while protecting home markets — the classic definition of mercantilism — dominate the world of international trade. Attempts by the United States to reduce the use of such measures through multilateral, bilateral and specific product negotiations have been largely unsuccessful, and the administration continues to resist government measures that could bring equity to the international trading system. The administration's focus on simple trade liberalization makes it almost impossible for America to respond creatively to a changing world economy, and is an explicit rejection of the view that governments need to play a role in managing relationships between nations. Essentially, the U.S. seems determined to cede to private interests the little authority it has left over the national economy. Such a policy only serves to deepen the trade problems confronting the country, and ignores the well-being of American workers.

The Uruguay Round

The Bush administration's top trade priority, the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations, suffered a temporary setback with the breakdown of talks at the Brussels Ministerial meeting in December 1990. Special congressional "fast-track" negotiating authority, used by the administration to participate in the Uruguay Round, expired in June, 1991. To keep the negotiations going, the administration requested from Congress a two-year

extension of "fast-track" authority, which allows a completed agreement to be submitted to Congress for approval under a process that does not allow amendments. Over the objections of the AFL-CIO, the Congress extended this authority through June 1, 1993, and the negotiations have reconvened.

Administration priorities in the Uruguay Round continue to center on agriculture, services, investment, and intellectual property rights, largely ignoring the problems of the domestic manufacturing sector. Emphasis on these so-called new issues may in fact accelerate the deterioration of domestic manufacturing if essential U.S. protection for goods producing industries are sacrificed as the price for reductions in barriers to services, investment, and agriculture. No progress has been made on including worker rights in the negotiation, or on permitting the imposition of an import fee to fund adjustment programs.

North American Free Trade Agreement

With virtually no public discussion or debate, President Bush and Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari announced, on June 10, 1990, their intention to enter into negotiations on a comprehensive Free Trade agreement between the U.S. and Mexico. In February, 1991, Canada announced its interest in joining the negotiations so that a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) could be reached. Negotiating objectives, as outlined by the administration, emphasized issues that would benefit transnational corporations, and harm U.S. workers, by encouraging the transfer of production to Mexico.

The negotiations are being conducted under special congressional authority known as "Fast Track" which allows the President to submit to Congress implementing legislation from a trade agreement under a closed rule. Under this procedure, the two Houses of Congress would vote up or down on an agreement within 90 days of receiving it, with no amendments allowed.

The AFL-CIO, together with environmental, church, consumer, farm, development and human rights groups, opposed the granting of "Fast Track" authority because the establishment of new trade arrangements between countries with such different levels of development and social protection requires more careful consideration than the "Fast Track" process allows. Despite a vigorous campaign, led by the AFL-CIO, Congress extended this negotiating authority to the President in May, 1991, and formal negotiations began in June. Because of concerns raised by the AFL-CIO and other groups, the administration agreed to hold separate discussions with Mexico on issues such as child labor, occupational health and safety, and the environment.

Also in June 1990, President Bush announced a plan called the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI). The EAI is designed to promote the administration's agenda of free trade, open investment, and reductions in government activity throughout Latin America. The potential impact of this program on

domestic production and employment was ignored. It would extend U.S. assistance to efforts by Latin American governments to privatize economic holdings and lay the foundation for the negotiation of free trade agreements. It also contemplates some token reduction in those countries external debt burden.

Administration trade initiatives concerning other parts of the world included the extension of most favored nation (MFN) trade status, as well as the granting of benefits under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to a number of countries in Eastern Europe. These shifts in U.S. policy were occasioned by the political and economic reforms that have taken place in those countries. The granting of MFN status for the Soviet Union is pending.

As allowed by law, President Bush extended MFN status for China for one year in both 1990 and 1991. These extensions were put in place over the vigorous opposition of the AFL-CIO, citing the oppressive nature of the Beijing regime and its denial of basic human and trade union rights to its citizens. Congressional efforts to overturn the president's decision are pending.

Concerning the implementation of U.S. trade law, the Bush administration continued to uphold the letter of law while ignoring its intent. Under the Super 301 provisions of the trade act, which expired in 1990, the administration failed to identify any countries that were maintaining trade practices harmful to the U.S., indicating that the Uruguay Round was the U.S. governments major trade liberalization priority. Similarly, despite widespread discrimination in the government procurement policies of other countries against U.S. goods and services, the administration refused to identify any country for special negotiations and potential retaliation as provided for in law.

In August 1990, the president, over the objections of the AFL-CIO, refused to exercise congressional authority to impose a small import fee to fund trade adjustment assistant programs, claiming the imposition of such a fee would not be in the national economic interest.

The Textile, Apparel and Footwear Act of 1990, passed overwhelmingly by Congress, was vetoed by President Bush in October 1990. The bill would have limited the growth of textile and apparel imports to one percent a year, the historic growth rate in domestic consumption, thereby providing some relief to an industry and its workers that have been seriously injured by increasing imports.

The bilateral voluntary restraining agreements (VRAs) for steel, designed to counteract the unfair trading practices of most steel exporting nations, have been largely successful in limiting steel imports to an acceptable level and allowing the industry and its workers to rebuild. The agreements and the legislative authority to enforce them expire in March 1992. The administration is currently engaged in negotiations designed to eliminate unfair practices in steel trade. Similarly, successful VRAs with Japan and Taiwan for machine tools and products that are critical for America's national defense are due to expire at the end of 1991.

Problems in auto trade remain severe. While the VRA with Japan on autos has been extended in each of the last two years, the allowable level of imports

remains unacceptably high. The U.S. assembly of Japanese vehicles continues to increase, but there has been no improvement on either the trade imbalance or U.S. employment due to the relatively low U.S. content in these vehicles and the continued high levels of imports of assembled vehicles and auto parts from Japan. The domestic auto industry has been further damaged by the growth of imports from producers in developing countries like Korea, and the acceleration of foreign sourcing, particularly to Mexico, by U.S. firms. The decision of Volkswagen to close its unionized U.S. plant in 1989 and supply the U.S. market from Mexico is only one example of this problem.

The unilateral opening of the U.S. telecommunications market, occasioned by the breakup of AT&T, continues to harm domestic production. Despite sporadic action by the administration, U.S. exports to Japan, the European Community, and other countries remain restricted.

Massive subsidies provided by European governments for the production of Airbus aircraft have had an increasingly negative impact on U.S. civilian aircraft production. The administration continues to pursue a solution to this problem by engaging in lengthy, and thus far futile negotiations, with the European Community.

Although only a small portion of shipping volume is carried by U.S.-owned flagships, the administration has resisted positive action and failed to properly enforce provisions of the Cargo Preference Act and the Jones Act, further weakening the nation's maritime industry. Similarly, while negotiations are taking place, no action has been taken to counteract foreign government subsidies in the shipbuilding industry, thereby harming domestic production.

International trade is strongly affected by international investment flows. While the United States continues to increase its holdings of plant and equipment overseas, foreign direct investment in the United States has been increasing rapidly, and other forms of capital are flooding into this country. Unlike most countries, the United States does not adequately regulate and monitor these flows.

The federation, in an effort to address labor relations problems relating to foreign direct investment in the United States, has assisted affiliates in bringing charges against a number of multinational enterprises under the Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, as well as a similar International Labor Organization declaration, at both the national and international levels.

Concerning worker rights and U.S. trade law, the AFL-CIO in 1989 and 1990, petitioned the administration to remove a total of 11 countries from the GSP program for violations of internationally recognized worker rights. Despite detailed evidence of these violations, only two — Liberia and Sudan — were suspended from eligibility on worker rights grounds. For many of these countries, the administration summarily dismissed the AFL-CIO petition and declined to conduct an in-depth investigation. Challenging this process, the AFL-CIO joined in a lawsuit charging that the administration was failing to uphold the requirements of law. The final conclusion of that lawsuit is pending. In addition, the AFL-CIO strongly supported a petition submitted by the UAW

that sought the removal of Korea from OPIC for worker rights violations. OPIC subsequently suspended all new business activities with the country until the Korean government improves its labor relations policies. Also concerning OPIC, the AFL-CIO reached an agreement with that agency, whereby worker rights criteria previously directed only at governments, would be extended to individual firms operating in Poland and Hungary.

To address the problems of international trade and investment, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland testified before Congress and met with officials of private groups as well as with U.S. and foreign government representatives. AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue served as chairman of the Labor Advisory Committee on Trade Negotiations and Trade Policy, whose membership consists of union officers and staff.

Council Recommendation

If America's position in international trade is to improve, it is essential that the United States go beyond its current reliance on blunt macro-economic policy tools. Exchange rates, fiscal policies and interest rates all influence trade. But by themselves they cannot bring about the necessary shift in the pattern of U.S. trade. It is increasingly clear that the academic abstractions of the free trade theory and comparative advantage, upon which current U.S. government policy is based, are not guides to the management of economic issues between nations but a rationale for policies that support the interests of international business. The U.S. government has a responsibility to promote and defend the interests of the people within its borders. Current emphasis on free trade and unfettered capital movements is an explicit abrogation of that responsibility and will lead to the further globalization of production, enrich corporate elites, and harm American workers, without alleviating poverty among workers in developing countries. Strong new government policies that recognize that the interests of corporate America are not identical to the interests of the nation as a whole are essential. Otherwise, the United States will continue to experience a loss of jobs, destructive trade deficits, a growing level of international debt, and damaging giveaways of technology and markets.

Such actions should include:

- Extension and improvement of the Super 301 provision of the trade act.
- Enactment of legislation aimed at reducing large and persistent bilateral trade deficits.
- Vigorous enforcement of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, that provides the Bush administration tools to address unfair and discriminatory trade practices, and can help bring more fairness and equity to America's trade relationships.

Beyond these economy-wide approaches, problems encountered by individual industries require specific remedies. These include:

- A reduction in the level of Japanese car exports to the United States and the elimination of the gross imbalance in auto parts trade with Japan by the purchase of more parts, materials and components from existing U.S.

suppliers by Japanese automakers for their U.S. assembly plants and by increased exports to Japan. The administration should insist that the Japanese facilities raise their local sourcing, as European nations have done. The growing problem of auto and parts imports from low-wage countries such as Korea and Mexico also must be addressed. Furthermore, a substantial increase in North American value should be required for vehicles to qualify for duty-free treatment under the U.S.-Canada Auto Pact, and the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

- Policies must be implemented to bring some order and stability to trade in textiles, apparel, and shoes.
- Legislation to extend the authority to enforce the Voluntary Restraint Agreements (VRAs) on steel mill products, and machine tools.
- Strong action to address the trade problems of the telecommunications industry. Imports of telecommunications products have inundated the American market while foreign markets continue to restrict American-made goods. The Omnibus Trade Act provides the administration the authority to address this issue, and that authority should be utilized fully.
- Policies to maintain and re-establish domestic electronic and television industries.
- Policies to assure that a significant portion of U.S. raw materials destined for export, such as grains and logs, are processed in this country.
- To revive the U.S. maritime industry, legislation is needed to substantially increase the portion of cargo carried in U.S.-flag ships and to assure a strong U.S. shipbuilding base, thereby enhancing national security. Further, immediate action is necessary to eliminate foreign barriers to U.S. transport carriers involved in international commerce, as well as unfair trade practices in the shipbuilding industry.
- The prohibition of Alaskan crude oil exports should be maintained, and domestic carriage of the oil retained for U.S.-flag vessels. The U.S. merchant marine should be given a more important role in providing auxiliary services for the U.S. Navy. The United States should ratify the UNCTAD code for liner conferences to help the domestic shipping industry attain a more equitable share of cargo generated by U.S. trade.
- Policies and appropriate action are needed to stem the export of office and other service-sector jobs.

In addition to individual industry requirements, other trade-related measures are necessary. Specifically:

- The Trade Adjustment Assistance program should be extended and fully funded to provide adequate compensation to those unemployed because of trade, to improve training, job search, and relocation aid for displaced workers, and to permit supplier workers to be covered under this program. Funding should be provided through the allocation of existing tariff revenues or the imposition of an import surcharge.
- The export of capital, technology, and price-sensitive items that damages the U.S. economy should not be promoted. The transfer of U.S. technol-

ogy must be controlled to assure continued technological advances, competitive advantage for domestic production and national security. Export-Import Bank funding, including direct loan authority, must be maintained in order to provide U.S. industry with tools necessary for international competition. These funds should be made available for the domestic purchase of U.S. products to offset foreign subsidies. Financing, however, should not be used to develop projects in other countries in industrial sectors where excess capacity exists.

- Policies must be enacted to regulate the immense flow of international investment. Administration emphasis on overseas investment by American firms must be redirected and legislation enacted to require the disclosure and monitoring of foreign investors in the United States.
- Tax loopholes and incentives for multinational companies to move abroad — including the tax deferral privilege and the foreign tax credit — should be ended.
- Provisions of the tariff schedules that reduce tariffs on products containing parts produced in the United States should be repealed.
- The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a government agency that insures private investment abroad, should be restructured. Worker rights provisions should be enlarged and regulations protecting domestic production and employment vigorously enforced.
- Bilateral investment treaties must be carefully reviewed by the Senate to insure that protection for workers is included and domestic production not harmed.
- Existing codes of conduct for multinational enterprises must be strengthened to protect the rights of workers employed by these firms and to provide effective remedies when those rights are denied. Rapid progress in this area is particularly important in light of the strong growth of foreign direct investment in the United States. Subsidiaries of multinational corporations operating in this country must demonstrate the highest respect for the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively.
- To prevent countries from seeking to attract industry through the exploitation of workers, international agreements are needed to improve labor standards. In pursuit of that goal, the United States should fully utilize the worker rights provision in Section 301 of the 1988 Trade Act, to penalize those countries where basic rights and standards are denied. Provisions of the Generalized System of Preferences concerning labor rights must be vigorously enforced, and countries that abuse worker rights should be immediately removed from the program. The persistent use of child labor must be addressed through the enactment of legislation that would prohibit imports of products produced by children, with stiff criminal penalties for violators of that ban.
- Most favored nation status for China should be revoked. The United States should no longer support the Chinese government's repression of its own citizens.

- The Foreign Trade Zone Act of 1938 should be repealed. Any exemption from this nation's trade laws must be proven on a case-by-case basis. At minimum, manufacturing operations should be prohibited within such zones.
- The Buy America Act should be strengthened to insure public funds are used to purchase domestic goods and services. Similarly, the Defense Production Act should be amended to limit the production of weapons systems to U.S. manufacturing.
- The United States should end its support of loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that require the borrowing countries to curb imports and push exports to pay their debts. In place of this approach, which has harmful repercussions on the United States and other economies, the IMF should be urged to promote balanced growth in both borrowing and lending countries. It is also necessary for the IMF, in constructing any economic program, to consult closely with the trade unions in the affected country in order to mitigate any harm to workers. Central to this goal is a solution to the debt crisis of developing countries. It is essential for private banks to substantially write down the value of loans and provide interest rate reductions.
- Concerning the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, the administration should place greater emphasis on debt reduction, ensure that import-sensitive industries in the United States are protected and negotiate provisions that directly address problems caused by differing regulatory standards such as occupational safety and health or environmental protection. So-called free trade should not condone the abuse of workers and the environment.

Priorities in Uruguay Round

The administration's objectives in the current Uruguay Round of negotiations on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) should be reordered to emphasize the following areas:

- GATT instruments that permit trade restrictions to safeguard balance of payments should be reformed to directly address the U.S. deficit. The massive current account imbalances that exist today are harmful to the United States, and threaten the viability of the international trading system. It is therefore appropriate for GATT to establish mechanisms that can help bring about the gradual reduction of those imbalances through the application of trade policy.
- GATT rules must be amended to include provisions that would address trade advantages gained by the denial of worker rights or the maintenance of repressive working conditions. Competitive advantage in trade should not be derived from the denial of the right to freedom of association, the refusal to insure a safe work environment, the exploitation of child labor or other reprehensible practices.

- The inadequacies of the GATT safeguard procedures need to be addressed. The United States should concentrate on exposing trade restrictive measures employed throughout the world and should develop procedures for negotiating agreements that would bring some order and stability to trade in import-sensitive products, as well as products and commodities where worldwide excess capacity exists.
- The disadvantage faced by U.S. producers as a result of current GATT rules on border tax adjustment should be eliminated by means of appropriate changes to the GATT.
- Solutions to the serious problems faced by U.S. industry in the area of counterfeiting need to be found.
- Tariffs should be maintained for import-sensitive industries.
- Essential protections for the textile and apparel industry must be maintained.
- GATT rules must be amended to permit the imposition of an import fee to fund trade adjustment assistance programs.
- Under no circumstances, should the United States accept any weakening of U.S. trade remedy law, particularly Section 301, Section 337, and the anti-dumping and countervailing duty status.

North American Free Trade Agreement

The AFL-CIO believes that a new trade agreement with Mexico, unless carefully structured, will only encourage greater capital outflows from the U.S., bring about an increase in imports from Mexico, and reduce domestic employment as the U.S. remains mired in a recession. At the same time, it will do little to promote equitable economic development in Mexico, or improve the standard of living of the vast majority of Mexican citizens unless there are explicit provisions within the agreement to do so.

What is at stake is not more or less trade with Mexico, but the nature and quality of that trade. A bad trade agreement for the United States would result in less job creation, less productivity increases, and regression in environmental and other social standards. For Mexico, it could well reduce that country's comparative advantage to simply cheap labor, turning Mexico's economy into one large export platform, sacrificing balanced and equitable economic development.

A vivid illustration of what will result from an ill-conceived trade agreement can be found in the operation of the so-called maquiladora program. During the 1980s, U.S. companies invested hundreds of millions of dollars in Mexico to produce goods that are exported to the U.S. The exodus of manufacturing facilities from the U.S. to Mexico has left hundreds of thousands of American workers jobless, and their communities in economic disarray. Mean-

while, some 500,000 Mexicans work for sub-standard wages and under sub-standard working conditions, producing products destined almost entirely for the U.S. market. In addition, many of these maquiladora plants pose a serious threat to those living on both sides of the border, through the release of toxic waste into the air, water, and soil.

Negotiations, if properly oriented, provide an opportunity to begin to solve these serious problems for people in both countries. If they remain narrow in scope—relying solely on so-called free market mechanisms, to simply expand existing patterns of trade and investment—these problems will only grow.

The following elements are among those that the AFL-CIO believes must be addressed, if a new trade agreement is to be successful.

- Provisions must be included in any trade agreement whereby infractions of labor rights or workplace standards in production for export can be addressed by trade actions by any of the three countries. Areas that should be dealt with by these provisions include the right to organize and bargain collectively, strong workplace health and safety standards, an appropriate minimum wage structure, and the elimination of child labor.
- This negotiation also provides the opportunity to creatively address the huge differential in wage levels among the three countries by encouraging an increase in compensation for Mexican workers. This is particularly important for those who are employed by U.S. companies exporting to this market. It is clear that current levels of compensation for these workers have no relationship to their productivity.
- An agreement must contain provisions to address the existing environmental degradation of the border area, and provide funds for increased enforcement of environmental laws and regulations in all three countries. It is essential that an agreement specifically permit trade actions to address violations of environmental standards.
- The AFL-CIO believes that there should be no change in current U.S. trade remedy law, including safeguards, subsidies, dumping, Section 301, and Section 337.
- Legislation should be enacted that would deny trade benefits to companies that transfer production to Mexico.
- Funds must be provided to improve the infrastructure of the border area, including sewers, water, electricity, and adequate housing and schools.
- An agreement should provide additional debt relief for Mexico so that it can begin investing at home to improve the standard of living of its people.
- Protections for import sensitive industries in the U.S. must be part of an agreement.
- Tough rules of origin — with content requirements of at least 80 percent — must be negotiated so that other countries cannot take advantage of the agreement and tranship goods through Mexico or Canada into the U.S. market. For textile and apparel products, a 100 percent rule of origin should be negotiated.

- The establishment of a decent trade adjustment assistance program, to provide real help to those who are displaced, including income maintenance, special health care protection, worker retraining, adequate and secure financing, and effective eligibility standards.
- An agreement that does not address these elements should be rejected by Congress.

A New Policy

It is essential the United States construct a more realistic framework for coordinating world trade relationships. The huge trade imbalances that exist today cannot continue. Other countries have dealt more effectively with international trade to promote their own industrial development and employment. Negotiations and national action should be directed at the goal of achieving greater balance in trade on a sectoral level in order to preserve America's vital industrial base.

Reliance on trade liberalization alone will not achieve this goal. It is time for the U.S. to realize that economic relations between nations are becoming increasingly complicated. While commerce today is indeed global, social protection and regulation — factors that are necessary to humanize the market, and help promote a more equitable distribution of its benefits — remain the responsibility of national governments. This conflict needs to be resolved if trade is to expand and benefit the greatest number of people.

Employment and Training

America's civilian labor force — workers with jobs and workers looking for jobs — totaled 126 million in mid-1991. Workers with jobs numbered 117 million. This was 1 million fewer jobs than existed in mid-1989.

Unemployment went up from 6.5 million jobless workers in mid-1990 to 8.7 million in mid-1991. In addition, nearly 1 million "discouraged" had stopped looking for work because they were unable to find jobs. And almost 6 million workers who wanted full-time jobs were able to find only part-time jobs. As a result, almost 16 million workers were suffering unemployment and underemployment in mid-1991.

To improve the nation's productivity, its economic health and its competitive position, new support for skill training and education is developing. Job-related training has received considerable attention in the last two years. At least 10 commission and panel reports on skill training and work-related training have been issued in this period. Many of these panels and commissions included trade union representatives.

But funds for training are still inadequate. Congress provided \$4 billion in fiscal 1991 for Job Training Partnership Act programs. By contrast, 10 years earlier, Congress approved \$7.4 billion for jobs and training in fiscal 1981.

The AFL-CIO urged Congress to enact an economic conversion law to require conversion planning and adjustment assistance for workers hit by defense-plant layoffs and military base closings. The 1990 defense authorization bill provided \$150 million for organizations, including unions, to help laid-off defense workers get training, adjustment assistance and employment services. This program is now Section 325 of JTPA Title III, the Economic Dislocation and Worker Adjustment Assistance Act (EDWAA).

In 1990, Congress passed a "clean air" law including "employment transition assistance" — training, adjustment assistance, and employment services for workers losing jobs or earnings as a result of Clean Air Act compliance actions. Congress authorized \$50 million for fiscal 1991 for Clean Air Act adjustment assistance and was moving toward appropriation of this amount in mid-1991. This program is Section 326 of JTPA Title III, the EDWAAA dislocated worker title.

Also in 1991, Congress was working on "spotted owl protection" legislation to preserve jobs and to provide adjustment assistance for timber workers adversely affected by federal conservation efforts. Worker protection proposals related to "spotted owl protection" legislation in mid-1991 included extended unemployment insurance benefits, health benefits, public sector job creation and retraining funds for displaced loggers and timber workers.

Training is important, but there must be jobs available at the end of the training. Full employment — a job at decent pay for every person who wants to work — remains a key goal of the American labor movement.

Council Recommendation

To meet the nation's employment and training needs, the AFL-CIO calls for action on a number of fronts:

Full Employment

Full employment must be a top priority of economic policy. Jobs at fair and decent pay must be available for every person who needs a job and wants a job.

Community service, community facilities and infrastructure programs funded by federal, state and local governments can make significant contributions to full employment in addition to their important economic and social contributions. If there are not enough jobs in the private and public sector for all who want jobs, the federal government must be the employer of last resort.

Special Adjustment Programs

Special federal adjustment assistance programs are a rational and desirable response when national policy decisions adversely affect workers by eliminating jobs or by reducing earnings opportunities.

To avoid unnecessary loss of jobs and to promote full employment, economic conversion planning and adjustment assistance are needed to deal with plant closings and mass layoffs in defense industries and military bases and other government facilities. Legislation is needed to require development of standby job-protecting, job-creating economic conversion plans for defense related plants and other government facilities. Special set-asides from defense spending should be used to fund such conversion adjustment programs.

The Trade Adjustment Assistance program should be extended and fully funded to provide adequate compensation to those unemployed because of trade and to improve training, job search, and relocation aid for those displaced workers, and to permit supplier workers to be covered under this program.

Veterans' re-employment rights and other benefits of workers returning from voluntary or involuntary military service, including training and readjustment services, must be assured by appropriate legislation.

Training

All workers should have opportunities for training and education to get jobs, to keep jobs, and to get better jobs. All workers, both employed and unemployed, should have opportunities for more education, basic skills improvement, training, retraining, upgrading and upward mobility. Training allowances and income support should be available for workers in training programs.

Trade unions have important responsibilities for supporting, protecting, and promoting training and education programs for union members and potential members. Employers and local, state and federal governments also have basic responsibilities for supporting training and education for working people. Adequate funding with more federal support for these programs is essential.

Private and public sector cooperation in designing and implementing training programs is desirable and necessary, and labor organizations should have an equal voice with business in such cooperation. Unions should have an opportunity to review and comment on training programs before funding decisions are made.

Apprenticeship with its combination of on-the-job training and classroom instruction should be strengthened and extended to new developing occupations.

Dislocated worker adjustment assistance, the Jobs Corps, and other effective national training programs should be retained with adequate funds to help prepare young people and dislocated and disadvantaged adult workers for jobs. Training and services should be targeted on disadvantaged and dislocated workers who are most in need.

The welfare reform JOBS training program should be carefully monitored state-by-state to strengthen its beneficial potential — to provide good training for jobs at fair and decent pay without displacing currently employed workers — and to prevent abuses which endanger children of welfare recipients and

which force welfare recipients into low-wage, high-turnover exploiting jobs or into jobs which displace currently employed public or private sector workers.

Labor Market Institutions

Efficient labor market institutions can improve the matching of workers and jobs. In this process, labor unions have an important role that should be maintained and expanded.

The federal government should play a stronger role in promoting coordination of training and employment services at the state and local level. Training and employment programs supported by the Labor Department should give top priority to serving the needs of individual workers.

The U.S. Employment Service (USES) should become the recognized, accepted and adequately financed source of free employment-related services for all workers who need jobs and for all employers who need workers. The system should be federalized to meet the nation's need for a truly national labor exchange operating across state and regional boundaries. Proposals to "devolve" or defederalize the funding of the costs of administering unemployment insurance and job service programs would lead to destruction of the present federal-state system and drastically reduce services to workers and employers.

Labor representation should be increased on state job training councils and on business-dominated local private industry councils under the Job Training Partnership Act. JTPA provisions for consultation with organized labor should be strengthened and enforced. JTPA funding should be increased and training allowances should be available for workers in training. Labor organizations have a responsibility to make the JTPA-PIC system work as well as possible until it is improved or replaced.

The AFL-CIO calls for action in all of these areas to increase training and job opportunities for America's working people.

State and Local Needs

Many states and cities have suffered financial distress in 1990 and 1991. Soaring expenses and lagging income have resulted from the recession which has swept the country. Unbalanced public budgets have led to program cuts, layoffs of public workers providing essential services, and new taxes.

In many cases the recession only worsened existing problems. These included lagging regional economies, crime and drugs, and rising costs of aid for children in poverty and Medicaid. In many places problems included the closing of defense bases, aging infrastructure in decaying inner cities and homelessness. The Northeast has been worst hit by the recession, but there was economic weakness on the Pacific coast, in the South Central area, the Mid Atlantic, and elsewhere.

The Ten Worst-Off States

More than half the states anticipate budget shortfalls in the coming fiscal year. The worst off:

	1992 Deficit as % of General Fund
Connecticut	37%
California	33%
Maine	22%
New York	22%
Louisiana	20%
New Hampshire	20%
Pennsylvania	19%
Vermont	18%
Massachusetts	16%
Texas	13%

Source: Steven Gold, Center for the Study of the States. Newsweek, July 1, 1991.

The Reagan and Bush administrations have urged shifting federal programs and national responsibilities to the states and cities. Revenue sharing was ended. Community development funds were cut. Assistance for training was chopped back. A smaller share of state and local budgets now comes from Washington. The Bush administration this year urged hiking the state and local cost shares under the highway and mass transit programs, even as the fiscal crisis of states and cities was becoming obvious. For example, 21 states had total projected deficits of \$35 billion for fiscal year 1992. More than half the states anticipated 1992 budget shortfalls. California's deficit represents 33 percent of the general fund.

The administration also urged a multi-billion dollar consolidation of education, housing and human services programs. Under the plan, states would lose an estimated \$27.3 billion in federal funds over five years.

Governors and mayors have responded to the need to balance budgets by frantically raising taxes, cutting spending and firing public workers. A number

of states propose new taxes, including hikes on cigarettes, liquor or gasoline and professional services. Some states propose more revenue from corporate taxes, but more seek hikes in income and sales taxes. Many of these changes have affected, and will affect the national income distribution as between higher- and lower-income people.

Overall, the Citizens for Tax Justice (CTJ) has found that state and local tax burdens are not fairly shared. The CTJ found that when all of the major state and local taxes are added together, virtually every state taxes its poor and middle-income families at rates significantly higher than those faced by the richest families. In fact, there are only four states — California, Delaware, Maine and Vermont — that require their richest families to pay a higher share of their incomes in taxes than middle-income families. The kinds of taxes imposed by the states and localities thus directly affect the income distribution in the country and tax rises, depending on how and on whom levied, could make things better or worse for the future.

Public officials have often “grasped at the straw” of contracting out public services hoping they can privatize their way out of a budget squeeze. Such privatizations result in the loss of work for public employees, as formerly public jobs are done by private contractors who often pay workers less and offer fewer benefits and less job security. Measuring savings through privatization is difficult, however, and it is not clear that the public good is always served by contracting with firms whose aim is maximizing profit rather than carrying out a public purpose.

Council Recommendation

States and cities have suffered fiscal decline in 1990 and 1991 due, in large measure, to the national recession which has thrown millions out of work and slowed the economy. But there are problems which go beyond the hardships of the business cycle: lagging regional economies, aging infrastructure, the concentration of poor people in declining central cities, drugs and crime, soaring costs of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and Medicaid, homelessness, and the closing of defense bases.

The fiscal crunch in statehouses and city halls has created the necessity of raising large amounts of revenue and choosing between vital public programs at a time when human needs are great and national investments in education, roads, bridges and mass transit are sorely needed. Firing of public workers, cutting back on vital programs and levying unfair taxes will also prolong the recession in many areas.

Assistance should be provided to maintain government services that have been crippled by revenue shortfalls, particularly the Medicaid program that is bearing the burden of mass unemployment and uncompensated care. The eligibility and benefit levels of Medicaid should be made uniform across the states.

Proposals to shift federal assistance program costs to already overburdened states and cities should be rejected, as well as the administration block grant

program, which would result in the long term loss to states and cities of available resources. The Bush proposal for Enterprise Zones is similar to other tax schemes previously studied and rejected by Congress. Such tax "incentives" would encourage existing firms to move from place to place and federal tax dollars would be squandered paying firms for doing what they would be doing anyway.

Unproductive state and local tax subsidies used to lure businesses in the name of economic development should not generally be supported. They are self-defeating in the aggregate and draw resources away from essential services. Instead, public investments in areas like education, training and infrastructure, which help create a healthy economic climate, should be encouraged. In addressing state and local budget problems, a fair balance between budget cuts and tax increases should be struck, with an eye toward levying new taxes on a fair and progressive basis.

State corporate and personal income tax structures should be strengthened; sales taxes can be made more equitable through taxing certain services; and property tax reforms should include "circuit breakers" to provide relief for lower income homeowners and renters, the elimination of tax abatements and improving assessments and administrative practices. More uniformity in state tax codes is also necessary so that states can more fairly assess the tax liability of interstate and international business.

The AFL-CIO opposes the use of privatization and contracting out of public employee jobs, privatization of government services or agencies resulting in the loss of public sector jobs.

Housing

Home building has slowed each year since 1986, when 1.8 million units were started. But things really began falling apart last year.

The annual rate of housing starts sank from 1.5 million in January to less than one million by year's end. With mortgage interest rates below 10 percent, there was a pickup in home building in the first half of 1991, but the rate was still anemic.

The decline in residential and commercial construction helped explain the steep rise in construction industry unemployment. The number of jobless construction workers adjusted for normal seasonal factors skyrocketed from 620,000 in January 1990 to 920,000 in August 1991.

Despite lower mortgage interest rates, many people still can't afford housing. Some are victims of the recession. Others have different problems, such as lack of training or education. An estimated 6.1 million poverty-level households spend more than half their incomes on housing.

Often, young workers can't purchase a first home due to a lack of income or for lack of the nest egg saved for a down payment. A recent Census Bureau study found that over one-third of all current owners and 91 percent of current renters could not afford the median-priced house.

Approximately 2 million are homeless, many of whom are employed but not earning enough to afford decent shelter. Others have few affordable housing choices within a reasonable commute. Still others with special needs, such as the elderly and disabled, lack adequate, affordable housing.

The high cost of housing in relation to income has prompted some to put the blame on the web of consumer protections and other regulations governing housing and to urge their rollback to lower costs. Reducing regulatory protections, however, is a two-edged sword, as many regulations relate to health and safety as well as to social and environmental concerns. In addition, regulations can serve to provide housing for some groups, as when communities require that developers include a certain amount of low-cost housing in higher cost projects.

The annual budgets for federally assisted housing in the Reagan-Bush era have asked for progressively less, including a shift to an emphasis on aid for existing housing rather than on the construction of additional housing, even though more low-cost housing is badly needed in many places.

It has been difficult to hold onto the existing stock of federally assisted housing over the years. This is due to the neglect and physical decay of low-rent public housing, the lapse of some subsidies and the voiding of other contracts for privately owned but publicly aided housing.

Last year's adoption of the National Affordable Housing Act marked a new beginning. The new law reauthorizes a number of proven and effective programs, such as low rent public housing construction, housing for the elderly and disabled and community development block grants, in addition to creating several new initiatives which hold some promise for the future, including some housing opportunities for union-sponsored non-profit groups.

The new home block grant program for states and localities and the Home Ownership Trust for first-time home buyers seem especially promising. The preservation program for currently assisted housing is also essential. The Home Ownership Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE) program, involving the sale of low-rent public housing to tenants, seemed less worthy of funding in view of high cost and the potential for creaming off the best units, leaving the worst behind to drag down the rest of the program.

In 1990, the Congress also amended the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 to permit parties engaged in collective bargaining to bargain for employer-employee Housing Trust Funds.

The savings and loan association bailout legislation set up a Resolution Trust Corporation right-of-first-refusal program aimed at making low-cost homes and apartments available to lower-income people and to non-profit groups. But there has been only limited results due to a lack of a greater RTC commitment to the spirit of the law that created the agency. Lack of seller-fi-

nancing, discounts for non-profit buyers, counseling and other barriers have made housing less available to many lower income people.

Council Recommendation

The labor movement has traditionally recognized the importance of decent housing and supported efforts to supply adequate and affordable housing to members and to the entire community. Housing needs to be accessible to the work site and available to everyone who needs it on an equal basis. Labor support for housing has run the gamut from low rent public housing and aid for the homeless to assistance for young first time buyers, working families of modest means and retirees and others with special needs. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) programs have for decades provided reasonably priced homes to young working families and veterans. Unions have, over the years, acted directly to supply tens of thousands of units of housing in big city co-ops, in small town apartment projects for the elderly and disabled, in single-family home developments, through government programs, in public-private partnerships and through the use of pension funds, such as the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust. The AFL-CIO's Union Privilege Benefit Programs also recently sponsored a home buyer purchase program for members of affiliated unions.

Strong and effective measures are needed to provide more help for assisted housing, to meet human needs and to counter the continuing effects of the recession.

The federal government should fund beneficial new programs created by the 1990 National Affordable Housing Act, such as the housing assistance block grant program, the Home Ownership Trust program for first time home owners and the housing preservation program to preserve publicly assisted but privately owned housing. The HOPE program, however, involving the privatization of low-rent public housing units, seems less deserving of funding in view of the high fix-up costs apparently involved and the potential for creaming off the best units, leaving the worst behind to drag down the remainder of the public housing program.

Congress should not transfer funds to promising new programs from proven and successful programs, such as public housing new construction, community development block grants, housing for the elderly and handicapped, and assistance for the homeless, which address special needs of lower-income people. Additional resources for housing are needed.

Opportunities should be made available to allow lower-income people to become homeowners and for non-profit groups to acquire home and apartments for lower income people under the savings and loan legislation affordable housing programs. Union-sponsored nonprofits have in the past taken advantage of government programs to provide housing. Labor unions should, to the extent possible, use opportunities offered under the savings and loan bailout legislation and the Resolution Trust Corporation and under the National Affordable Housing Act to supply housing to members and to others in local communities.

Government sponsored enterprises, such as the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae), are subject to government regulation in view of their quasi public status and importance to the housing finance and production system. Regulation of such entities should balance fiscal integrity with needed support for affordable housing.

The desire to reduce housing costs by rolling back regulations should be balanced against legitimate social, health, safety and environmental concerns. While it is often possible to make short-term cost savings by cutting regulations, deregulation of housing is no panacea and surely no substitute for national housing policy, including the commitment of new resources for housing.

Energy

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the threat to Saudi Arabia again awakened Americans to the vulnerability of the American economy to disruptions in oil imports and oil price increases.

The crises in the Middle East and changing supply conditions have put prices on a roller coaster. The price of crude oil fell from \$32 per barrel in 1981 to \$13 in 1988. It then rose to about \$19 in January of 1990 before falling back to \$14 in mid-year. The Iraqi invasion resulted in a price surge above \$35 per barrel in October 1990. The defeat of Iraqi troops sent the price down to the \$15-\$20 range in early 1991.

Oil Imports are growing and are likely to make up two-thirds of U.S. oil use 20 years from now. Dependence on the unstable Middle East is also increasing. Oil from Arab OPEC countries accounts for 29 percent of U.S. use, up from 13 percent in 1983. That dependence on the Middle East makes the United States more susceptible to high prices and tight supplies.

The energy proposals made by the Bush administration fall far short of what is necessary to significantly reduce U.S. reliance on foreign oil. The Bush program does little to increase conservation of energy and contains proposals to reduce regulation of oil and gas pipelines and the electric utility industry that would harm consumer interests.

The Clean Air Act, passed in 1990, will create oil savings for motor vehicle fuel economy. The law requires owners of fleets of vehicles to meet strict emissions standards for a portion of their vehicles which will require many vehicles to run on clean fuels such as ethanol and methanol.

Efforts in the 1970s to reduce dependence on oil paid off. Oil imports were reduced dramatically from 1978 to 1983, but energy issues were shoved aside in the 1980s. Many programs set up to save energy and provide alternatives to oil and were dismantled.

Conservation in the United States has played a major role in holding down reliance on imported oil and other energy. The United States currently uses about 27 percent less energy in a year than it would have if economic growth since 1973 had been accompanied by past energy use trends. But energy efficiency improvements since 1986 have been slight, and efforts to replace oil consumption with other fuels has been reversed in the U.S.

Council Recommendation

The dependence of the United States on oil imports is again reaching the dangerous levels of the early 1970s. Much of the increase is coming from the politically unstable Middle East. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and the threat to Saudi Arabia demonstrated the insecurity of U.S. oil import supplies.

Increased oil import dependence is the result of the dismantling of many energy programs put in place in the 1970s, and the drastic cutback in others.

The Bush administration energy proposals are greatly inadequate to reduce the nation's oil import dependence.

We therefore recommend the following energy measures:

Conservation

1. Develop and require energy efficiency standards for new buildings and homes, and the retrofiting of existing buildings. New home buyers should be given a rating of the home's expected energy use.

2. Improve mandatory energy efficiency standards for appliances.

3. Expand government support of energy efficient transit such as mass transit systems and intercity rail.

4. Raise the mandatory fuel economy requirement for automobiles and light trucks subject to the following conditions:

- a. Require a percentage increase in the mileage standards for each manufacturer if it can be shown to be technologically feasible and not cause an adverse impact on employment in the automobile industry.

- b. Apply the increase to domestic and foreign fleets as under current law.

- c. Retain administrative discretion to relax or strengthen standards as is now in the law.

- d. Adopt an incentive in the mileage requirement for domestic fuel efficient car production to bring small car production back to underutilized U.S. factories.

5. The government should monitor and distribute information comparing U.S. process technologies with the best available examples of energy efficiency and productivity elsewhere in the world. The government should conduct information gathering to develop a data base on energy use and efficiency in industry and report on the progress made in energy conservation.

6. Expand the low-income weatherization program.

New Supplies

1. Revitalize programs for development of new energy sources that are alternatives to oil. These include solar, wind, gasohol, tidal and geothermal, waste matter, oil shale, tar sands, and synthetic fuels from coal and other materials.

2. Speed action on the siting of a nuclear waste disposal site.

3. Take action to build a pipeline to transport natural gas from the Alaskan North Slope parallel to the existing oil pipeline. Begin construction of tankers and port facilities to transport the gas to the lower 48 states.

4. Develop alternative fuels for automobiles and trucks including electric vehicles, gasohol, methanol, natural gas, and hydrogen.

5. Accelerate the development of "clear coal technologies" that will permit increased use of U.S. coal in an environmentally acceptable manner.

Other Measures

1. Enact a permanent ban on the export of Alaskan oil and natural gas.

2. Increase the low-income energy assistance program to assure the poor are protected from the hardship of energy price increases.

3. Create an oil import authority to purchase oil from foreign sources. The government should determine the amount of oil imported, negotiate its price and provide for its allocation.

4. Raise the emergency petroleum stockpile to 1.5 billion barrels as soon as possible.

5. Enact a standby windfall profits tax on oil company profits to capture the windfall from price increases during an oil import shortfall.

6. Explore the Alaskan National Wildlife Refuge for oil with safeguards to protect the environment.

Environment

An increase in public concern for the environment led to substantial improvements in environmental laws over the past two years.

The huge oil spill from Exxon Valdez off the coast of Alaska, and increased scientific information on the effects posed by polluted air and water, hazardous wastes, acid rain, pesticides, chemical emissions, garbage and medical wastes have spurred action to improve the nations environmental laws.

Two major efforts of the Congress over the past two years were the rewriting of the Clean Air Act and the new oil spill legislation. The Clean Air Act addresses the problems of acid rain, urban smog, the release of toxic

chemicals into the air, and catastrophic chemical accidents. The law also set up a fund for the training of workers displaced by the effects of the law which was sought by the AFL-CIO.

The Oil Spill legislation raised the liability of petroleum companies for oil spills, set up a fund for cleanups, and requires double bottoms on tankers to reduce the likelihood of ruptures.

Many serious environmental problems remain to be addressed by Congress. Public concern has been raised over the expensive job of cleaning up the massive amounts of toxic and radioactive waste generated by Pentagon installations and by the Energy Department's nuclear weapons production complex. The GAO estimates that the cost to clean up 10,000 contaminated sites could run as high as 200 billion dollars. Operating in secret and exempt from many safety precautions and waste disposal practices required of civilian industrial plants, the weapons complex has produced a mountain of toxic and radioactive wastes.

Congress is expected to address the problems posed by pesticides. The Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA) regulates the testing and registration of pesticides. The act currently provides for testing and certifying of pesticides as safe, but many issues remain, including protections for workers exposed to pesticides. Also, consumers are harmed when pesticides, banned in the United States, are exported, used on crops abroad, then carried back into the United States as residue on food.

The task of cleaning up hazardous waste dumps has fallen well behind schedule, exposing residents near the sites to unnecessary health risks. The Environmental Protection Agency has identified about 1,200 hazardous waste dumps, but cleanup has proceeded at a slow pace.

There are currently 6,000 landfills in the United States, which is down from 20,000 in 1979. Public opposition to landfills and hazards from their use means that some states will run out of capacity in the next few years.

American companies locating in Mexico have contributed to an environmental nightmare, polluting air and water on both sides of the border. American companies are attracted to Mexico by the low financial costs due to lax environmental regulation, as well as poor labor standards. But the human costs of their activity is staggering and will affect the health of future generations as well as those working and living near these companies today.

Council Recommendation

Substantial progress has been made over the past two years in addressing the nation's environmental problems. This momentum must not be lost as Congress addresses the backlog of problems that pose serious threats to the nation's health and safety.

A greater effort must be made to clean up the contamination created by nuclear weapons production.

Testing of dangerous pesticides and chemicals must be stepped up and the use of hazardous products restricted or banned.

The export of chemicals not allowed in the United States should be banned, and agricultural imports that use hazardous pesticides and other chemicals in their production should be barred as imports.

A much larger commitment is needed by the Environmental Protection Agency to the clean up of hazardous waste dumps, and enforcement of environmental laws must be improved. The agency's fines for polluters should be high enough to ensure that pollution does not pay.

States and municipalities must be assisted in the development of solid waste recovery systems and the elimination of litter. Improved recycling programs, rather than counterproductive "bottle laws," are essential.

Funds for waste water treatment projects must be increased to the level of the late 1970s and early 1980s to build facilities necessary for secondary and tertiary sewage treatment. Legislation and regulations are needed to expand asbestos detection and abatement programs to public and commercial buildings.

The investigations of the problems posed to workers and communities on both sides of the Mexican border by pollution of air, water and the soil by American firms operating in Mexico should be fully investigated. Legislation should be passed that requires American companies operating outside the United States, whether in Mexico or elsewhere, to observe adequate worker health and safety and environmental standards.

Developed countries and international lending institutions must increase assistance to less developed countries and provide incentives for ecologically sound development.

Transportation

Transportation links vital markets. Productivity growth depends on a well-functioning transportation system. Good transport allows people to travel for pleasure and business. The national transport system is supported by local, state and federal resources. Transport-related rules and regulations reflect the federal system of government and the complexity and interdependence of modern society.

In recent years, the country's infrastructure has been neglected. Bridges have fallen down. Roads have deteriorated. Airports are crowded. The recession has made matters worse, as states and localities have cut back on essential services, fired workers and put infrastructure investments on hold. New resources should be brought to bear to upgrade the infrastructure, while providing jobs to the unemployed.

The nation's transportation system continues to be plagued by the adverse effects of deregulation and by ineffective policies and inaction on the part of the Bush administration. In every mode of transportation, these two factors have

jeopardized the safety, financial security, and competitiveness of the industry, the jobs of its workers and the quality and frequency of service for the communities it serves.

Bankruptcies, consolidation, layoffs and red ink have been the rule rather than the exception over the past decade. The Bush administration, as well as its predecessor, stood silently, hoping that market forces in a deregulated environment will bring recovery.

In the airline industry, the deregulated environment has contributed to crowded airports, a skyrocketing number of flight delays and cancellations, a narrower margin of safety, as well as a massive consolidation in which the strongest air carriers are today picking apart the assets of their weaker competitors, and transforming themselves into mega-carriers.

The airline industry today is reeling from incredible debt and consolidation, both by-products of deregulation and irresponsible government.

Fears of terrorism and exorbitant fuel costs brought on by the Persian Gulf war, combined with the recession and tax increases on airline tickets, caused airlines to lose more money in 1990 than they have ever earned in a single year. One-fourth of the industry's capacity is in bankruptcy. The ravages of deregulation, over-leveraged airline buyouts, abuse by corporate wranglers like Eastern's Frank Lorenzo, and inaction by the administration has left millions of airline employees uncertain about their future.

Paradoxically, the solution offered by Transportation Secretary Samuel Skinner is to open U.S. skies to foreign airlines flying our domestic routes (cabotage) and permit increased foreign investment in U.S. airlines. Instead of acknowledging the failure of deregulation, the administration is trying to promote it at the international level. All the while, the secretary blames labor costs for the industry's woes, knowing full well that airline labor costs have grown slower than other costs, that employees gave huge concessions in the 1980s, and that the carriers that pay their employees the most are the healthiest. In 1977, the year before deregulation, labor costs accounted for 42 percent of operating expenses; by 1990, labor costs fell to 34 percent.

Eastern, which was the target of a leveraged buyout by corporate raider Frank Lorenzo, ceased operations in January 1991 after an almost two-year strike. Lorenzo took control of Eastern in 1985 and began dismantling the assets and milking the airline for cash. He had already busted the unions at Continental Airlines by declaring bankruptcy, and he waged war on the unions at Eastern and declared bankruptcy shortly after the Machinists strike began in March 1989.

Most recently, the Department of Transportation has made it easier for foreign interests to take a substantial stake in U.S. carriers, raising the equity limit from 25 percent to 49 percent in a deal involving Northwest Airlines. There also is fear that U.S. trade negotiators, with support from DOT will allow foreign carriers to operate between U.S. cities.

The Department of Transportation has permitted with little scrutiny nearly every sale of an international route, even if it hurts the airline selling the route. Strangely, the DOT carefully considers applicants for a new or vacant route to

insure that the eventual winner serves the public interest, but allows carriers to conduct trade in routes ad infinitum once they are awarded.

On the railroads, deregulation has also wreaked havoc through bankruptcies, consolidation and the loss of some 225,000 jobs. At the same time, both the Reagan and Bush administrations have been negligent on safety matters, according to studies conducted by the General Accounting Office (GAO).

Workers struck the nation's railroads April 17, 1991, after three years of fruitless negotiations, only to have Congress and the president stop the strike within hours.

The unions involved had tried to negotiate with the carriers, but the carriers held out — refusing to bargain in good faith. A Presidential Emergency Board (PEB) was finally established in March 1990. In its January 1991 recommendations, the board failed to consider many of the issues important to labor. The recommendations favored management so much that the railroads asked Congress to implement them in full.

The Bush administration, led by Transportation Secretary Skinner, asked Congress to outlaw a strike before the cooling off period ended. Rail labor, hoping to use its right to seek "self-help" through economic leverage, asked Congress not to act at all, but to instead preserve the right to strike and let the collective bargaining process work.

Congress stopped the strike only 18 hours after it had begun, setting up a special board to review the PEB recommendations and to change them as needed. The findings of the special board essentially followed the recommendation of the PEB.

The nation's success in prosecuting Operations Desert Shield/Storm has demonstrated, once again, the essential role that the maritime industry plays in the nation's ability to protect its vital interests overseas. Within days of the initial Iraqi aggression, American seamen delivered the first shiploads of material needed to sustain allied forces in the Persian Gulf. By the time hostilities had ended, merchant vessels had delivered 95 percent of the millions of tons of equipment to this theater of operations, although a significant amount of foreign tonnage was involved. A false complacency about the success of future such operations can set in where there might be less foreign cooperation than in this case.

On the highways, the refusal of the Reagan and Bush administrations to adequately address safety problems and fund necessary road and bridge construction and repair has created safety problems, a deteriorating infrastructure and gridlock. Urban mass transit has been hit hard as well by a lack of governmental support and direction, by a similar call for state and local governments to finance, build and maintain these projects, and through a campaign to privatize mass transit. In the most recent battle over the 1991 Surface Transportation Act, the Bush administration sought to reduce the federal government's share of funding from 80 percent to 60 percent.

The continuing deregulation of the interstate trucking industry has led to a number of adverse consequences. High level of bankruptcies — over 145 large (Class 1 and 2 ICC) regulated motor carriers of general freight have terminated

operations since July 1, 1980 — the date of enactment of the Motor Carrier Act. High unemployment — at least 135,000 trucking industry workers have lost their jobs since 1980. Decline in safety on the highways for truck drivers and the motoring public. A recent study by the General Accounting Office (GAO) supports the position of organized labor that financially strapped motor carriers have inferior safety records. Large shippers continue to profit from their exercise of market power at the expense of motor carriers, employees and the traveling public — with no evidence that the lower trucking rates enjoyed by large shippers are passed onto the public in the form of lower prices to consumers.

Council Recommendation

The national transportation system is an interrelated web which links the diverse parts of the nation and provides essential services in the public interest. Trucks and barges and railroads and airplanes are vital to business survival and expansion. People depend on cars, buses and trains to get to jobs and for access to the goods and services they need. A balance of transportation is needed to meet the diverse requirements of a modern nation and to promote efficiency, protect the quality of life, control pollution and use limited space in crowded cities.

The government has a legitimate role in regulation and in promoting the safety and welfare of workers, consumers and the traveling public, and in national security. Governments must provide the infrastructure for an effective transportation system.

Maritime

The Persian Gulf logistical movement was the end product of considerable sacrifice by America's workers, who labored untiringly to keep supplies moving through this pipeline: the shipyard workers who performed the repairs necessary to activate Ready Reserve Force vessels, the longshoremen who travelled around the country to insure skilled personnel were available to load ships with the ammunition so desperately needed on the front lines, and the thousands of merchant seamen who were previously unemployed in the maritime industry returned to serve their country or others who came out of retirement to sail the ships laden with supplies. Each willingly employing basic job skills that contributed directly to the nation's defense.

At the same time, a significant amount of foreign tonnage was involved. A false complacency about the success of future operations can set in where there might be less foreign cooperation than in this case.

A present capability doesn't guarantee future success. While the American merchant marine was able to respond to the call in August 1990, its overall condition continues to decline. For over a decade the federal government has failed to promote one program that could serve as a springboard for industry

redevelopment. Instead of providing assistance, the government has adopted a "slash and burn" policy which has weakened all maritime sectors. The deterioration has become so widespread that military strategists, although pleased with the industry's response to the recent call to action, have publicly voiced concerns about the future ability of the U.S. merchant fleet to provide sufficient strategic sealift.

The current state of industry affairs must be reversed. It is essential that the nation's policymakers signal an interest and commence development of initiatives that will insure the American maritime industry's ability to meet its legislatively mandated goals of having sufficient ships and manpower to promote national security. Adoption of the following proposals will contribute significantly to the maritime industry's revitalization.

- The administration should reject all efforts to establish a second national shipping registry as being detrimental to the industry's efforts to serve as a strategic sealift asset.
- As regional and global trade talks proliferate, U.S. negotiators should be instructed to secure exclusion of maritime services from any final agreement. The inclusion of maritime services, unless incorporated under the guise of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Code on Liner Conduct or as part of a direct bilateral agreement that includes cargo sharing, would undermine any attempt to enhance the American merchant fleet because of the necessary extension of national status to the fleets of the nation's trading partners.
- Maintenance of the crude oil export restrictions contained in the Export Administration Act should be broadened and extended permanently.
- The nation's cabotage laws, which are vital to the continued operation of domestic shipyards and shipping companies, must be preserved. All corporate attempts and governmental efforts to weaken this important legislation must be resisted. Maintenance of domestic-build requirements is especially important because of the need to replace the existing fleet of tankers and barges in the coastwise oil trade with new, double-hulled vessels.
- Legislation establishing a "build and charter" ship program should be passed that will promote development of a fleet of trading vessels that combines military capability with commercial competitiveness.
- The absence of an important promotional incentive used to attract passengers aboard cruises must be corrected by the adoption of legislation that will permit establishment of casino facilities aboard U.S.-flag passenger ships.
- Legislation promoting safety for the millions of Americans who take pleasure cruises aboard foreign passenger ships should be enacted. The

Congress should advance legislation that will require the application of American labor laws as well as safety inspection requirements to insure the vessels and crew members meet adequate standards.

- The utilization rate of American-flag vessels to carry government cargo should be maximized by those federal agencies entrusted with overseeing domestic industry promotional programs. Additionally, new cargo opportunities, such as a "Buy American" requirement for the State Department's cash transfer aid program, should be enacted.

Air Transportation

Since deregulation, there have been more than 150 bankruptcies and 50 mergers. Several major carriers, including Eastern and Braniff, have shut down completely, and several others are bankrupt and appear on the verge of complete liquidation, as well. Industry wide, this has created massive job loss. In the first six months of 1991, some 40,000 airline workers lost their jobs. Meanwhile, the Departments of Transportation and Justice stood on the sidelines and defended the deregulation doctrine.

There is a need to readdress the issue of airline deregulation. Clearly, some correction to spur competition and stop the industry's financial collapse is in order.

Aside from economic ills, airline employees have been wrongly implicated for another scourge — the drug epidemic. A massive random drug-testing program mandated by the DOT has turned up almost no positive tests among workers in safety-related positions at the cost of millions of dollars to the industry.

The AFL-CIO believes that Congress and the administration should use their authority to help the airline industry and its workers find its way out of the financial instability that deregulations has brought about, while protecting workers' dignity and job security.

Specifically, Congress should enact legislation that imposes Labor Protective Provisions (LPPs) in airline mergers, roll back the increase in the airline ticket tax, uphold the prohibition against cabotage, enact legislation banning permanent replacement of striking workers, and fully fund federal aviation programs and the Airport Improvement Program.

The DOT should more carefully scrutinize the transfer of international routes and prohibit them when either carrier involved would be hurt by the transfer, carefully monitor foreign investment and equity ownership to prevent foreign control of U.S. airlines, end random drug testing of airline employees, and abandon attempts to change the law to allow foreign airlines to fly domestic routes.

Railroads

The nation's railroads have become less safe, due in part to the remiss safety inspection policies of the Bush and Reagan administrations. In a series of sweeping reports, the GAO said that the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA) was so grossly understaffed that it could not possibly monitor safety properly on the railroads. The AFL-CIO calls upon the FRA to strictly enforce safety standards and impose first-instance penalties that provide a strong incentive for carriers to operate safely.

Relaxed regulatory standards at the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) are wreaking havoc on worker rights. The ICC has allowed countless short line sales that permit the new owners to abrogate labor contracts and dodge worker protections through suspect corporate deals. The new owners are undercapitalized, inexperienced, and a major accident away from bankruptcy. In other cases, large railroads sell these lines to other companies within their own corporate structures, a move that allows them to hold the line captive while abrogating labor contracts and escaping certain statutory requirements. The AFL-CIO calls for legislation to control and limit such spinoffs.

The AFL-CIO also calls for: continued government support for AMTRAK to assure passengers continued rail service; support of AMTRAK workers and its unions in their determination to achieve pay equity with other rail workers; examination of the counterproductive tactics of management which are detrimental to this important service; the protection of rail workers pension and unemployment benefits; and the defense of the system for compensation of injured rail workers, the Federal Employers' Liability Act.

Mass Transit

The AFL-CIO supports federal legislation designed to increase mass transit funding for both operating and capital assistance, including increased funding from additional gas tax revenue.

We call for legislation including at least \$6 billion annually to assist local communities and transit authorities in the purchase and upgrade of equipment and facilities. The federal share for capital assistance projects should remain at 80 percent and at least 50 percent for operating assistance. Special emphasis should be placed on "Buy American" programs which would help reverse the decade-long decline of the nation's public transportation equipment manufacturing industry.

Any program of expanded federal aid for mass transit must be premised on the continuation of collective bargaining rights and the preservation of a free collective bargaining process on all mandatory subjects of bargaining, based on the right to strike or use of arbitration to settle unresolved disputes.

Appropriate legislative and political efforts ought to insure that the policies and procedures for administration of the Section 13(c) employee protection provisions under the Federal Urban Mass Transportation Act in effect prior to the unwarranted changes either implemented or proposed by the Reagan and Bush administrations be reaffirmed in the interest of affected employees; and that Congress reject and set aside any proposals for adverse changes in Section 13(c) policies and procedures.

Administration of the labor protection provisions of the Urban Mass Transportation Act should remain the exclusive responsibility of the Department of Labor.

The Congress should maintain provisions guaranteeing that labor standards include the payment of prevailing wages to all workers engaged in the construction or operation of mass transportation facilities involving federal financial assistance, and that such standards also guarantee to rail and transit workers the first opportunities of employment arising from federal transit funding.

Authorized legislation should include provisions to recognize that decisions about the terms and conditions for private sector participation in transportation, including decisions to employ competitive bidding; privatization or subcontracting with private operators, if warranted, should be made at the state and/or local level free from any federally imposed standards, guidelines, policies or grant conditions; and that private sector involvement in public transportation remain a local decision to be employed only when such service is complementary to the existing public transit network and only where there can be a partnership of public and private providers protective of employee interests and the riding public. We also support the mandatory role for transit labor in the metropolitan planning process for selecting transit projects for federal funding.

The AFL-CIO opposes efforts to condition, delay or prioritize transit grants to applicants based on the extent or amount of service provided by private transit operators.

Trucking

The AFL-CIO believes that the adverse impact of trucking deregulation will accelerate unless Congress and the administration take proper and reasonable steps to ease the adjustment process.

We support strict enforcement of all safety related laws and regulations by federal and state governments with realistic penalties to deter violations. Staffing and funding for truck safety enforcement must be increased at both the federal and state levels. All motor carriers must receive "satisfactory" safety ratings from the Department of Transportation in order to haul goods in interstate commerce. Shippers must bear responsibility for the acts of motor carriers they utilize to transport their products.

Employees who have lost their jobs because of trucking deregulation should be able to receive adjustment assistance or labor protection provisions administered by the Department of Labor.

In addition, all employees, including owner-operators on lease to ICC regulated motor carriers, must have the right to organize and bargain collectively. The so-called independent contractor exemption to the nation's labor laws must be ended.

In the past, public policy has been made without adequate and reliable information. The Congress should require that the Interstate Commerce Commission mandate that all interstate motor carriers file annual financial and operating reports. Moreover, the Department of Transportation should be required to develop and maintain comprehensive accident and safety statistics.

We urge that the Hazardous Materials Transportation Safety Act be strengthened to better protect transportation workers as well as the general public. We believe too much emphasis is being placed on the role of the truck driver in the quest for truck safety and not enough attention is being focused on the safety responsibilities of the motor carriers and the shippers, particularly the large shippers.

We further urge that the Congress defeat attempts to repeal the Supreme Court's "master" decision. The Congress should insist that the Interstate Commerce Commission interpret the Motor Carrier Act of 1980 correctly and enforce the tariff and rate-setting regulations.

In light of the devastating effects of the deregulation of interstate transportation, we oppose efforts to extend deregulation to the intrastate level. There should be a full-scale re-examination of federal labor policy for all transportation industry employees. Finally, truck drivers and related personnel working for airlines should not be covered under the Railway Labor Act.

The decline in federal investment in the nation's highways and bridges, as well as the deregulated environment, have created safety problems for truck drivers and the public. Many carriers in this cash intensive industry have de-emphasized safety while trying to stay afloat. In fact, the relaxed, deregulated atmosphere has also allowed small independent truckers, who do not meet the same standards of operation as major truckers, to enter the marketplace. These operators push prices down, and drive down wages, pressuring major carriers to ignore safety and seek unwarranted concessions. Recent studies show that in some states as many as 60 percent of trucks were not safe enough to be on the highway.

The AFL-CIO believes that Congress and the administration must take proper and reasonable steps for a mid-course correction on deregulation of the trucking industry, or the adverse impact of trucking deregulation will continue to accelerate.

We support strict interpretation and enforcement of all safety related laws and regulations by federal and state governments with realistic penalties against carriers to deter violations.

Banks and the Financial System

Economic and regulatory policies carried out by conservative Republican administrations during the last 11 years have fostered the most serious problems in the nation's financial system since the Great Depression.

The public has been ill served by a scandal-ridden, poorly regulated financial system. Credit has been misallocated on a massive scale. Junk bond-financed corporate takeovers and real estate speculation in the 1980s have given way to the credit crunch of the early 1990s. Meanwhile, America's industrial base has eroded for lack of productive investment, housing has become unaffordable for millions of working Americans, and the nation's human and physical infrastructure has languished for lack of public investment.

The carcasses of thousands of failed savings and loan associations are in government custody, a direct consequence of deregulation-induced greed, fraud and speculative excess. According to the administration, the ultimate cost to taxpayers of the S&L catastrophe cannot be reliably estimated. An earlier estimate by the General Accounting Office (GAO), which now appears too low, put the cost to taxpayers at \$500 billion by the time all the bills have been paid — \$5,350 for every household in the country.

During the second half of the 1980s, serious problems spread to many of the nation's commercial banks. Since 1987, more than 200 commercial banks have been failing every year, a rate far higher than at any time since the Great Depression. During the 30 years prior to 1980, it was rare for as many as five commercial banks to fail in any year. The skyrocketing number of bank failures has drained the Bank Insurance Fund, posing a grave risk that taxpayers will be forced to shoulder yet another costly bailout in the years ahead.

As poorly as the domestic financial system has been regulated, the BCCI scandal demonstrates that regulatory failings with respect to international finance have, if anything, been even more serious.

As if this were not enough, for more than a decade real interest rates have been punishingly high by historical standards; despite having come down somewhat, they remain so today. Monetary policy, carried out by a powerful yet unaccountable Federal Reserve Board, has had a choke hold on the economy for much of this time. Even when the Fed eases interest rates, banks often take the opportunity to improve their profit margins rather than to lower the rates they charge commercial and household borrowers.

Concerns about the financial system have given the current recession an especially anxiety-producing twist, overhanging prospects for the economy like a giant question mark.

Council Recommendation

Faced with massive problems which its own policies and those of its predecessor have done so much to create, the Bush administration has put forth a commercial banking reform plan that would limit deposit insurance coverage, including elimination of pass-through coverage for pension funds; authorize full nationwide interstate banking and branching; and permit banks to enter the securities and insurance business, and vice versa, while allowing corporations to own banks.

The administration's plan does not deserve support. It serves the interests of big banks and the securities industry, not the American public. Their plan will almost surely further erode rather than strengthen public confidence in the banking system. It will do little to alleviate the risk of an expensive taxpayer bailout, and may even increase that risk down the road. It will increase the concentration of economic power as big banks go nationwide and giant conglomerates spanning the full range of financial services band together with nonfinancial corporations to control an even larger share of the nation's wealth.

Although the administrations's plan does not deserve support, the need for prompt action is urgent. The AFL-CIO calls for a program of financial system reform based on stricter governmental regulation, a viable deposit insurance program, better banking service to consumers and local businesses, and proper safeguards for bank workers affected by closings and mergers. Moreover, monetary policy must be reformed to promote lower interest rates and economic growth.

Stricter Governmental Regulation

The safety and soundness of banks in particular and the financial system in general must be guaranteed. This will require more federal supervision and regulation, not less. Weak institutions must not be permitted to pay high interest rates to attract deposits, whether brokered or otherwise, in order to have one more taxpayer-financed roll of the dice. Self-dealing such as "insider" loans to bank officers and directors must be prohibited.

Increased federal supervision must be carried out in a manner which does not restrict economic activity by denying credit to worthy borrowers. The regulators must see to it that bank lending practices emphasize job-creating, socially responsible investments — not real estate speculation or junk-bond financed corporate takeovers, which eliminate rather than preserve jobs.

Concentration of ownership and control is antithetical to financial system soundness and stability. Proposals to end Glass-Steagall distinctions between commerce and banking should be rejected. Mega-mergers must not be allowed to monopolize banking or lead to undue concentration of private financial power.

U.S. operations of foreign banks, and foreign deposits and other activities of U.S. banks, must be brought more effectively and comprehensively under the regulatory umbrella. They must pay their fair share to the Bank Insurance Fund, and their activities must not be allowed to undermine the safety and soundness of the banking system. Scandals such as BCCI must not be allowed to reoccur. Foreign banks and corporations operating in the United States must not be exempt from requirements, such as the Glass-Steagall Act, that are needed to curb financial system abuses.

Flexible ceilings on interest rates paid to insured depositors are needed to mitigate excessive bidding for funds. Federally insured banks should be forced to reduce their exposure to risk by lowering the current limits on loans to a single borrower.

Financial industry executives guilty of improprieties that exact such a heavy price from taxpayers should be brought to justice and forced to make restitution. Schemes used to shelter their personal wealth should be abolished, and enforcement agencies should be given adequate resources.

When resolving troubled institutions, the government's Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. and Resolution Trust Corp. must stop creating windfall gains for wealthy investors at public expense. When troubled institutions are merged by federal regulators or their assets are sold, recoupment provisions are needed so that the public receives compensation in the form of a share of any future profits.

Viable Deposit Insurance

Deposit insurance must be restructured to protect all pension and retirement accounts and all transaction balances regardless of size. Pensions and other retirement accounts need to retain the pass-through of individual deposit insurance coverage. The recent FDIC rule excluding self-directed public pension plans from future FDIC insurance protection must be rescinded. As the deposit insurance program is restructured, insurance limits should be removed on all pension and other retirement accounts deposited in an insured institution. Transaction balances, such as checking accounts used to meet payrolls, should also be insured without any limit.

Recapitalization of the Bank Insurance Fund is urgently needed. The funds should be obtained from banking industry sources to the extent possible. It is important that the Fund have sufficient resources promptly. The costs of future financial system bailouts must not be passed on to depositors or taxpayers with the least ability to pay. To prevent further unnecessary drain on the fund, dividend payments and lavish executive compensation by banks which are losing money, have inadequate capital, or are carrying excessive problem loans on their books should be strictly prohibited.

Better Banking Service to Consumers and Local Businesses

Banks owe an obligation to communities and the public. Banks must provide better service to all consumers with regard to check cashing, "lifeline" banking, and community lending practices. Nationwide banking must not be allowed to result in a drain of funds away from businesses and individuals in low-income regions and communities, or a drain of funds offshore that are badly needed in the United States. Financial institutions that benefit from federal deposit insurance should be required by law to fill a prescribed number of seats on their boards with individuals who are broadly representative of and accountable to bank customer constituencies, including labor, consumers, farmers, and small businesses. Community Reinvestment Act provisions must be strengthened and fully enforced.

Credit unions and banks owned or controlled by unions and communities have an important place in our financial system. Their role should be strengthened in any plan to restructure the financial system. Appropriate regulation and oversight will also be required in this area.

Safeguards are needed for bank workers. Bank workers whose jobs are at risk, often as a result of regulatory decisions, have a right to fairer treatment, including proper notification of bank closings and provisions for health and pension benefits. Federal regulators and acquiring banks should provide opportunities for re-employment without loss of seniority or benefits. Displaced workers certainly should not face discrimination because of prior union membership. Where a union contract exists, provision should be made for continuation of the contract or successorship as appropriate.

Reform Monetary Policy

The Fed must relax its choke hold which has contributed to more than a decade of high real interest rates and slow economic growth. The public accountability of the powerful Fed must be increased, by means of labor and other non-banker representation at a policy-making level.

Conclusion

The AFL-CIO supports a program of financial system reform based on these principles. Its goal is to help reduce interest rates, to bring about an increase in fairness, and to restore public confidence in the financial system without saddling working Americans with the bill.

Worker Protections

Fair Labor Standards Act

The minimum wage increased to \$4.25 per hour on April 1, 1991, the last increase under the Kennedy-Hawkins Minimum Wage Restoration Act of 1989. The working poor waited eight years for the Kennedy-Hawkins Minimum Wage Restoration Act. Unfortunately, it fell short of restoration of the earlier buying power of the minimum wage. President Bush's veto in 1989 forced compromises which produced only two minimum wage adjustments instead of three — a limited subminimum training wage for youth and various changes in the Act's coverage.

The minimum wage has customarily been fixed at 50 percent of the average wage of nonsupervisory production workers — \$10.30 in May 1991. To restore its purchasing power to pre Reagan/Bush 1978 levels would require a minimum wage of \$5.65 per hour now; or to support a family of three at the poverty level, a minimum wage of \$5.30 would be required as of May 1991.

There are now 21 states with minimum wages the same as the federal minimum wage. Three states, Iowa paying \$4.65, Hawaii paying \$5.25 and New Jersey paying \$5.05, plan to exceed the federal minimum wage. Alaska, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Oregon and the District of Columbia currently pay higher than federal minimum wage.

Hours of work have been increasing for American workers. The Governor of Maryland increased the workweek from 37.5 hours to 40 hours per week.

Child labor needs attention at the federal level. Meanwhile, New York State has reduced the hours children can work. After much frustration, The Department of Labor abandoned the Child Labor Advisory Committee. As a result, it has not reviewed or updated the 40-year-old child labor Hazardous Orders.

Council Recommendation

The Fair Labor Standards Act provides the nation's basic labor standards covering child labor, equal pay, hours of work, and minimum wages. The Act also limits industrial homework and sets a floor for wages in sheltered work-

shops for the disabled. The weakest and economically most vulnerable depend on this law — children, the handicapped, the unskilled, recent immigrants, and nonunion workers. These basic standards have not kept abreast of evolving workplace conditions and the needs of workers.

The minimum wage is now \$4.25 per hour. Today, the minimum wage buys only 65 percent of what it did ten years ago when the minimum wage was only \$3.35.

We urge the Congress to update the minimum wage law by:

- Bringing the minimum wage to 50 percent of average hourly earnings, the fair relationship with the wages of others that had prevailed when Congress previously had raised the minimum wage, and to automatically adjust that wage by changes in average hourly earnings;
- Repealing the subminimum training wage for youth as deficient in training and nothing more than age/wage discrimination;
- Gradually reducing the workweek to 35 hours;
- Increasing the overtime premium to triple time, to encourage new employment opportunities instead of forcing existing workers to work long hours;
- Linking the salary tests of professional, administrative, and executive employees to a multiple of the minimum wage;
- Establishing a Child Labor Advisory Committee to the Department of Labor to review, revise, and update the child labor Hazardous Orders;
- Making the prime contractor also liable for the child labor violations of a subcontractor;
- Reducing the hours of work for children while in school.

We urge state federations to continue improving state minimum wage laws to fill the gap left by an inadequate federal minimum wage.

Labor Standards

The nation's prevailing wage laws are cornerstones of the labor protections in the United States. These laws — the Davis-Bacon Act, Walsh-Healey Act, Service Contract Act, and the companion state and city laws — have been scorned and assaulted. Scorned in that they have not been updated to meet changing conditions and have not been vigorously enforced. They have been assaulted by efforts to gut and repeal through the courts and legislative processes.

For example, Walsh-Healey assured workers providing materials to the federal government the basic labor protections of the prevailing wage and the

8-hour day. Although still on the books, its wage provisions have not been enforced since 1965; and the 8-hour day was lost in 1988.

State Prevailing Wage Law Activity

There are 32 state prevailing wage laws. In the past two years, there were six efforts to repeal state laws which failed and three efforts to enact laws failed. But, more positively, Illinois included coverage of projects financed by state bonds and added new penalties for violations; California added a debarment penalty; Kentucky increased its civil penalties; and Hawaii and New Jersey extended prevailing wage coverage. Ohio and New Mexico adopted new administrative rules.

Davis-Bacon Act

The purpose of the Davis-Bacon Act is to ensure that competitors for federal government construction contracts compete on their management ability and quality rather than the wages and working conditions of their employees. But, the always present efforts to demolish the Davis-Bacon Act have accelerated during the past decade. Nevertheless, some members of Congress, enlightened contractors and building trades unions have proposed constructive changes to the Davis-Bacon Act and are working for their passage. However, movement in Congress has been slow toward enacting the much needed improvements contained in the Davis-Bacon Reform Act.

Service Contract Act

The Service Contract Act is to the workers providing cleaning, clerical, and other services to the federal government what the Davis-Bacon Act is to construction workers. Most of the current problems of the workers come from efforts of the agencies to undermine prevailing wages and benefits. The General Services Administration persists in attempts to force contractors to pay less than prevailing wages by using special contract set-asides to keep wages down.

Council Recommendation

The AFL-CIO stands squarely in support of the Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Acts as basic laws protecting workers against predatory competition for federally funded contracts.

The AFL-CIO calls for passage of the Davis-Bacon Reform Act that:

- Increases the basic coverage threshold for contracts from \$2,000 to \$50,000.
- Extends coverage to repair and remodeling contracts of \$15,000 or more.
- Prevents the practice of splitting contracts into small parts to avoid coverage.
- Provides a private right of action by workers independent of the Department of Labor.

The AFL-CIO calls for effective administration of the Service Contract Act and timely issuance of wage determinations by the Department of Labor.

Occupational Safety and Health

This past September the nation was horrified by the tragic fire that killed 25 workers trapped behind locked doors at a chicken processing plant in Hamlet, N.C. It is an outrage that the same kind of conditions which killed 146 workers in the Triangle Shirtwaist fire in 1911 still exist in America today.

Two decades after the enactment of federal job safety legislation, the promise of a safe and healthful workplace for every American worker is still far from a reality. Each year, more than 10,000 workers are killed and more than 6 million are injured by job hazards. As many as 100,000 more workers die from occupational exposure to toxic chemicals. Government data show reported injuries are increasing with significant problems across all economic sectors. Construction, shipbuilding and meatpacking remain extremely hazardous. Chemical plant explosions are occurring at an alarming rate, killing scores of workers each year. Ergonomic problems are resulting in an epidemic of cumulative trauma disorders and other musculoskeletal problems.

Against this sobering backdrop, the AFL-CIO has continued to fight for improved working conditions for all American workers. Stronger federal regulations and enforcement, new legislation, state initiatives and union-based activities have all been part of the AFL-CIO's program for improved job safety protections.

Federal Safety and Health Programs

Two years ago, the AFL-CIO had hoped that the Bush administration would pursue a more positive program in worker safety and health than its predecessor. Qualified, experienced leaders were appointed to key Labor Department posts

and worker safety was designated as a high priority. Unfortunately, the administration's rhetoric supporting stronger worker protections by and large has not been translated into action.

Neither the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) nor the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) has established clear priorities or goals for their respective programs. Tight budgets and continued interference by the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB) have limited or blocked major new initiatives.

At OSHA, the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions continued to push for stronger standards, battling against a standard-setting process that is becoming longer and more frustrating. After many years of effort, final safety standards were issued on excavations, concrete construction, electrical hazards and welding.

The AFL-CIO also worked with affiliated unions on proposed standards on blood-borne diseases, butadiene, confined space entry, vehicle safety, cadmium and asbestos. Proposed standards on methylene chloride, glycol ethers and lead in construction are still overdue.

Ergonomic hazards have emerged as a major problem for workers across many sectors of the economy. In the past two years, the reported cases of cumulative trauma disorders doubled. OSHA brought major enforcement actions on ergonomics against employers in meatpacking, auto assembly and telecommunications. However, the agency has moved slowly on the development of a comprehensive standard on ergonomic hazards. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates have formally petitioned OSHA to promptly issue a standard on this growing problem.

Construction safety remains an area which has not received adequate attention by OSHA. An Office of Construction Safety was established, but the agency still lacks qualified staff with experience in the construction industry. The construction unions continued to push for a major overhaul of OSHA's construction programs, but little progress was made.

Improving the quality and utility of injury and illness data remains a priority for the AFL-CIO. The federation and its affiliates continue to work with OSHA and the Bureau of Labor Statistics on new systems for reporting occupational injuries and illnesses.

On the enforcement side, with the most flagrant violations, OSHA has continued to apply its egregious policy of penalizing employers for each instance of a violation. As a result, employers have challenged this practice and the AFL-CIO has joined OSHA in litigation backing the imposition of high penalties for egregious violations.

The overall effectiveness of OSHA enforcement actions continues to be blunted by Department of Labor settlement practices which significantly reduce fines and routinely exclude unions from settlement discussions.

The AFL-CIO and its unions challenged and won a partial victory on the unions' right to participate in settlements. But clearly it remains a problem that can be fully resolved only through changes in the law.

In other safety and health litigation, the unions won important Supreme Court victories limiting the right of the OMB to interfere with OSHA's right-to-know regulation under the guise of paperwork reduction, and barring employers from imposing broad exclusionary policies where workplace hazards may pose a reproductive health risk to women workers.

At MSHA, the unions successfully stopped most of the agency's deregulatory proposals and are pushing forward new regulations on air contaminants, diesel exhaust and other hazards. Union pressure also brought about stepped-up enforcement of mine safety violations and new regulations to shut down mines that have a pattern of significant and substantial violations.

In 1991, MSHA uncovered major fraud by scores of coal operators who were tampering with the dust collection cassettes used to determine coal dust levels. The United Mine Workers called for changes in the MSHA law to put responsibility for dust sampling in the hands of the government or workers.

Health and safety research and training and education have been priorities of the labor movement. The AFL-CIO and affiliated unions succeeded at increasing the budget of the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) for research on ergonomics, construction safety, hazards in agriculture, and expanding government training programs for workers engaged in hazardous waste and emergency response operations.

Legislation

During the past two years, the AFL-CIO has been working with Congress to improve worker protections through vigorous oversight and new legislation.

As part of the 1990 Budget Reconciliation Act, Congress increased OSHA civil penalties sevenfold and established a mandatory minimum penalty of \$5,000 for willful violations. A fivefold boost in maximum MSHA civil penalties also was enacted as part of the budget legislation.

The 101st Congress enacted requirements for OSHA to issue a standard on chemical process safety as part of the Clean Air Act Amendments. That legislation also called for the establishment of a Chemical Accident Board to investigate chemical accidents.

Legislation on the problems of indoor air quality is also under consideration by Congress. The AFL-CIO is seeking provisions that would require standards on indoor air quality for workplace settings.

Given the major deficiencies that remain in worker safety and health protections, the AFL-CIO is seeking major reforms in the Occupational Safety and Health Act. The federation has worked with Congress to develop a comprehensive reform bill which would mandate employer programs and greater worker participation through safety and health committees, enhance OSHA's enforcement authority, and extend coverage to public employees and other workers who currently fall outside the Act's scope.

Legislation developed by the building and construction trades unions to address the special problems in the construction industry has also been introduced. The Construction Safety, Health and Education Improvement Act would establish a system of safety management on construction sites, improve OSHA's ability to address construction safety hazards and expand worker safety training.

The AFL-CIO will be working to enact the construction safety bill and comprehensive OSHA reform in the 102nd Congress.

State Initiatives

The AFL-CIO continues to favor a strong federal OSHA program over state OSHA plans, but in the face of deliberate inaction at the federal level, the labor movement has looked to the states to improve workplace safety and health. State initiatives have proven useful to fill gaps in OSHA protections, to break new ground and to put pressure on the federal government and industry for action.

Campaigns to win public employee OSHA bills have been launched in a number of states to extend safety and health protections to state and local government workers excluded from coverage under the OSHA law.

State and local criminal prosecutions for workplace fatalities, injuries and illnesses initiated several years ago have now resulted in the conviction and imprisonment of a number of employers. Employer challenges that such actions are preempted by federal OSHA have been rebuffed by the courts, clearing the way for expanded efforts by the states in this area.

Legislation requiring safeguards for video display terminals was enacted in San Francisco and Suffolk County, New York. In New Jersey and Wisconsin, unions in coalition with other groups have launched campaigns on the "right to act" as a follow up to successful right-to-know efforts to give workers greater rights to participate in work site safety and health activities and to refuse hazardous work.

Union Programs and Initiatives

Effective union programs are central to improving safety and health conditions on the job. Federal and state laws and regulations are important, but real change will only come through an informed and active trade union membership.

The AFL-CIO has undertaken a number of initiatives to educate members and build trade union involvement in safety and health.

On April 28 of each year beginning in 1989, the AFL-CIO has organized Workers Memorial Day to remember workers killed on the job and to draw greater public attention to workplace safety problems. Rallies, memorial ser-

vices, marches and other activities have been held and permanent memorials have been dedicated in numerous cities. Each year, union participation in Workers Memorial Day activities continues to grow.

In 1990, the AFL-CIO held its fifth National Conference on Occupational Safety and Health. More than 800 trade unionists gathered in Milwaukee to discuss key safety and health issues and to develop strategies for winning improvements in the OSHA law.

Efforts to inform union members about chemical hazards and the right to know have continued and the AFL-CIO has developed a comprehensive training program to inform workers about the characteristics and risks of AIDS in the workplace.

Council Recommendation

This past September the nation was horrified by the tragic fire that killed 25 workers trapped behind locked doors at a chicken processing plant in Hamlet, N.C. It is an outrage that the same kind of conditions which killed 146 workers in the Triangle Shirtwaist fire in 1911 still exist in America today.

Two decades after the enactment of federal job safety and health legislation, the right to a safe job remains just a promise, not a reality. Every year, more than 10,000 workers are killed and more than 6 million injured by job hazards. Construction safety hazards and toxic chemicals remain serious problems. Poor job design, infectious diseases and office hazards have emerged as major safety and health concerns for millions of workers. The cost of workplace injuries alone is staggering, estimated at more than \$80 billion a year.

The Hamlet tragedy has demonstrated that the Occupational Safety and Health Act is failing to protect American workers. A renewed commitment and new solutions are in order. The law must be changed to prevent such tragedies in the future.

The AFL-CIO is committed to comprehensive reform of the Occupational Safety and Health Act and legislation to address special safety problems in the construction industry. We support legislation that would mandate employer safety programs with full worker and union participation through safety and health committees, extend coverage to all workers, enhance OSHA enforcement authority and expand injury and illness reporting. We will continue to work for improved construction safety legislation to establish a system of safety management on construction sites, improve OSHA's ability to address construction safety hazards and expand worker safety training.

Strengthening regulations and enforcement of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the Mine Safety and Health Administration are also top priorities for the AFL-CIO. Standards are needed on ergonomic hazards, video display terminals, methylene chloride, lead in construction, environmental monitoring and medical surveillance. Pending standards on infectious diseases, confined space entry, chemical process safety, butadiene, asbestos and

cadmium should be issued promptly. In the mining industry, a new regulation on diesel exhaust is a priority along with updates of existing rules.

Strong, consistent enforcement is necessary for standards to be effective. The AFL-CIO will push the Bush administration to fully utilize the higher OSHA and MSHA fines now provided by law and seek changes in OSHA policy and practice to grant union representatives full participation in settlement discussions on enforcement cases.

In recent years state and local governments have launched initiatives to improve worker protections. While the AFL-CIO continues to support a strong federal OSHA program over state plans, state initiatives like "right to know" have broken new ground and forced federal action. We urge all affiliates and state AFL-CIOs to support state initiatives on worker safety and health training programs, worker clinics, VDT use, "right to act" and criminal prosecution of employers for workplace injuries, illnesses and fatalities.

Health and safety in the workplace can only be achieved through strong union programs and an informed and active membership. The AFL-CIO will continue the April 28 Workers Memorial Day observance to call attention to job hazards and to build support for improvements in workplace safety and health. We will assist member unions in their efforts to seek increased rights and protections through collective bargaining and to address the health and safety concerns of unorganized workers.

Workers' Compensation

For many workers who are disabled by an injury or illness from their job, workers' compensation fails in its promise to deliver quality medical care and adequate and timely income replacement. This "no-fault" system is consumed with dispute, litigation and delay. It is not uncommon for contested workers' compensation claims to take two or more years to resolve.

Benefits in all but one state, Iowa, are far below those recommended by the Nixon-appointed National Commission in its 1972 report, which said that workers should get two-thirds of their pre-injury wage up to a maximum of 200 percent of the state's average weekly wage. *Maximum* benefits for 1991 in five states (Arkansas \$231, Georgia \$225, Mississippi \$218, Nebraska \$255 and Oklahoma \$246) are below the federal government's poverty level for 1990 (\$13,360, or \$256.92 per week, for a family of four). In some states benefits for permanently and totally disabled workers and for the spouses of workers killed on the job have a dollar or time limitation.

Numerical exemptions and exclusions of classes of workers are still permitted in many jurisdictions, and workers' compensation is not compulsory in three states: New Jersey, South Carolina and Texas. This is becoming a major

problem in Texas where thousands of employers, unable to find an insurance company to sell them insurance and unwilling to pay the high rates of the assigned risk pool, have chosen to go without coverage. Many seriously disabled workers, unable to obtain benefits from uninsured and bankrupt employers, end up relying on taxpayer-supported programs.

In nearly half the states, injured workers must seek medical treatment from someone chosen by their employer or by the employer's insurer. Objective decisions about work-relatedness of injuries and the degree of impairment are difficult under such circumstances.

Medical costs in workers' compensation continue to soar at rates greater than those in regular health care. In 1988, the most recent period for which figures are available, medical and hospital benefits comprised 39 percent of total workers' compensation benefits (historically, they have been about one-third of total costs). Some jurisdictions are reporting that medical costs now account for one-half of all costs. Pressures to reduce inflation in this area have resulted in legislation in at least one state, Florida, to permit employers to shift part of the cost of workers' compensation medical treatment to the worker through deductibles and coinsurance. This violates the fundamental principle of workers' compensation under which workers gave up the right to seek restitution under tort recovery in exchange for compensation for lost wages and complete, employer-paid medical coverage.

The old practice of blacklisting workers who have had the misfortune of injury or illness has been reintroduced with a new twist and is growing rapidly. Private firms are collecting data about claimants from state agencies and selling it to companies desiring to screen job applicants. Although this scurrilous practice may be limited by the newly enacted Americans with Disabilities Act, state AFL-CIOs are seeking to block the release of personal workers' compensation information through legislation, administrative changes or legal action.

Although all states profess to cover occupational diseases under their workers' compensation statutes, such claims only account for about 2 percent of all claims. The reality is that the victims of occupational diseases and cumulative trauma disorders or repetitive strain injuries must deal with exclusionary devices like statutes of limitations or lists of scheduled diseases that make recovery very difficult.

Workers' compensation insurance rates continue to grow at an alarming pace, forcing employers, workers and policy makers to consider changes to the practice of basing premiums on total payroll. Many states, at the request of state labor bodies and construction unions, are examining alternatives, such as basing premiums on hours worked (as in the state of Washington) or capping the amount of payroll subject to premiums (as in the state of Nevada).

The cost of workers' compensation insurance is supposed to provide an economic incentive to employers to prevent injuries and exposures through safer and healthier workplaces. While that view has always ignored the "human" costs of workers' compensation — the pain and suffering, ruined lives, lost opportunities and personal tragedies — it has also failed in its loss prevention mission. Instead, tremendous increases in workers' compensation costs have resulted in

a "business climate" attitude, promoted by employers and insurers, that advances the notion that a competitive edge can be had at the expense of injured workers and that benefits can be cut for the sake of economic development.

Governors and state legislators, in several jurisdictions, have openly advocated benefit reductions to attract investment or retain existing business. For example, Florida reduced some benefits by one-third (a move that was unsuccessfully challenged in the state's supreme court by the Florida AFL-CIO), and Colorado enacted legislation that cuts benefits to the most seriously injured workers and permits employers and insurers to unilaterally terminate benefits for others — an action described by the Colorado AFL-CIO as the worst bill in 40 years. Similar proposals have been made in Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota and other states.

Despite this atmosphere, state and local AFL-CIOs have been able to achieve advances in many locations over the past two years. State workers' compensation funds were established to compete with commercial insurers in both Rhode Island and New Mexico and have received initial legislative approval in Louisiana, Maine and Texas. Improvements were also made in the District of Columbia, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, North Carolina, New York, Ohio, Oregon and other states.

In an effort to address workers' compensation problems more effectively, the AFL-CIO has been working closely with state labor bodies on legislative initiatives and has produced, with their input, a resource manual for labor representatives involved in lobbying. The federation has also been participating for the past two years in a Labor/Management Discussion Group on Workers' Compensation. This effort involves labor, business, insurance and the medical community in an effort to elevate the dialogue on workers' compensation and encouraging labor/management involvement in policy discussions and determinations at the state level.

Council Recommendation

Workers' compensation was established to ensure that disabled workers and the survivors of those killed on the job get prompt and adequate medical treatment and wage replacement. The unfortunate fact is that the tragedy of work injuries and illnesses are compounded by a workers' compensation system that provides, in many cases, insufficient benefits and poor medical care because the systems is consumed with delays and disputes.

The recommendations of the National Commission, established by the Occupational Safety and Health Act nearly 20 years ago, have not been implemented. Instead, states have increasingly imposed harsh restrictions and benefit cuts in a mean-spirited effort to seek a competitive advantage based on a perverted notion of the "business climate." The AFL-CIO calls on the Congress to enact federal standards to immediately fulfill at least the 19 "essential" recommendations that the Commission said were vital to the survival of the workers' compensation system.

The AFL-CIO will continue to lead efforts at true reform at the state level. We support discussions and cooperation through labor/management advisory groups to state legislatures and governors aimed at achieving real loss prevention through safety and health and implementing workers' compensation benefits that are equitable and just. Repeal of the McCarran-Ferguson Act, or its modification through the proposed Insurance Competitive Pricing Act now before Congress, will help eliminate price-fixing and monopoly practices by workers' compensation insurers. State workers' compensation insurance funds should be established where they do not exist. Exclusive state funds afford significant advantages to both employers and workers and should be extended beyond the six states that currently have them.

To protect the fundamental rights of privacy and confidentiality of workers' compensation claimants, states should act to prohibit the disclosure of information concerning injuries and benefits paid to individual workers. Additionally, the regulations of the federal Americans with Disabilities Act should bar discrimination by employers of workers who have suffered a previous job injury or illness.

High quality medical treatment for job injuries and illnesses and physical and vocational rehabilitation are essential to returning disabled workers to the job. The AFL-CIO adamantly opposes any effort to shift the costs for such treatment, through deductibles, coinsurance or any other means, to workers. The problems of runaway medical costs in workers' compensation underscores the urgency of national health care reform.

Workers' compensation information and data collection are haphazard and largely inaccessible. Reform of the Occupational Safety and Health Act should include standardizing the elements of data to be collected and insuring that it is available to be used to identify hazardous workplaces and to target enforcement efforts aimed at reducing work injuries and illnesses.

Unemployment Insurance

In response to persistent high unemployment in the 1990-91 recession, Congress enacted a temporary program for extended unemployment benefits for workers who exhaust their regular UI benefits. The bill, passed by Congress in early August 1991, would temporarily — from Sept. 1, 1991, to July 4, 1992 — replace the existing federal-state extended unemployment benefit program with an improved four-tier program.

Under the new temporary program, extended UI benefits in a state would be triggered by changes in the Total Unemployment Rate (TUR) rather than the Insured Unemployment Rate (IUR), which is far below the TUR. The TUR is a much better indicator. States with a TUR of 8 percent or higher would give 20 extra weeks of UI payments to workers who exhaust their regular 26 weeks

of benefits. States with TUR over 7 percent would pay 13 extra weeks of benefits. States with 6 percent TUR would give seven extra weeks, and states with TUR below 6 percent would give long-term jobless workers four weeks of extended benefits.

President Bush signed the bill passed by Congress, but he declared that he would not release the \$5.2 billion needed to pay for the new temporary extended UI program. Because of budget-freeze legislation, the \$5.2 billion cannot be released from the \$7.5 billion extended benefit UI trust fund unless the president declares the recession-induced unemployment to be an emergency, which he refused to do. Congress passed legislation in September 1991 to force release of funds for extended UI benefits.

In 1990, there were 2.3 million jobless workers who used up all their regular UI benefits. In 1991, this total will exceed 3 million.

Unfortunately, the nation's UI system has been giving less and less protection to jobless workers in recent years. Since 1984, only a third of jobless workers have been getting UI benefits. Those who get UI payments get only one-third of their previous earnings (\$161 a week in fiscal 1990). And, one-third of those who do get UI payments use up their 26 weeks of regular benefits before they find a job.

Excessive disqualification and denial of eligibility of UI claimants by state UI administrators contribute significantly to the low rate of jobless workers getting UI payments. These administrators too often are responsive to business demands to keep benefits low and eligibility requirements high so that state UI taxes on employers can be kept low.

Many state trust funds from which UI benefits are paid are in terrible shape to deal with high unemployment. This intensifies action by the states to cut back benefits and to raise barriers to workers' eligibility for benefits. Raising the taxable wage base and raising employers' UI taxes would help assure adequate funding.

Federal grants to the states for administering the UI system have again fallen short of the states' needs in this recession. This has led to serious delays and hardships for jobless workers seeking UI benefits to which they are entitled.

Council Recommendation

The nation's unemployment system is not meeting the needs of America's jobless workers and their families. The UI safety net is full of holes. Two out of three unemployed workers do not get any UI benefits. Benefit levels are too low. Those lucky enough to get UI payments get only one-third of their previous earnings. And one-third of those getting UI payments use up their 26 weeks of benefits without finding a job. The extended benefits program for those who use up their regular UI benefits must be drastically improved.

Thus, the UI system is failing in its basic humanitarian "safety net" income maintenance purpose — to help workers and their families maintain a decent standard of living when workers lose jobs and income. The UI system is also

failing in its countercyclical economic purpose of maintaining consumer buying power in time of recession.

The AFL-CIO calls for comprehensive reform of the present federal-state unemployment insurance system. In the long run, this system must be federalized so that it will operate with consistency and fairness. In the short run, federal minimum standards are desperately needed to protect unemployed workers and their families.

All wage and salary workers should be covered by the UI system and should be eligible for UI benefits, which should be at least 50 percent of a worker's previous earnings, up to a maximum of two-thirds of the state's average weekly wage. Harsh and excessive eligibility and disqualification provisions should be eliminated.

For periods of high unemployment, extended or supplemental benefits should be available up to 39 additional weeks beyond the regular 26 weeks of benefits, so that the maximum duration is 65 weeks when the unemployment level is high. The current complicated triggers for extended benefits should be eliminated. Eligibility could be better targeted by linking it to length of attachment to the labor force, earned credits, or other factors relating to long-term joblessness. A better overall trigger would be the Total Unemployment Rate, not the Insured Unemployment Rate.

To assure funds for adequate benefits, UI taxes should be raised and the taxable wage base should be raised and indexed at 65 percent of the average annual wage, as recommended by the National Commission on Unemployment Compensation. Experience rating of UI taxes, which discriminates against small businesses, should be eliminated or restricted.

States should have incentives to accumulate sufficient reserves in their UI trust funds during growth years to pay decent benefits during recession years, but federal loans and reinsurance can help states meet extra benefit costs during recession years.

Chronic underfunding of federal grants to the states for administering unemployment insurance and the employment service has created great delays and hardship for jobless workers seeking UI benefits to which they are entitled. The AFL-CIO urges an increase in federal funding for state UI administration to appropriate staffing levels plus automatic entitlement funding for state UI administration in line with growing case loads.

The AFL-CIO will continue to oppose "devolution" proposals which would defederalize the funding of costs of UI administration and job service programs.

Pensions

Pension issues continue to receive heightened attention from public policy makers and labor. While this increased discussion and debate has brought some progress in advancing the interests of working men and women in gaining a secure and adequate retirement income, there is much left undone.

The Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1990 (OBRA '90) eliminated the long-standing abuse of employer raids on worker pension assets by substantially reducing the incentives for employers to terminate well-funded pension plans to draw off so called "excess assets." OBRA '90 brought assurances that workers would be protected if such transactions occur by creating incentives for employers to set up equivalent or enhanced replacement plans.

Changes also were made under OBRA '90 in the area of retiree health benefits. Over-funded single employer pension plans are now allowed to transfer a portion of their excess assets to pay retiree health expenses for the 1990-95 plan years if, among other things, they provide full vesting for pension benefits.

Federation efforts to further advance the interests of working men and women in pension and retirement issues have included Executive Council statements, special events and the production of materials and policy to assist affiliates in their pension-related activities.

The September 1990 Labor Leadership Conference on Pensions began to develop the issues in the context of labor's involvement with Taft-Hartley and private and public sector pension funds. The conference's main objective was to provide a foundation from which to prudently use labor's pension power to advance traditional trade union goals, while providing good financial returns to the funds. Further, conference participants identified areas of shared interests between public and private sector pension funds, such as local economic development and stability and the need to resist privatization initiatives. The conference set the stage for follow-on conferences designed to provide a labor perspective to trustees across the country.

Through the publication in Fall 1990 of "Launching the Corporate Campaign" and the development of model shareholder resolutions, the AFL-CIO encouraged companies to apply responsible corporate governance activities to advance issues, such as national health care reform, that concern all working men and women.

The publication in Spring 1991 of two Executive Council statements under one title, "Investing In Our Future: An AFL-CIO Guide To Pension Investment And Proxy Voting," provided a blueprint for affiliates to follow in their pursuit of the goals articulated in the Labor Leadership Conference. This publication also provided a tool to assist pension funds in becoming active and prudent participants in the governing of corporations they own through the investment of fund assets.

The AFL-CIO continues to develop the Investment Tracking Service as a tool to assist affiliates in corporate governance and other investment activities. The AFL-CIO also is encouraging and supporting the development of mechanisms to further the interests of working women and men through the investment of pension fund assets in community-oriented job creation programs and infrastructure development. Such mechanisms include the AFL-CIO Housing Investment and Building Investment Trusts, the Union Labor Life Insurance Company's "J For Jobs" Account, AUGUST-AM CAL ADVISORS, INC. and the Multi-Employer Property Trust.

The April 1991 takeover by California's insurance commissioner of the First Executive Life Insurance Company demonstrates the lack of an adequate safety net at the federal or state level to protect workers and retirees. That well funded pension plans were terminated and replaced with the lowest cost/highest risk annuities sold by Executive Life further illustrates the need for joint trusteeship of single employer and public sector plans to balance the interests of employer fiduciaries in maximizing returns to plan sponsors. The federation has communicated its concern to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC) and the Department of Labor (DOL) about this situation and has strongly opposed the interpretation of the PBGC that it has no responsibility for guaranteeing pension benefits once a plan has terminated and annuities have been purchased from a private insurer.

In the last Congress, the DOL ERISA Enforcement Proposal (H.R. 5972 and S. 3267 101st Congress) raised concerns within the labor community over the proper balance between the need for enhanced enforcement and the fear that more stringent procedures will add to the erosion of employment-based pension benefits that began during the 1980s. The federation is continuing to study the impact of this proposal.

The AFL-CIO commends the ongoing efforts in the House and Senate to simplify the pension process and expand coverage. Several bills, including S. 1364, H.R. 2742, H.R. 2641 and H.R. 2730, would lift the full funding limit for multi-employer plans and eliminate certain distribution rules for public sector plans. However, we are concerned about how such legislation could affect existing protections for workers against discriminatory practices in plan design and operation.

The AFL-CIO supports legislative initiatives (H.R. 1602, H.R. 2782 and S. 794) that would restore certain long-standing state laws that had been invalidated based upon the federal preemption provisions contained in ERISA. While the labor community has traditionally supported ERISA's broad preemption language relating to employee benefits, recently state courts have begun to preempt a variety of state laws that, while only minimally affecting employee benefit plans, provides significant benefits to workers. The ERISA preemption amendments restore several categories of state laws that have been preempted by state courts including — state prevailing wage laws, apprenticeship laws, mechanics liens, and unfair insurance claims denial laws.

As reform of the nation's banking system is discussed, the AFL-CIO has been working to preserve federal insurance for pension fund deposits. The federation believes such pass-through protection is an important portion of the safety net of federal protection for workers' retirement benefits.

Early in 1990 the AFL-CIO was instrumental in defeating an effort to tax pension fund assets through an Administration proposed Securities Transfer Excise Tax. Such a tax was proposed in the context of the federal budgetary concerns and was to be applied to the buying and selling of securities whether held as assets of pension trusts or not.

Council Recommendation

The AFL-CIO renews its call for the development of a national retirement income policy to expand pension coverage, retirement income security and portability. It continues to be the belief of the federation that such a retirement policy should afford public sector employees the same protections assured to private sector workers under Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA).

The intent of ERISA is to make the federal government the primary insurer for defined benefits promised to American workers. The PBGC should establish a separate program for the purpose of guaranteeing annuities purchased by any plan as well as establish federal standards for the purchase of pension annuities to protect workers and retirees from irresponsible investment practices. The DOL should amend ERISA to require additional reporting of annuity purchase to plan participants and to require plan sponsors to follow federal guidelines in the selection of annuity providers.

The AFL-CIO urges affiliates to take steps necessary to insure that workers' pension fund assets will provide safe and adequate retirement benefits and be invested and administered in ways that improve the life and conditions of working men and women. To support this effort, the federation will continue to examine the nation's proxy voting system so that workers, as shareholders through their pension funds, can play a constructive and meaningful role in the governance, and therefore the efficiency, of corporate America.

In the drive to reform the nation's banking system, the AFL-CIO will resist any attempt to eliminate pass-through deposit insurance coverage for pension plans. Such pass-through insurance is intended to protect the interests of plan participants and beneficiaries in the pension plan's deposits and not to protect fund managers. Because these provisions are important for many state and local government employees, the federation also urges Congress to continue pass-through protection for deferred compensation plans established under Section 457 of the Internal Revenue Code.

The AFL-CIO calls upon Congress to undertake legislative initiatives that broadens coverage and simplifies pensions without sacrificing existing worker protections to achieve these goals. We also urge Congress to pass legislation to restore several categories of state laws, including state prevailing wage laws, apprenticeship laws, mechanics liens and unfair insurance claims denial laws that are preempted by ERISA but have a significant effect on workers' benefits.

Social Security

The Social Security program is a public safety net for all generations of working Americans. It provides benefits to 39 million people, including the elderly, surviving spouses, dependent children and disabled workers. Approxi-

mately \$19 billion is being distributed monthly, with 21 percent of the funds being allocated to the disabled.

At present, Social Security payments amount to 50 percent of monthly income for more than half of the elderly recipients and 23 percent of monthly income for 90 percent of elderly recipients. The program provides lower wage earners with higher income replacement in retirement, and its annual cost-of-living adjustment protects all beneficiaries from inflation.

Because of the important role Social Security plays in providing economic security to American families, the AFL-CIO has fought cutbacks in benefits and services provided by the program.

The federation worked with a variety of groups in the Save Our Security Coalition to remove the trust funds from federal budget deficit calculations. We continue to work for legislation to improve services to beneficiaries and to insulate the program from political decision making by taking the agency's administrative funds off budget, and establishing Social Security as an independent agency.

In December of 1984, the Reagan Administration approved a plan that led to a 21 percent reduction in Social Security staff over a period of six years. These reductions have had a detrimental effect on the efficiency and performance of the entire agency. Many offices lost 30 - 50 percent of their staff, leaving the agency short more than 70,000 employees. Currently, the agency's toll free number has a busy signal rate of 47 percent; on peak days the rate rises to 80 percent. In addition, 27 percent of local Social Security offices report that potential beneficiaries are subject to waiting periods of four months, or more, for initial disability reviews.

Another issue is the growing accumulation of trust fund reserves. The AFL-CIO Executive Council was concerned that the Social Security surplus was being used to mask budget deficits that have been exacerbated by unbalanced and unwise spending and revenue policies.

In February 1990, the council supported Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan's (D-NY) proposal to reduce the Social Security payroll tax and return the system more closely to a pay-as-you-go basis, provided that there would be protections to ensure retiree benefit security, especially in the event of an economic downturn. Specifically, the federation recommended that any reduction in Social Security taxes be postponed until the trust fund reserve reaches 125 to 150 percent of one year's benefit payments. The Moynihan proposal was defeated on the Senate floor but is expected to resurface once the fund reaches an adequate reserve level.

The AFL-CIO also continues to support legislation to replace the current index used to compute annual Social Security cost-of-living increases with a new index that more accurately reflects the experience of the entire population, rather than the current index which only reflects increases in prices for wage earners and clerical workers.

In 1990, Congress raised the amount of money that Social Security recipients are allowed to earn without any reduction in benefits. The AFL-CIO has opposed relaxing the earnings test, which now requires a one dollar reduction

in benefits for every three dollars earned over \$9,360. Since only 7 percent of beneficiaries are affected by this limitation, we have long believed that there are other priorities that should be met that better represent the needs of all beneficiaries.

Council Recommendation

The AFL-CIO will continue to work to maintain Social Security's role in providing economic security to American families.

We urge the creation of an independent agency to improve services to beneficiaries, insulate the program from political decision making and assure beneficiaries that assets accumulating in the trust funds will be used exclusively to meet their health and income security needs.

While we are concerned that a very high build-up in the trust fund will provide a tempting target to meet national needs unrelated to Social Security, we support the establishment of a cushion of 125 to 150 percent of one year's benefits in the trust fund before any changes in financing are made. We repeat our call for the separation of the Social Security Trust Fund and administrative funds necessary to run the agency, from the unified budget.

Congress should repeal the retirement age increase adopted in 1983 and the scheduled reduction in Social Security benefits for persons retiring at 62, both of which begin to take effect after the year 2000.

The AFL-CIO will continue its efforts to oppose increasing the amount of money beneficiaries can earn before they lose benefits. We support establishing more equity in the system for women and those who have worked at substandard wages. Wholesale reform is needed in the granting of disability eligibility and in the continued evaluation of disability cases.

We support legislation to change the index for computing annual cost-of-living adjustments to one that reflects the experience of a majority of the population.

We urge the Administration to take the long overdue steps necessary to increase employment and training of current Social Security personnel. Restoring staff to an adequate level is fundamental to achieving all of our other objectives in this area.

Work and Family

Health Care

History

In negotiating employment-based coverage, unions established a health benefit standard for the rest of the economy. In 1965, Congress adopted Medicare and Medicaid programs to protect the non-working population, the elderly, disabled and poor. For a time, this patchwork system worked and by the late 1970s, approximately 90 percent of all Americans were covered by some form of public or private health insurance.

This progress toward universal coverage has been reversed over the past decade with the economy shifting toward lower-paying service jobs and becoming more dependent on a contingent work force that receives lower pay and fewer benefits. Cutbacks also are being made in public and private benefit plans. While access to care is declining, costs have been rising at double-digit rates and serious concerns have been raised about quality and administrative inefficiency.

Unions are fighting hard to maintain a decent level of health care benefits. A recent survey by the AFL-CIO Employee Benefits Department found that, of the workers who went out on strike in 1990, 55 percent indicated that health care was the major issue. This survey also showed that 69 percent of all strikers who were permanently replaced in 1990 struck over health care benefits.

Cost

The U.S. now spends \$700 billion per year, or 12 percent of the gross national product (GNP), on health care. In 1990, health plan costs averaged \$3,161 per employee, an increase of 21.6 percent over 1989.

Other industrialized countries are paying far less for their health care systems. With the exception of South Africa, all of these countries have universal access to health care benefits with government-based reimbursement controls. A nation that seeks to be competitive in the 21st century must develop

a national health care policy. On a per capita basis, we spend 40 percent more than Canada, 90 percent more than Germany, and 125 percent more than Japan.

Access

The health care tragedy is no longer confining itself to the fringes of our society. It's now striking at millions of working, taxpaying families — people who are the backbone of our country — who do their best to pay their bills and meet their obligations.

In 1990, 37 million Americans had no health care protection. An additional 50 million had inadequate coverage. Seventy-five percent of the uninsured are workers and their families, and one-third are children.

The uninsured seek care in the hospital emergency room, the most expensive component of our health care system. Inevitably, they cannot afford the cost of this care, causing hospitals and doctors to inflate fees charged to employment-based health plans to offset those costs.

The current system penalizes employers who provide health insurance to their workers, forcing them to subsidize care for employers who have gained a competitive advantage by refusing to provide coverage. The system rewards purchasers with large groups or relatively young workers while penalizing small companies and those firms with older, less healthy workers by forcing them to pay more for coverage.

Quality

The view has long been held that, notwithstanding its structural flaws, the U.S. system provides better quality of care. But it is virtually impossible to defend the high rates of unnecessary surgery and medical procedures, the relatively minor attention paid to preventive care, and the duplication of equipment in our current system.

Results from a study performed by the Rand Corp. suggest that 14 percent of all coronary bypasses, 32 percent of all arterial balloon operations and 17 percent of upper gastrointestinal procedures are unnecessary. Yet the United States has an infant mortality rate that is worse than 21 other industrialized countries and ranks 18th in terms of life expectancy for males.

A study done by the Democratic Study Group suggests that American doctors have lagged behind their European counterparts in the development and use of key life-saving drugs. It is Western European medicine — not American medicine — which pioneered the development of some of the most effective strategies for early detection of illness.

Labor's Health Care Objectives

Last February, the AFL-CIO Executive Council released a statement outlining its position on health care reform. Observing that comprehensive reform

would come about in stages but that there was an urgent need for action now, the Executive Council described steps that should be taken to address the crisis.

The statement calls on Congress to enact legislation to provide universal access by requiring all employers to contribute fairly to the cost of care for workers and their families; to do away with the patchwork quilt of state and federal programs by developing one national system for those not in the work force; and to reduce the eligibility age for Medicare to age 60, protecting individuals who retire before age 65 without health care protection.

The Executive Council also articulated a number of provisions to reduce the rate of increase in health care spending. In particular, the statement calls for the development of a national commission with consumer, union, employer, provider and government representatives responsible for negotiating, within a global budget ceiling, uniform reimbursement rates to be used by all payers. It has been estimated that between now and the end of the decade such a system could save \$165 billion.

The council statement also discusses the need to reduce the amount of administrative waste in the system and to improve quality of care.

The AFL-CIO Health Care Campaign

At the 1989 convention, the AFL-CIO launched its health care campaign on the theme that "Now Is The Time" for health care reform. A grass-roots effort was initiated, aimed at explaining the effect of the current health care crisis on the health security of union members and mobilizing support to enact comprehensive health care legislation at the national level.

In the fall of 1990, the Federation produced two television commercials calling for health care reform which were aired in key media markets across the country. The Federation also produced a 30-minute documentary for public television on the health care crisis and convened a series of regional hearings that documented the need for reform. Hearings were held in Providence, R.I.; Austin, Texas; New Brunswick, N.J.; Birmingham, Ala.; Chicago; Detroit; San Francisco; and Louisville, Ky.

At the same time, a broad educational effort was launched, aimed at AFL-CIO regional staff, state federations and local central bodies. Armed with the AFL-CIO program for change, state federations and local central labor councils are forming health care committees. These committees are being used to develop support for the health care campaign through internal education programs that inform members about the crisis, organizing efforts among consumers and local businesses, and outreach efforts to the media.

Joint labor-management activity currently is under way in a variety of industries, including telecommunications, food service, steel, auto and paper, to determine if consensus can be reached on health care reform. Also developing specific proposals for national reform are the Labor-Management Group, a coalition of international union presidents and corporate chief executive officers; the Dunlop group, which includes representatives from the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association, Blue Cross, the

Health Insurance Association of America, the Business Roundtable, and the AFL-CIO; and the National Leadership Commission.

National Health Care Reform Proposals

In the spring of 1990, the Bipartisan Commission on Health, also referred to as the Pepper Commission, released its report calling for health care reform. It was one of the first proposals to deal in a comprehensive fashion with the three issues of cost, access and quality. Since that time, a variety of groups have made similar efforts.

The American Medical Association (AMA) has offered a 16-point program to address the health care crisis. The plan would require employers to provide health care coverage to workers and their dependents, and it emphasizes the need to reform both public and private methods of insuring care.

The American Hospital Association (AHA) also has proposed an employment-based national health care plan guaranteeing quality care to all. The insurance industry has been actively pushing a more limited proposal targeted toward the small group market.

The National Governors Association (NGA) recently issued a plan calling for state demonstrations of reform alternatives and urging that national action be put off. Key Democratic governors, citing the urgency of the health care crisis and the need for comprehensive reform, dissented from these recommendations.

The Committee for National Health Insurance (CNHI) has offered a comprehensive reform proposal that would put the health system on a budget and provide universal access.

Developments in Congress

Since the initial call for action by the AFL-CIO in 1989, a number of health care reform bills have been introduced. Although many of the early proposals were limited in scope, within the past year, fundamental reform packages have been introduced.

Rep. Marty Russo (D-Ill.) and Rep. Pete Stark (D-Calif.) each has proposed a comprehensive reform program. The Russo bill (H.R. 1300) would move the U.S. health care system toward the Canadian model, while the Stark proposal (H.R. 650) would expand Medicare to all Americans. Both plans would restrict private insurers to a role of providing supplemental benefits and would establish government mechanisms to restrain costs.

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine), along with Sens. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-Mich.) and Jay Rockefeller (D-W.Va.), introduced the Health America Act of 1991 (S. 1227), which would guarantee health insurance to all through either a public program or an employment-based plan. Employers would be required to either "pay" a tax to the public plan, which would provide coverage for workers and

dependents, or to "play" by directly providing health coverage for workers and dependents.

Sens. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) and Brock Adams (D-Wash.) have introduced legislation (S. 1669) amending the Mitchell bill. Their bill would establish a mandatory cost-containment program for all payers, reduce the age of Medicare eligibility to 60 and give states discretion to design single-payer cost containment systems.

Sen. Robert Kerrey (D-Neb.) has introduced legislation (S. 1446) that would comprehensively reform the system, giving states administrative authority under national guidelines.

House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) also has introduced comprehensive reform legislation (H.R. 3205). The bill would put the health care system on a budget, establish a mandatory cost containment system for all payers, require all employers to pay or play and create a federally administered public program for those not in the work force. The bill would be financed through a surtax on individual and corporate income taxes.

Rockefeller and Rep. Henry A. Waxman (D-Calif.) introduced a proposal (S. 1177 and H.R. 2535) which resembles the recommendations of the original Pepper Commission. Like the Mitchell bill, it calls for a "pay or play" system but would set up a voluntary cost-containment system for employment-based plans using the Medicare reimbursement mechanism.

State Initiatives Toward Health Care Reform

Throughout the 1980s, state health care initiatives focused on the development of pools to provide access to health care coverage for individuals with catastrophic or chronic conditions. Now, a number of comprehensive proposals are pending in many states.

Hawaii was the first state to enact a universal health care program. Massachusetts has adopted a "pay or play" bill. Oregon has attempted to initiate a public process of decision-making about which benefits should be provided under Medicaid.

A number of states, including Ohio, Wisconsin, Missouri and California, are considering comprehensive insurance programs, while Connecticut has devised a program to address problems in the small insurance market. Other states are attempting to expand access by allowing private insurers to offer a scaled-down benefit package.

The AFL-CIO has encouraged its state and local federations to work in support of national health care reform, since 50 different reform strategies would be counter-productive.

On the other hand, if state and local AFL-CIOs work in support of national legislation and also support state-based legislation consistent with the AFL-CIO's national goals, such action could move the campaign forward.

Council Recommendation

The nation faces a crisis in health care. We spend more than any other country, have 37 million people without protection and there are mounting threats to the quality of care. If current trends continue at the bargaining table, by the end of the decade one-third of total compensation will go to pay for health care at the expense of wages and other benefit improvements.

In comparison with our industrial partners, the U.S. health care system fails the tests of fairness and equity. We also fail the test of efficiency, which is apparent both to consumers and providers who are frustrated with red tape and paperwork. Even those who support the current system can no longer defend the excessive overhead and administrative costs associated with our fragmented system.

We continue to believe, as we have advocated for many years, that a unified national health care system with a single payer should be the ultimate goal. We also believe that the urgency of the current crisis demands action now.

As the Executive Council, in a unanimous action, declared last February: "The urgency of the health care crisis for the consumers and purchasers of care and for those who have fallen through the cracks in the current system requires us to seek relief now, without compromising our principles, and to support measures that can be enacted."

The February 1991 Council statement also called on Congress to enact federal legislation that will: "Continue the labor movement's long-held goal of a social insurance national health care program, while recognizing that reform may come about in stages. Accordingly, we will support measures that would move the nation toward our goals."

We, therefore, urge Congress to establish a national commission of consumers, labor, management, government and providers to administer a single national cost containment program by negotiating uniform payment rates to be used by all payers, establishing a target for the annual rate of increase in total health care spending and establishing a capital budgeting system to encourage the efficient distribution of capital.

We urge Congress to establish a core benefit package to which all Americans are entitled and to require all employers — including the federal government — to contribute fairly to the cost of care. Congress also must establish a federal program for those not in the work force. We believe that any program must contain progressive and equitable financing.

Recently, there has been a growing interest in reforming insurance practices in the small group market. While we support such long-overdue reform, the AFL-CIO believes that far more needs to be done and that reforms should be developed by Congress — not the states — to assure uniformity across the country.

The new regulations from the Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB) that go into effect in 1993 have caused a number of employers to cut back coverage for future retirees or eliminate protection altogether. Such actions already have drastically increased the number of retirees without coverage, and the problem is growing. Trade unionists believe that the most effective way of responding to this crisis is to reduce the age of eligibility for Medicare to age 60. This would spread the cost of retiree health care over the entire population and would no longer unfairly penalize employers who have attempted to protect their retirees against the high cost of getting sick.

In broadening its grass-roots campaign for national health care reform, the AFL-CIO calls upon national and international union affiliates and state and local bodies to organize support for our health care principles among union members, employers, providers and community leaders.

The AFL-CIO believes that nothing short of full-scale restructuring of the system will solve our problems. We have reached the stage where quick fixes are no longer possible and where "voluntary efforts" no longer offer promise.

The Needy

During the Reagan-Bush decade of the 1980s, economic improvements were enjoyed by a select group of the nation's population. By 1990, that select top fifth of the nation was receiving as much after-tax income as the other 80 percent of the population combined. While this top 20 percent was realizing more of the American dream, most Americans were looking at smaller pay checks, reduced education for their children, poorer health care, less adequate housing and fewer opportunities for advancement.

For low-wage workers, the unemployed and all poor families, the decade brought more poverty and homelessness, poorer health, more hunger and a drastically weakened safety net of government help at both the national and state level.

Nearly 15.7 percent, or one of every six, of Americans living in rural areas is poor. One in eight, or 12 percent, of residents in metropolitan areas is poor. Almost 20 percent of all American children now live in poverty. One in eight children suffers from hunger and malnutrition. A recent study of child poverty in Western democracies showed the United States heading the list with the highest rate of poor children. Canada, by contrast, had a child poverty rate about half that of the United States.

The shocking documentation that more than one-fifth of our children live in poverty and deprivation might go unnoticed were it not for the growing realization that they are a large percentage of our future work force. Indeed, some are beginning to realize that such an outrageous waste of human capital eventually could have a serious effect on our nation's competitiveness.

The reasons behind the tragedy of child poverty are two-fold. Firstly, many parents have become poor and are unable to provide minimal support for their children. Secondly, government programs designed to alleviate poverty have

been weakened or dismantled. In particular, the value of cash benefits from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program has dropped nearly 40 percent over the past two decades. In the early 1980s, the Reagan administration forced cuts of 13 percent in the food stamp program and 30 percent in child nutrition programs. The program to help feed poor pregnant mothers and young children (WIC) now serves less than half of those who are eligible.

While benefit levels in all assistance programs have plummeted, the number of poor families who need help is rising steadily. Nationally, AFDC cases rose 11.1 percent from July 1989 to November 1990 — with the number of cases increasing as much as 41.5 percent in New Hampshire and 33.5 percent in Arizona. In 1990, 2 million families were added to the food stamp program, with many more waiting to be processed. State and local layoffs of public-sector workers have resulted in long, painful waits for assistance and eligibility determinations, as well as hardships for caseworkers. State Medicaid costs rose 18.4 percent in fiscal year 1990 with another 25 percent increase expected this year.

In the past decade, many states took on more responsibility for helping the needy — actions which substantially obscured the devastating effect of the federal cuts. Now, with budget deficits at an all-time high, states are beginning to drastically reduce, or eliminate entirely, assistance to the poor.

Council Recommendation

It is a national disgrace that the Bush administration has allowed millions of people to sink into poverty and millions of children to go hungry. The nation needs quality education and training programs, jobs that pay living wages, affordable housing and decent health care. The reality that the safety net for the poor is in shreds must be recognized and the political will to fix it must be found.

The recently enacted Family Support Act — intended to provide education, training and jobs, child care and health care benefits to help families move from public assistance into productive jobs — must be adequately funded. Federal leadership and technical assistance should be provided to make this program operational.

Payment levels under the AFDC program which have declined so drastically must be brought to a decent level. If, given the current fiscal crisis, states are unable to meet their share of these payments, the federal government should provide adequate support.

In light of recent findings of widespread child hunger, Congress and the administration must:

- Ensure that all eligible, low-income women, infants and children receive assistance under the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC).
- Increase the availability of the School Breakfast Program to low-income children across the country and encourage federal, state and local policies to ensure that the National School Lunch Program remains broadly accessible.

- Expand the availability of meals for low-income children who are not in school through the Child and Adult Care Food Program and the Summer Food Service Program for Children.
- Improve access to and benefits from the Food Stamp Program so that low-income families with children have enough to eat through each month.
- Fully fund the Head Start Program, making it available to all eligible children.

Safety net and poverty programs are on the books but are not reaching the people who need them. The erosion of funding, the lack of leadership, federal budget restrictions and bureaucratic red tape being imposed at the federal and local levels have turned these programs into an empty promise to those who need help and a blatant deception to Americans who think the poor are being adequately served. The AFL-CIO will continue to work to strengthen these safety net programs, to help bring all Americans out of poverty and provide them with the opportunity to pursue a productive life.

Child Care and Family Support

The AFL-CIO has long sought to achieve the goals of economic security and dignity for workers and their families. Demographic and economic changes in the United States have radically reshaped both the workplace and the family, creating the need to sharply refocus attention on the relationship between the two.

The tremendous growth in the rate of women's participation in the labor force and the increasing number of single-parent families has resulted in the transformation of the traditional family structure. We are, however, encouraged by increased efforts to get absent fathers to support their children. As the struggle to achieve and maintain decent living standards becomes ever more difficult, the number of families in which all adults are wage earners is increasing. The result for millions of Americans is anguishing conflict between job requirements and family responsibilities.

These demographic trends have created a clear need for national policies and workplace solutions to help working people balance their job requirements with the responsibilities of caring for young children and elderly parents.

Since the last convention, with strong support from the AFL-CIO, Congress enacted comprehensive child care legislation. The legislation provides financial assistance to low- and moderate-income workers for child care and expands the earned income tax credit. The AFL-CIO has published a booklet explaining the new laws and providing guidance for implementation. We have also joined with a Child Care Tax Credit outreach campaign to educate low-income working families about benefits they are entitled to receive under the program.

Family and medical leave legislation to provide needed time off from work to meet family responsibilities was passed by Congress in 1990, only to be

vetoed by President Bush. The AFL-CIO and its allies continued efforts throughout 1991 to win this vital legislation.

A comprehensive report was released by the National Commission on Children, led by Sen. Jay Rockefeller (D-W.Va.), which helped focus attention on the many needs of American families and children. Those include adequate health care; education; prenatal care; reliable day care; family leave; decent-paying, secure jobs; and programs that meet the needs of the growing number of single-parent families.

Recognizing the need to seek workplace and community-based remedies as well as legislative solutions for work and family issues, the Working Family Committee was established by the Executive Council in February 1989 to focus specifically on these concerns. A staff advisory group has been formed to assist the committee and to promote sharing of information among unions on work and family issues and the identification and development of legislative, bargaining and community-based strategies.

Council Recommendation

For two decades, the AFL-CIO has been urging Congress to address the needs of working parents and their children by enacting a comprehensive child care program. One of the most significant accomplishments of the 101st Congress was the long-overdue passage of a landmark child care bill targeted toward low-income workers, along with broadly expanded assistance to moderate-income parents through the earned income tax credit.

Now the challenge to labor is to ensure that the new law is implemented so that full- and part-time workers receive the free or subsidized child care to which they are entitled, and that families who are eligible for the expanded tax credit benefit take full advantage of this assistance.

Responding to the lack of a national policy that would allow workers to take unpaid time off for the birth or adoption of a child or serious illness of a family member without jeopardizing their jobs, the AFL-CIO has joined with other groups calling for the enactment of family and medical leave legislation. Although some union contracts and a few company policies provide protection, the vast majority of American workers, when faced with those real-life responsibilities, must meet them at the risk of losing their job. We will continue the fight for family and medical leave legislation as a necessary minimum labor standard, just as we have fought for wage and hour and workplace safety laws.

The AFL-CIO will continue to seek legislative solutions to the problems of workers who are caring for children and elderly relatives while fulfilling their job responsibilities. We also urge affiliated unions to seek solutions at the workplace through collective bargaining and to pursue all possible community-based remedies.

Education

The fundamental promise of equal opportunity for all Americans can never be fulfilled until there is equal access for all to the means of acquiring a good and useful education. Education has historically been a ladder to a better life for Americans as well as a vital pre-requisite for effective participation in our political system. In the midst of today's urgent and sometimes chaotic debate over the future of our education and training systems, labor remains as it has for more than a hundred years, a strong and consistent advocate of the central principle of the American idea — fair and equal access to opportunity so that every individual can progress to the limits of his or her ability.

The current direction of the American economy underscores the importance of remaining a strong advocate for that principle. As our society threatens to become more polarized along economic lines, the availability of educational and training opportunities will become even more significant. Educational opportunities can make the difference between an adequate or an inadequate standard of living for individuals and families, the difference between being able to adapt to new conditions or being trapped forever in a dead-end job, the crucial difference between a life lived with or without hope for the future.

Education is also increasingly important for today's trade unionists. Labor education is the means by which union members learn the skills and acquire the information to build strong and effective organizations. Labor education is also the means by which a new generation of members will come to understand the history and values of the labor movement they will inherit; the meaning of solidarity and the labor movement's role in creating a mutually supportive community out of the diverse strands of individual self-interest.

The shape of America's social and economic future depends on who has access to the tool of education. Although the AFL-CIO's goals and values in the area of education have remained constant, their relevance has only increased.

Elementary and Secondary Education

In the past two years the Bush administration and state governors have introduced highly publicized goals to reform the nation's educational system. The AFL-CIO welcomed these initiatives and hoped that these efforts marked a reaffirmation by federal and state government of their respective responsibilities for improving teaching and learning in our public schools. Sadly, the rhetoric and reality are quite different. "America 2000," the legislative program to enact school change, falls far short of the promise of the early announcements.

In fact, President Bush has pursued a course which not only undermines proven federal education programs but devalues our public schools. His legislative agenda creates unnecessary conflicts between public and private schools and elevates school choice as the centerpiece of the national strategy. The Bush campaign for school choice endangers many proven programs, particularly Chapter One, which is universally recognized to be particularly effective at serving at risk and disadvantaged children. The Bush proposal to "voucher" Chapter One funds would destroy its effectiveness by making funding levels for each participating school unpredictable from year to year.

As the Committee for Full Education Funding has stated, attaining national education goals requires doubling our current federal education budget. Failing to commit these substantial and sustained investments in education will mean that programs like Head Start will continue to serve less than one-fourth of the eligible pre-school children. Millions more will not only begin school with severe barriers to learning, but will be unable to receive special services to overcome those barriers. The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support for Head Start, Chapter One and funds for Bilingual education.

Studies by the American Federation of Teachers and the Economic Policy Institute show that contrary to administration claims, the United States is not first among nations in expenditures for elementary and secondary education. America ranks in the bottom third of industrialized nations which are members of the Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation (OECD) in what percent of gross domestic product is spent on schools. We believe that public schools deserve public support. A small but highly vocal segment of the business community is actively involved in supporting local public schools. Many exemplary corporate programs deserve the praise they receive as they are assisting the schools in the preparation of students for a rapidly changing world of work. But such increased involvement should not lead to corporations controlling school and educational policy. The entire community — including organized labor — holds a stake in our public school system. The AFL-CIO reaffirms that commitment and urges our affiliates to join with others in sharing the responsibility to support our schools.

The AFL-CIO commends the efforts to restructure our school system. We recognize that truly effective school reform and innovation requires the genuine involvement of the teachers as well as the administrators, parents and community of each school. We are on record in support of the professionalization of

teaching, school based management, shared decision making, and cooperative learning.

We also recognize that unless the president and governors make investment in education and training a priority, education reform and national goals will be only campaign rhetoric. "America 2000" deserves better.

Vocational Education

The Carl Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act of 1990 reauthorized federal support for vocational education. Its enactment included major changes designed to direct more resources to disadvantaged special groups, to broaden and integrate academic and vocational curricula, to sharpen accountability and evaluation procedures and to strengthen coordination with other education and training programs.

Such vocational education reforms hold great promise. The AFL-CIO shares the growing national consensus that our current education and training system is seriously flawed. At present, most young adults under 25 — especially those who do not go onto college or post-secondary training — never receive the opportunity for training in anything more than dead-end jobs.

The "learning-by-doing" approach to education, exemplified by the traditional apprenticeship programs of the building, metal and printing trade unions, is becoming more widely accepted and valued within our educational system. Through a rigorous program of on-the-job training and related classroom instruction, thousands of young apprentices currently acquire world-class skills in their chosen craft. Other young people who seek to enter the work force out of high school need and deserve similar opportunities in other occupations for which there is no established union or other training program.

However, the AFL-CIO is determined to make sure that proven union training programs are not harmed by any new initiatives. The integrity and future of existing registered apprenticeship programs must not be undermined in any way. On-the-job training and related classroom instruction must provide workers already on the job, as well as those still in training, with adequate safeguards against employers seeking low-wage, disposable workers.

Constantly changing technology, the restructuring of the U.S. economy, and intense competitive pressures at home and abroad necessitate a substantially improved education and training system. The AFL-CIO pledges to work to ensure that any new education and training programs serve the long-term interests of both the nation and the nation's workers.

Higher Education

An important educational priority for the AFL-CIO is the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act of 1965, which expires this year. This legislation is the primary federal program which supports post-secondary education, in-

cluding the major student aid effort of Pell grants and the Stafford guaranteed student loan program. Organized labor has an important stake in making the Higher Education Act more responsive to the educational needs of workers and their families.

It is widely recognized that the current system no longer provides low and middle income students genuine access to post-secondary education. For low and middle income families, federal student financial assistance has shifted heavily from grants to loans. In earlier years the Higher Education Act funded three times as many student grants as loans; today, the proportions are nearly reversed.

The current system has also failed to recognize the changing demographics of the college population. More than 40 percent of college students are above the age of 24; the average age for community college students is 30. Part-time students continue to increase and many more students are independent of parental support or head their own families. So called "non-traditional" students are rapidly becoming the norm on our campuses, yet the financial aid system is not responsive to this group.

The AFL-CIO endorses several major revisions of the Higher Education Act, including expanding grant aid to middle income families with annual incomes up to \$43,300. We also urge the Congress to restore the balance between grants and loans to ensure that a greater proportion of financial aid is given in grants rather than loans. The AFL-CIO believes that a reauthorized Pell grant formula should provide genuine access and support to eligible students to attend college. This would be accomplished by a formula which ties the Pell grant to the average cost of a full-time commuter student to attend a four-year public state institution. Under this formula, the most economically disadvantaged student would be eligible for a maximum grant of \$4,000: \$2,500 for tuition and \$1,500 for fees, books, meals, and transportation. The maximum grant amount would increase yearly to keep up with inflation.

The AFL-CIO supports several modifications to the Higher Education Act that would specifically serve the needs of the "non-traditional" students including more equitable financial aid for less than half-time students. The system used to analyze the financial needs of older students should be modified to include child or dependent care costs as one of the factors used to determine the family's ability to contribute, while excluding federal student aid as personal income in determining eligibility for food stamps or public assistance.

In addition, properly designed cooperative education programs at colleges and universities should be expanded for they represent an exemplary approach to combining paid work experience and classroom learning. They also provide workers and their families with another alternative to financing college costs. Financial and technical support should be continued and enlarged to institutions seeking to expand post-secondary cooperative education opportunities.

The AFL-CIO supports stronger oversight of student financial aid programs by the U.S. Department of Education and appropriate state and accrediting agencies. The unacceptably high rate of loan defaults is largely concentrated

among proprietary schools that operate short-term, narrow job-based training programs that make unrealistic promises to the most vulnerable students.

Literacy

The issue of workplace literacy is frequently misrepresented and oversimplified. Too often, workplace literacy programs focus narrowly on strengthening workers' reading skills instead of the full development of all of the individual's capabilities. Through collective bargaining, unions have been able to work with employers to make longer-term commitments by investing in the continuous upgrading and broadening of workers' skills. Moreover, workers have been involved in the design and operation of their own educational programs through their union structure and the collective bargaining agreement. These participatory approaches to literacy provide the foundation for strengthening not only workers' skills, but their self-esteem and dignity.

The American Society of Training and Development recently acknowledged organized labor's unequalled leadership in the development of literacy programs to meet the needs of American workers: "Unions are fast becoming leaders in providing career-related training to individual employees. Training programs jointly administered by unions and management now spend more than \$300 million per year and represent the fastest-growing segment in the nation's learning system."

The Education Department, in conjunction with the AFL-CIO's Human Resources Development Institute, has provided technical assistance to unions involved in developing workplace literacy initiatives and has served as a source of information on grants and funding for literacy programs, including providing a workshop to assist unions in applying for such grants. Since 1988, the following unions have received grants under the U.S. Department of Education's national workplace literacy program: Bricklayers; Food and Beverage Workers (Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees) Local 32; the Northern California Joint Council; Service Employees Local 2; Laborers - Associated General Contractors Education and Training Fund; Minnesota Teamsters Service Bureau, and the Montana AFL-CIO. Many other labor organizations have served as partners for projects in which an educational institution or agency received the grant. These include local unions of AFSCME, the Carpenters, Electrical Workers, Ladies' Garment Workers, Longshoremen and Warehousemen, SEIU, the UAW and Food and Commercial Workers. State and local federations in Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, New York and Wisconsin have also been involved in literacy programs. The AFL-CIO urges Congress to support and expand funding for the government's workplace literacy program in order to develop more effective long-term approaches to serving the needs of America's workers.

Adult and Labor Education

The need for education does not end at graduation. Adults in general and trade unionists in particular constantly require new skills and information in order to function effectively in a complex and shifting environment. The Education Department works with the Federation's affiliates, state and local central bodies, the academic community and other national organizations to assist in producing high quality education for trade unionists, to insure representation of labor's point of view in forums on adult education and to act as a bridge to communities with similar concerns.

Working with University Labor Education Centers

One of the major activities of the Department of Education is working with the network of 51 college- and university-based labor education centers in 28 states throughout the country. The centers, which are guided by labor advisory boards, provide educational programs for local unionists on subjects such as grievance handling, arbitration, labor law and safety and health. Many of the centers also conduct research activities on labor topics, sponsor national and regional conferences, offer college credit courses on labor subjects and otherwise assist unions by disseminating information on collective bargaining and arbitration.

Nearly all of the labor education centers, most of which were founded in the 1940s and '50s, are attached to public universities and are funded by state legislatures. The current budget crisis in many states has led to cutbacks which have threatened the existence of several labor education centers and have already led to staff reductions. The Department has worked closely with state federations in those areas, offering whatever assistance possible to insure the stability of these labor education centers. There is a strong need to reaffirm the labor movement's interest in protecting the integrity of these programs which offer such vital services to union organizations.

As in the past, the Department continues to work closely with the University and College Labor Education Association (UCLEA), sponsoring an annual joint conference which includes workshops and plenary sessions for both union and university labor educators. In an effort to keep pace with changing institutional needs, the Department last year set up a joint union-university committee for the purpose of critically examining the current relationship and exploring new structures and methods for better serving the needs of both groups. The Department also joined with UCLEA, the Department of Economic Research and the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in coordinating the development of a union-university body to encourage and facilitate university-based research on issues of immediate and practical importance to today's unions. This body will attempt to set up a system which matches the research needs of national and international unions with the capabilities and interests of labor education staff and graduate students. Department staff also work with the university labor

education community by serving on the advisory boards of several centers and assisting in the establishment of new programs.

Professional Development Services

A primary mission of the Education Department is to serve the Federation's affiliates which it does in part by setting up structures that enable representatives from member education departments to meet regularly and share ideas. Two years ago, the Department, together with the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, initiated regular bi-monthly professional development meetings for union education staff. New teaching materials on specific subjects are demonstrated and discussed at the meetings. Education staff are given the opportunity to work with new methodologies, to cover new subjects and to learn from each others' successes and problems. As mentioned above, the Department also holds a regular annual meeting for union educators in conjunction with the university labor education community.

Education Department staff provide direct teaching support to affiliates, developing specialized workshops on demand, as well as offering standard programs such as the extremely popular "One-on-One" Communications Training. The Department and the George Meany Center for Labor Studies continue to present at least once each year a week-long institute on basic teaching techniques for union staff and also to produce regular advanced teaching techniques institutes which cover special topics in depth. One recent institute guided participants through the steps of creating train-the-trainer programs for their unions, offering detailed information and examples of programs developed by the Canadian Labor Congress among others.

Working with Regional Offices, State and Local Central Bodies

The programs and services developed for affiliates are open to education staff from state and local central bodies as well. In addition, department staff frequently travel to state and local central bodies conducting one and two-day workshops on "One-on-One" and "Labor in the Schools" and other subjects. Last year saw an innovative partnership created between the Department and the Utah AFL-CIO for the purpose of solving one of the most urgent problems in labor education - the lack of trained staff capable of providing education programs, particularly in regions without easy access to a university labor education center. Department staff conducted an intensive twenty-five hour train-the-trainer program for volunteers from Utah unions. Upon completion of the program, this core of twenty volunteer trainers was equipped to teach basic grievance handling and internal organizing to local unions within the state through the administrative offices of the Utah AFL-CIO.

Department staff regularly teach in AFL-CIO regional schools such as the Rocky Mountain Labor School and the Southern Advanced Leadership School,

as well as the four regional Summer Schools for Union Women co-sponsored with UCLEA. Last year, the Department worked with representatives from the Northeast Council of the AFL-CIO to put together the first week-long summer school for union staff and leadership in that region. The Department also co-sponsored a "Western Semester" with the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, offering many of our standard courses for union staff and leadership in the western United States.

Developing Materials and Resources

One of the responsibilities of the Education Department is to develop and disseminate new teaching materials and other resources for use by trade unionists. Many of these materials are in the form of ongoing newsletters or annually updated manuals.

- Each June the Department publishes a "Leadership Manual," primarily for the use of participants in labor education summer schools. The Manual provides a summary of the past year's legislative activities and an update on current goals as well as step-by-step information on how to conduct voter registration drives and a general overview of the legislative process. For the past two years, the Manual has been accompanied by an Instructor's Guide in order to encourage its use as a teaching tool both in labor education classes and in monthly union meetings.
- "Education Update," the department's bi-monthly newsletter, provides regular information on workshops, conferences, books, pamphlets, audio-visual materials and other resources of interest to the labor education community. The Update, with a readership of nearly 6,000 subscribers, is now in its 14th year.
- The Department also publishes an annual "Guide to Union-Sponsored Scholarships, Awards and Student Financial Aid." The Guide provides application information for scholarships sponsored by national and international unions, state and local central bodies, and local unions, districts and regions. The Guide also provides information on State and Federal financial assistance and other sources of funding.

In addition to these ongoing publications, the Department produces other materials designed for use in labor education. The "Manual for Shop Stewards" is available in both English and Spanish language versions, as is the popular "How To Run A Union Meeting." In the past two years, several new publications have been added to the catalogue.

- "Building the Local Union" contains brief case histories from 22 local unions which have successfully implemented innovative membership communication and internal organizing programs. The manual provides clear and simple instructions and sample materials for unionists interested in starting similar programs. An Instructor's Guide shows how the manual can be used as part of a labor education program.

- The demand for union staff capable of teaching and facilitating education programs far outstrips the available resources. As a result, many national and international unions have become interested in train-the-trainer programs to develop additional staff capabilities. The Department's "Train-the-Trainer Manual" combines academic theory concerning adult education with practical experiences and tips to guide the development of more effective teachers and facilitators.
- Unions continue to play an active role in the development of workplace literacy programs. "Worker-Centered Learning: A Union Guide to Workplace Literacy," developed by the AFL-CIO's Human Resources Development Institute, the Education Department and the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, is designed to help unions which are confronting the array of difficult choices involved in setting up such a program.
- For several years the Department has published a guide titled "Labor in the Schools: How to Do It!" for unionists interested in bringing labor's story into the schools. The new edition has been completely revised to include several new examples of grassroots activities by local unions and central labor bodies, as well as sample materials and detailed instructions for setting up a Speakers Bureau.

The Education Department also serves as a resource library, collecting examples of educational materials on a wide variety of topics and sharing them with interested affiliates. For example, in the past year the Department has actively collected examples of materials on cultural diversity, not only from unions but from management seminars and academia. We have built a small library of videotapes and training materials on the subject which we have frequently shared with unions attempting to develop their own programs on the issue. The Department also runs an active film and video rental library of more than 200 titles which serves affiliates, labor educators and schools.

Although most of the materials produced by the Department are in a traditional written format, we have begun to experiment with alternative delivery systems such as video and audio tape. Recognizing that many unions have limited educational resources, the Department is working with the Labor Institute of Public Affairs on production of a general introductory videotape for new stewards. The tape will be designed so that stewards can view it alone at their own convenience or it can be used in traditional education programs.

The Department also works with the George Meany Center for Labor Studies on production of the quarterly audio tape magazine, "Off-Center" as well as a series of audio tapes focusing on the construction industry.

The challenge of developing effective labor education materials continues to grow. Good materials not only provide users with information and assistance in developing skills, but motivate and stimulate the users to actually try the new ideas and new methods. Good materials are readable, lively and interesting. Educating new generations of union members will require the development of materials which are written in their vocabulary, rooted in their cultural experiences and sensitive to the demands on their time. The Education Department will continue to respond to those challenges.

‘Labor in the Schools’ Activities

International and local unions, as well as state and local central bodies, have met the call for “Labor in the Schools” activities with energy and creativity. From the production of videotapes on local labor history to the establishment of speakers’ bureaus and “adopt-a-school” programs, unionists have moved forward with innovative ideas and a strong sense of mission.

As in the past, the Education Department has conducted a number of day-long speakers’ bureau training sessions to assist state and local central bodies across the country. Locations included Fort Worth, Tex.; Minneapolis; Pueblo, Colo., and Newport News, Va. The Department also sponsored a two-day joint training session with the California AFT in which teachers and unionists worked together to find ways to support each other’s efforts to bring the full story of American labor to students.

The Department continues to publish the curriculum guide “How Schools Are Teaching About Labor” and to collect other examples of curriculum guides, videotapes and classroom materials. This comprehensive collection serves as a resource library for both unions and scholars interested in “Labor in the Schools” programs. The Department has also issued a revised version of “Labor in the Schools: How To Do It!” which describes the full range of grassroots activities throughout the country and provides step-by-step instructions for labor bodies interested in establishing their own speakers’ bureaus.

A new bibliography of books and videotapes about the labor movement has been developed for use with high school students. The Department has continued to distribute Teacher’s Kits providing teachers with examples of materials available from the Federation, and to publicize materials from other sources including the popular booklet for elementary school students, “What is a Union?,” a guide for vocational education students, “Dignity in the Workplace,” and the pamphlet “The Working Teenager,” produced by the New York State AFL-CIO. The Department also cooperates with the George Meany Memorial Archives in preparation and distribution of teaching materials developed for use with “Labor’s Heritage” and works with the local retirees organization to promote their activities as docents for the Archives.

Relationships with Academia and Religious Communities

In 1983 leaders in the American Council on Education (ACE) and the AFL-CIO agreed to found the Labor/Higher Education Council as an institutional membership organization to further understanding between these two major sectors of American society. Each year, the Council holds an National Meeting to promote dialogue on a subject of mutual interest. The topic of the most recent meeting was health care reform: America’s dilemma. The meeting included participants from 18 international unions, eight state federations and

16 colleges and universities, as well as leaders of ACE-affiliated organizations sharing their perspectives and concerns through a series of work group discussions and plenary sessions. Proceedings of the meeting have been published by the council. Several states have initiated programs for State Labor/Higher Education Councils. Joint programs are now underway in Minnesota, Tennessee, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island.

The Department has also been instrumental in initiating the development of an on-going dialogue with the religious community over issues of common concern. Together with the Departments of Economic Research and Organization & Field Services, the Education Department has sponsored two national meetings designed to bring the religious and labor communities together. The most recent of the "dialogues" was held in Atlanta in recognition of the practical importance of creating relationships on a regional as well as national basis. Nearly 200 political and religious leaders, representatives from the AFL-CIO and affiliates, and veterans of the civil rights movement in the South spoke together, finding common values and common ground on today's social and economic issues.

As formal education has become a lifelong endeavor and the number of "non-traditional" adult students has steadily grown, so too have the importance of organizations devoted to improving the quality of adult education. Department staff serve on the boards of the Coalition of Adult Education Organizations, the Council for Adult and Experiential Learning and several credentialing commissions, representing labor's point of view and the needs of adult workers in the debate over future directions of the field.

Council Recommendation

Elementary and Secondary Education

The AFL-CIO urges that a strong federal leadership role in education be reflected by substantial and sustained investment in education programs. Rhetoric about attaining national education goals must be accompanied by the commitment of resources needed. The AFL-CIO opposes administration efforts to use scarce federal dollars to facilitate private school choice at the expense of proven programs in the public schools.

The AFL-CIO commends the national effort to restructure the public school system. We encourage our affiliates to work with local school boards to ensure that effective reform measures which include teacher participation, school based management and shared decision making are enacted. We further urge our affiliates to work closely with local schools to assist young people in the transition from school to work.

Vocational Education

The AFL-CIO supports initiatives to expand the opportunities that prepare young people for work, especially those youth who do not go on to college or specialized post secondary training. New programs, however, should not harm

the integrity of existing registered apprenticeship programs or displace workers already on the job.

Higher Education

The AFL-CIO endorses revisions of the Higher Education Act which would provide genuine access and support for eligible students to attend a four year public institution of higher education. We urge Congress to increase the Pell grant program to allow for increased participation by low and middle income families; to become more responsive to the needs of "non-traditional" students in the administration of financial aid; to expand cooperative education programs and to ensure accountability for financial aid and accreditation systems.

Literacy

The AFL-CIO urges sufficient funding for the National Literacy Act of 1991. The U.S. Department of Education should continue its efforts to strengthen worker involvement in all aspects of planning and implementing workplace literacy programs. The Department should require written concurrence from the appropriate unions before funding programs targeted to serve workers represented by a labor organization. In addition, literacy programs should focus on serving the long-term interests of workers, their employers, and the nation, rather than attaining immediate, short-lived gains.

Adult and Labor Education

The AFL-CIO recognizes the valuable service that university and college labor education centers have historically provided to the labor movement, particularly at the local level. As many centers are now threatened by financial cutbacks, we find it important to reaffirm the value of these organizations and to urge our affiliates to support, to the greatest degree possible, efforts to insure their continued health and stability.

The AFL-CIO encourages all affiliates to develop new educational materials and resources which are grounded in the diverse cultural experiences of a new generation of trade unionists, but which emphasize our common values and concerns.

The AFL-CIO offers support and commendation to the affiliates and unionists throughout the country who have brought imagination and vigor to the task of establishing programs to include labor's contribution in the school curricula. We encourage these efforts and urge all labor bodies to expand their activities in this regard.

The AFL-CIO urges the continuation of dialogues on issues of mutual concern with the academic community, the religious community and other social institutions which share our vision of a just society.

Civil Rights

The goal of U.S. racial harmony and integration seemed as distant as ever in the period between conventions of 1989 and 1991 — more than a quarter of a century after the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964 made racial discrimination in employment and public accommodations illegal and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 extended the electoral franchise to all Americans regardless of race, creed or ethnicity.

Virtually every civil rights program adopted over the past 25 years — voting rights, affirmative action, goals and timetables and set-asides — is under siege. Justice will not be secure for minorities and women without enforcement of the executive orders, court decisions and legislation that established these programs.

The Voting Rights Act has been one of the most successful civil rights laws. One significant section of the law requires bilingual ballots and voting materials in any jurisdiction that includes a specific number of single language minorities. Enforcement of that requirement is essential if the right to vote is to be the civil right of every American citizen.

The AFL-CIO actively opposed the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court. After the Executive Council voted AFL-CIO opposition on August 1, 1991, the federation joined with its traditional civil rights allies in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to campaign against Judge Thomas's confirmation.

When AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee in September 1991, he said the opposition was based on Judge Thomas's extreme anti-government statements and his failure to enforce civil rights laws when he was head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. During the confirmation hearings in the Senate committee, Kirkland said, a third reason to oppose Judge Thomas emerged: the efforts — by Judge Thomas and his "handlers" — to manipulate the confirmation process by refusing to either disavow or accept his past rhetoric and by seeking to dismiss his previous record in public life.

Affirmative Action

Blacks, women, Hispanics and other minorities for years put their trust in the courts and in the Congress as institutions that would oppose discrimination and continue the nation toward true democracy for all Americans.

Nothing is more vital to the long struggle to achieve racial and sexual equality than ending discrimination in job and career opportunities. And affirmative action — a carefully developed program that evolved from legislation and court decisions over the period since 1964 — is essential to opening up opportunities for those groups which traditionally have been excluded from the mainstream of our economic life.

The need for affirmative action is still great. For example, a 1991 Urban Institute study showed equally qualified blacks are three times as likely as whites to be discriminated against in job applications.

But some recent Supreme Court decisions have undermined affirmative action and effectively denied justice to many victims of harassment and discrimination. Among other rulings, this threat was raised by the following three Supreme Court decisions:

- *Patterson v. McLean Credit* in which the court ruled that the 1866 Civil Rights Act, while barring discrimination in contract negotiations, allows an employer to engage in racial harassment in subsequent implementation of the hiring agreement.
- *Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Antonio* shifted the burden of proof to the worker in showing specific discriminatory employment practices.
- *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* established that if an employee shows that race or sex was one of the factors in a company's hiring or promotional policies, the employer can escape liability only by proving that the same decision would have been reached in any event.

To correct this, the AFL-CIO has strongly supported the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which would reassert the principle of affirmative action. A similar bill was stymied by the Bush Administration in 1990 and right-minded members of Congress of both parties struggled throughout 1990 to win passage of this vital Civil Rights Act.

Affirmative action is not a system of quotas. It is a system of policies, programs and procedures to correct the social and economic status of workers who have been discriminated against. The AFL-CIO remains as committed to affirmative action as it is opposed to quotas and will continue to support congressional efforts to overcome the opposition of the Bush Administration.

One of the fundamental principles of the American society is opportunity for all — a nation where honest, hard working people can get a job for which they are qualified and provide for their families, without fear of being denied their livelihood or stymied because of race, gender, national origin, disability or religious beliefs. The AFL-CIO consistently has said affirmative action is essential in winning equal opportunity for women, blacks, Hispanics and members of other minority groups.

Affirmative action guarantees that all groups in our society are represented at all levels in the work force. This fact has helped make the American workplace more productive and fair and should not be abandoned or gutted by those employers who would return to the dark days before the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation

The AFL-CIO believes that it is the responsibility of trade unions to guarantee that workers be judged on their work and not by irrelevant criteria that address their private lives. Dismissal and harassment of workers for reasons unrelated to job performance have been used to intimidate workers from organizing. Civil rights legislation prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation is consistent with the principles of trade unionism and a person's right to privacy.

Extremist Groups

Bigoted and violent incidents are becoming daily occurrences in our society. They range from student activities to police brutality. Our society is infested with the divisive and racist teachings of extremist groups such as "skinheads," Ku Klux Klan, American Nazi Party and other anti-Semitic, anti-black, anti-Hispanic, anti-Asian, anti-Catholic and anti-labor groups. Justice and equality are the basis of our democracy and we cannot tolerate racial violence and bigoted activities.

Community Involvement

The labor movement has been in the vanguard of the fight to gain justice for all people and employment opportunities for all workers. Coalitions between unions and organizations dedicated to social and economic equality have helped secure fairness in the workplace and in our communities.

Recent Supreme Court decisions not only have severely cut away at rights gained through hard fought battles over the years, they also have dimmed the chances of individual workers to win discrimination cases. The conservative court has shifted the burden of proof onto the backs of the worker and given employers more excuses to discriminate under the guise of "business necessity."

Consequently, the AFL-CIO continues to work with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and similar organizations for the restoration in the local community of a commitment to social justice and the passage of and enforcement of the civil rights laws necessary to provide equal opportunities for women and minorities.

More than a decade of extremely conservative administrations has expanded the civil rights battlefield, but it has also broadened our network with organizations dedicated to the civil rights movement and our outreach in the minority and women's communities and with youth and the elderly. Important work has been done in linking labor with other community groups through the efforts of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, Frontlash and the National Council of Senior Citizens.

Today the federation and its affiliates work on matters of mutual concern with a host of organizations including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Southern Regional Council, the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, the National Council of Negro Women, the National Organization for Women, the Women's Legal Defense Fund, the Southwest and the Midwest/Northeast Voter Registration and Education Projects, National Committee on Pay Equity, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Cuban-American National Council, the National Council of La Raza, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Project, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the National Commission on Working Women, the Coalition on Black Voter Participation, and the National Association of Hispanic Elderly.

Historically black colleges and universities need help to continue providing educational opportunities leading to achievement and excellence. The United Negro College Fund helps make possible the education of thousands of young people, many from trade union families.

Working Women

The most significant change in the U. S. work force over the past 40 years has been the tremendous increase in the number of working women. Almost 20 million women with children under 18 are employed. It is estimated that at the end of this decade women will comprise 47 percent of the work force. They are the fastest growing segment of the labor movement.

By the year 2000, 80 percent of all women ages 25-54 will be in the work force. This will represent a substantial increase in the number of minority women, who carry the double burden of racism and sexism, and who are more likely to be represented by unions than white women.

Despite this growth in numbers, women have not enjoyed a similar growth in their economic status. They are still fighting pervasive economic and social discrimination.

A major source of progress for women is union membership. Union women earn substantially more than non-union women. More than one-third of all union members are women, up from 19 percent in 1956. In 1990, according to figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Census, unionized women clerical workers earned 34 percent more in median weekly earnings than their non-union counterparts.

Issues and concerns of working women are being addressed by unions through the collective bargaining process, through legislation and through the courts. The union contract continues to be a powerful weapon in the fight for equal employment opportunity even as the current administration and federal courts chip away at legal remedies and other resources for redressing discrimination.

The Supreme Court in *Rust v. Sullivan* said that when the government pays, the government may constitutionally prohibit physicians from informing and counseling patients about certain legally available medical options.

A patient whose visit to a physician is paid for by the government should receive the same treatment, information and advice as someone whose visit is paid by private insurance or self-payment, the AFL-CIO said.

Women continue to achieve leadership position in their unions, but full integration into all levels and aspects of the trade union movement and society remains a goal of organized labor.

Council Recommendation

The trade union movement was instrumental in securing the enactment of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in order to help rid the workplace of unlawful job discrimination. Today we are as committed as ever to achieving equal employment opportunity.

The task we face is to make the intent of the civil rights laws into reality. The executive and judicial branches of our government should be in the forefront of that effort. No policies or programs aimed at improving equality and fairness in the workplace can succeed unless they are fully supported and enforced.

The AFL-CIO has consistently supported the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which affords all citizens, including those who are non-English speaking, the right to cast an independent, informed vote. The AFL-CIO supports the extension of Section 203(c) providing for bilingual ballots and voting materials in areas where 5 percent of voting age citizens are members of a single language minority. This law enables thousands of Americans to exercise their right to vote.

We call upon our members to work closely with our civil rights and women's rights allies for broader support and stricter enforcement of civil rights laws that provide equal opportunity to all members in our society and the

election of candidates who believe in and have demonstrated a commitment to fairness and equity in the workplace.

Affirmative Action

Discrimination in any form should be illegal. Labor and civil rights laws must be enforced diligently by the courts and federal agencies because America is still affected and burdened by ambivalence toward its dream of justice for all Americans.

The AFL-CIO has long supported — and continues to support — strong affirmative action. We urge the administration to cease its constant search for ways to weaken the nation's civil rights laws, and instead to commit itself to enforcing these laws vigorously and effectively.

Civil Rights Act

Title VII was a clear statement of the national will to end unfair treatment of minorities and women in the job market and the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1991 is an extension of that commitment. This legislation became necessary, after the Supreme Court issued six decisions weakening the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and 1964. Those laws are essential to ensuring equal opportunity by prohibiting job discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

The Civil Rights Act of 1991 is similar to the Civil Rights Act of 1990 (H.R. 4000), passed by the 101st Congress but vetoed by President Bush. We call upon our affiliates to continue to support progressive civil rights legislation that will protect minorities and women against employment discrimination.

Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation

The AFL-CIO protests any personnel actions taken against any worker solely on the basis of sexual orientation. We support and urge the enactment of legislation at federal, state and local levels that would guarantee the civil rights of all persons without regard to sexual orientation in employment, housing, credit, public accommodations and public services.

Rights of People with Disabilities

The AFL-CIO supports the work of the President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities and community organizations, such as the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, as they work for equity and equal opportunity for people with disabilities.

The passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act presents an opportunity to remove barriers to full participation in everyday life for those with disabilities and to assure them the same rights as others in this country. We urge our affiliates to work for the effective enforcement of this law and for the right of workers with disabilities to be treated with dignity and respect.

Extremist Groups

Incidents of racial harassment, vigilante violence and social disruption have escalated. We must understand and stand up to the extremist groups and individuals in our communities. Candidates for public office who use racial and ethnic issues as a political ploy must be exposed and challenged. We urge our affiliates to expand educational programs to counteract bigotry and racial, ethnic or religious violence.

Community Involvement

We urge our affiliates to respond to the current hostile climate for civil rights and women's rights by strengthening their support of individual organizations and their participation in coalitions and activities that further our goals and programs aimed at equity and equal opportunity.

Specifically we call upon our affiliates and their members to participate in and work on behalf of the AFL-CIO support groups: A. Philip Randolph Institute, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, Frontlash and the National Council of Senior Citizens. These organizations play a vital role in labor's efforts to achieve equal opportunity and social and economic justice.

The AFL-CIO also will use its resources and urges its affiliates to publicize and support the efforts of the United Negro College Fund in its advocacy for historically black colleges and universities.

Working Women

The AFL-CIO reiterates its longstanding commitment to eliminate discrimination against women in the social and economic structures and activities of the country. We stand with the Coalition of Labor Union Women, women's organizations, civil rights groups and other working people to change laws, policies, institutions and attitudes to bring about equality and justice for all. Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution is fundamental to this cause.

The complete involvement of women at all levels of union activity is vital to the growth and strength of the labor movement and we urge our affiliates to move resolutely toward this goal.

We urge our affiliates to include in their legislative agenda those key issues which will promote the equality and well-being of women including: family and medical leave; adequate child care; economic equality in social security, pensions and insurance reform; employment opportunity through meaningful job training programs and pay equity; universal health care; health and safety on the job; improving child support enforcement; eliminating violence against women; maintaining adequate equal employment opportunity laws and protecting against any attacks or setbacks by the courts or Congress.

Congress also should affirm in the most uncompromising terms the right and obligation of government-financed physicians and other health care professionals to provide all relevant medical information and advice.

Many of these issues can and should be addressed through the collective bargaining process. As the administration whittles away at civil rights and affirmative action for women and minorities, the union contract and grievance procedures become even more vital in preserving civil rights and equal employment opportunities.

We urge our affiliates to continue increasing their efforts to achieve pay equity for women and minorities through the filing of wage discrimination charges, supporting pay equity legislation and making wage inequities a bargaining issue. We will work with our affiliates and the National Committee on Pay Equity in researching successful strategies and developing materials to attack sex and race discrimination wherever it exists, including in job titles, job assignments and classification procedures. The promotion of equitable career development and job training efforts is part of the overall strategy.

Sexual harassment on the job continues to plague the work place at high economic and emotional costs to the victims. Sexual harassment is illegal under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the AFL-CIO urges a major role by unions in combatting sexual harassment on the job through every legitimate means possible including establishing policies, educating workers and managers, using the grievance procedure and, where necessary, legal action. We urge our affiliates to adopt contract language addressing the problem of sexual harassment and to engage in other appropriate actions in concert with concerned groups such as women's and civil rights organizations.

We urge our affiliates to develop and pursue policies and practices for the elimination of discrimination and the integration of women in the work place, in the labor movement and in the society.

Communications

The message may finally be getting through.

Public opinion polls for the last two years show an increase in support for unions and indicate that the worker's story may finally be getting through as the greedy '80s recede.

In a Gallup poll, for instance, 61% of Americans — the highest level since 1967 — say they approve of unions.

The Roper Organization also reported a big increase in the number of people who automatically side with the workers in a contract dispute, and in the number who support the right of various workers to strike when necessary.

In mid-1991 the Roper Organization also found that "Approval of union leaders rocketed to the highest level ever registered in an annual poll of public attitudes toward national leaders," according to the "BNA Daily Labor Report."

Still, another poll, this one in March 1990 from "Time Magazine/CNN," reported that 73% of Americans believe unions are needed to keep the employers honest while only 22% said unions are no longer necessary.

The Federation's health care campaign offered the communications division a unique opportunity to help develop a story on the national level while, at the same time, making it into a local and regional story.

The effort came on three fronts — a series of eight hearings from Providence to San Francisco, two national Union Yes television commercials, and a television special on health care.

The hearings saw half the Executive Council members take testimony from 94 witnesses ranging from an unemployed boot maker to the president of the American Medical Association.

The story was the same at almost every stop: health care is rationed by cost, universal access is nonexistent and health care is often spotty or inadequate.

The hearings allowed the Federation to get its message across on the national level as reporters wrote of our findings, and on the local and regional level as radio, newspaper and television coverage focused on how a local situation was providing evidence to be used in fashioning a national health care policy.

Solidarity Day provided another successful effort to make a national story into a local one as the Communications division alerted television stations around the country of local delegations preparing to leave for the giant march and rally in Washington, D.C.

These same stations were also provided a Solidarity Day video news release.

The initiative saw many local stations broadcasting two different days of Solidarity Day news coverage, as the national event became a local story, thereby receiving more news coverage than it would have otherwise.

The Federation's communication strategy is developed on two fronts: the Information Department and the Labor Institute of Public Affairs. The former is mostly concerned with public relations, communicating with both print and electronic reporters, and in helping labor's own press understand and publicize the issues.

LIPA operates primarily with television as it educates the public and special interest groups through satellite feeds, video news features and teleconferences. It also offers special communications where newsmakers are stationed in our studio for tours via satellite to television stations around the country.

The communications effort this year has also included positioning a legislative press secretary on Capitol Hill. This outreach allows us to more effectively reach Capitol Hill reporters with our message and our reaction to national news stories as well as to help fashion congressional hearings to assure labor's side of the story is heard.

Information Department

In telling labor's story the AFL-CIO tries to counter anti-labor news media accounts by reaching out for coverage that reflects the good that unions do. Besides reaching non-union members, commercial news media reports often bring to our members more about their unions than they can glean from all our meetings, rallies, speeches and other outlets. Additionally, the value of an AFL-CIO News or a LIPA video increases manyfold if it attracts related coverage by the commercial news media.

The Information Department uses the AFL-CIO News as a core vehicle. Distribution of material assembled for the News is not, however, confined to every other week when the tabloid newspaper is published. AFL-CIO News stories are regularly used as press releases for mass distribution or as fact sheets in response to a reporter's inquiry. Graphics from the News are shared with the labor press and distributed to labor reporters.

By informing trade unionists of upcoming campaigns, the News is able to enlist the movement's multiple labor publications to reinforce and spread the message. It's a two-way street: editors of those publications provide advance information — by fax, phone or print — to the federation and to each other. Such sharing of ideas and expansion of material is indispensable in projects like that which catalogued the U.S. communities hard-hit by the transfer of jobs to Mexico under the so-called twin-plant or "maquiladora" program.

That undertaking in early 1991 used the *maquiladoras* as a clear preview of the devastation yet to come if the North American Free Trade Agreement allows U.S. and other multinationals to ignore worker standards and environmental protections. Similarly, individual case histories of "permanently replaced" workers were indispensable in getting labor's story heard in the commercial news media.

Windows of Opportunity

It takes a constant and aggressive telling and re-telling of the stories of workers and their unions for the AFL-CIO's communications program to fulfill its goal of helping unions grow.

That effort bears some fruit among hometown reporters who are drawn into a worker topic by local events; it achieves far less among national reporters who are much less likely to depart from the accepted newsroom cliché of the moment.

But, nationally as well as locally, there are windows of opportunity. Visits by Andrei Sakharov, Nelson Mandela or Boris Yeltsin to AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington, for example, will spark an interest in why freedom fighters have unions on their list of mandatory stops in the United States to say thank you and enlist future support.

Similarly, two explosions in Houston in less than a year — at Phillips in October 1989 and Arco in July 1990 — sparked interest in union documentation of the glaring inadequacy of the nation's job safety and health laws.

But the brief attention from an internationally known visitor must have a follow-up, an attempt to get news outlets covering the visit interested in the day-in, day-out work of the federation's international institutes or to get those covering the explosion to focus on the inadequacy of the "settlement" between the petroleum company and federal OSHA.

Elections often provide windows of opportunity when reporters discover that trade unionists like the state AFL-CIO officers are the most knowledgeable and best organized among the multiple political operatives.

Letting Workers Tell Story

The AFL-CIO communications outreach on legislative issues since the 1989 convention has included increased reliance on making workers available to tell their own story to the news media as well as to Congress. Poignant workers' stories are far more effective than experts debating facts and figures.

Witnesses telling their stories were an important part of the AFL-CIO health care campaign in late 1990. Workers' stories were vital in two other critical campaigns: that against the U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement and that for the Workplace Fairness bill. Those campaigns had to start with informing the public

what "fast track" or "replacement worker" meant. Workers' own stories were also needed to correct distortions and half-truths planted by corporate America.

The stories had some impact: health care did move toward congressional action; the House did pass H.R. 5, the Workplace Fairness bill, by a resounding 247-182; and even though the President got his "fast-track" authority for the North American Free Trade Agreement, that fight is not over until the treaty comes back for final ratification. The efforts of the AFL-CIO and its allies — most notably Citizens for Justice in the Maquiladoras — had a clear impact. House Democratic leaders sided with the White House on the issue, but got only 91 House Democrats to follow them while 172 bolted to vote with the workers and environmentalists.

Paid advertising was used in the legislative campaigns on health care, striker replacement and the fast-track trade talks as well as for Solidarity Day. The ads were primarily targeted to states or congressional districts. Far more emphasis was placed on a multi-media campaign aimed at taking advantage of news coverage, talk shows, letters to the editor, guest editorials, radio call-ins and other staples of the standard news media campaign.

Powerful Images Have Impact

Clearly, the easiest news events to promote are the marches because of the excitement and visuals for the all-important TV industry.

The AFL-CIO's campaigns to promote Solidarity Day 1991 and April 28 Workers Memorial Day in both 1990 and 1991 met with landmark success in introducing the news media to the work of America's unions.

Labor Institute of Public Affairs

Paid advertising and public service announcements; video and radio news releases; satellite media tours and news feeds; programs for cable, public and independent television; advocacy, informational and inspirational videos and videoconferences are all part of the AFL-CIO's strategy to deliver labor's message to union members, potential members and the general public.

Our society relies heavily on the electronic media for the dissemination of information, which is often the basis for the formation of public opinion. In 1990 and 1991 the Labor Institute of Public Affairs added many new innovations to tried and tested approaches to enhance the quality and quantity of media exposure and effective communications.

The UNION YES Campaign

The 1987 AFL-CIO Convention mandated a multi-media communications campaign under the umbrella name of UNION YES. Using prime-time network television advertising has given the AFL-CIO an opportunity to communicate to hundreds of millions of Americans the many contributions of working people and the unions that represent their interests.

Hollywood personalities, Jack Lemmon, Tyne Daley, Howard Hesseman and Edward James Olmos, brought a message of union pride and performance into living rooms from coast to coast. The Olmos commercial broke new ground by airing on network television back-to-back in English and Spanish-language versions.

Lech Walesa added an international endorsement, thanking Americans for their support of Solidarity and saying UNION YES in the first and only Polish-language commercial ever aired on network television!

In the fall of 1990 UNION YES became a key element in the AFL-CIO's drive for national health care reform. A \$3 million prime-time network television campaign put powerful commercials on top-rated prime-time programs such as "The Cosby Show," "Murphy Brown" and "thirtysomething" and on major sporting events like the major league baseball playoffs.

The TV spots, which focus on the growing crisis in health care costs that affect all Americans, were also made available for customization by affiliates. Radio and print ads calling for national health care reform were also produced for use by affiliates. International, national and local unions used the health care reform print ads in a wide variety of publications including magazines, newspapers, newsletters and leadership reports.

In 1991 a new UNION YES campaign — "Benefits" — was launched with a dramatic television commercial emphasizing the many benefits won by unions through collective bargaining. The commercial brings home the point that by winning benefits like the 8-hour day, 40-hour week, paid vacations, safer working conditions, paid holidays, health care, pensions, paid sick leave and job security, unions set the standard for all working Americans.

The national campaign was timed to launch in conjunction with Solidarity Day '91 to enhance the impact of media coverage of labor's major event of the year. Versions of the commercial are available for customization by affiliates.

Another innovation for 1991 was the installation of large illuminated UNION YES signs — dioramas — at the two major airports serving Washington, D.C. The backlit blue and gold ads are meant to remind the public and members of Congress who regularly use these airports that "America Works Best When We Say UNION YES!" The dioramas are on display year-round in the main concourses of National and Dulles airports.

UNION YES also continues to be an important element in virtually every level of union activities. Billboards, banners, bus cards, bumperstickers, buttons, tee-shirts, jackets, caps and dozens of other imprinted items carry the UNION YES design, which has been customized and adapted by virtually every

affiliate of the AFL-CIO. UNION YES has been used in countless organizing campaigns, rallies, conferences and events. State Federations and Central Labor Councils have used UNION YES TV, radio, and print ads as well as the new UNION YES mini posters and other UNION YES items to spread the message of the importance of union membership. UNION DIGA SI! is the theme in successful campaigns to organize Spanish-speaking workers.

UNION YES has even gone international. "Canada Works Best When We Say UNION YES" is the theme of a major radio advertising campaign in the Canadian western provinces. UNION YES is also being used as a theme by the TUC in the United Kingdom.

Satellite News Feeds

While paid advertising is an indispensable element of a modern communications effort, positive coverage in the news is also vitally important. To help make sure labor's side of the story is told, video news releases (VNR) are distributed to television stations throughout the nation. The video news release is the electronic counterpart of the traditional print press release. Polls show that nearly two-thirds of all Americans get most of their news from television. News programs are still being added, but many news budgets are being cut. As a result, the demand for VNR's is increasing rapidly. Through VNR and satellite news feeds the AFL-CIO has the opportunity to reinforce key issues on labor's agenda.

LIPA has produced numerous VNR's ranging from health care issues and workplace safety to the U.S. - Mexico Free Trade Agreement.

The VNR may be a complete, self-contained news story with live footage of a major event. When Nelson Mandela visited the AFL-CIO headquarters, his tumultuous welcome and meeting with members of the Executive Council was sent live by satellite around the country. Local, national and international news organizations were notified of the time of the feed and the satellite being used so they could receive the footage for their newscasts.

The first of the series of AFL-CIO regional health care hearings was also fed live to TV stations from coast to coast, followed by a complete news package describing the event. The same technique was used when Pam Richards, the Ohio UAW member who turned down a free Honda because it wasn't union-made, was given a union-made pickup truck at an AFL-CIO headquarters ceremony.

Satellite media tours are another effective way to provide news organizations with one-on-one interviews with key labor leaders. By combining video and satellite technology, local television markets can conduct one-on-one interviews on issues related to their community's interest.

Events like Worker's Memorial Day are given advance publicity with a combination of VNR's and satellite media tours which allow local TV stations

to do interviews with key AFL-CIO officers and staff by satellite. Labor Day and year-end feeds give local stations the opportunity to use major labor leaders in their own localized reports.

VNR's are supplemented with radio news releases, which are fed to radio news networks and key radio stations. This enhances the distribution of the AFL-CIO's perspective on major events and initiatives, and helps keep labor issues on the air in this important medium.

Media Outreach

By attending and participating in broadcast conferences such as National Broadcast Association for Community Affairs Directors, Radio and Television News Directors Association, National Association of Black Journalists, and National Association of Hispanic Journalists, LIPA is able to help build and maintain labor contacts within the media.

During Black History month, LIPA targeted Black-oriented television and radio programs to air a package that was produced on civil rights and labor leader, A. Philip Randolph.

Just before the U.S. - Mexico Free Trade Agreement Fast Track vote, LIPA produced a video that was sent along with a press kit to the top 30 Spanish-language television stations in the country as well as two Spanish networks, Telemundo and Univision.

Informational Videos

The use of concise, highly produced informational videos is another effective method of getting labor's viewpoint on key issues to news media, lawmakers, opinion leaders, union members and the public. Videos explaining the AFL-CIO campaign for national health care reform were provided to every member of Congress and to key journalists.

A video explaining the AFL-CIO's opposition to the fast track process for a U.S. - Mexico Free Trade Agreement was widely viewed on Capitol Hill, and triggered several major media reports which were highly favorable to our position.

"One Strike and You're Out," which LIPA produced with the Industrial Union Department, gives a persuasive argument for the need for legislation to ban the use of permanent replacements of striking workers. Many international unions customized this production and thousands of copies have been distributed to local unions around the country.

The LIPA-produced promotional video on Solidarity Day '91 was also customized by many international unions, and was widely used to stimulate attendance. Audio messages and radio and television public service announcements were also provided to help make Solidarity Day '91 a success.

LIPA also works with AFL-CIO departments and affiliates to produce videos on a broad range of topics. From AIDS in the workplace to workplace safety to training union counselors, the scope and consistent quality of LIPA productions make videos available to support the full spectrum of union activities. Some LIPA videos have been translated into Spanish, Creole and other languages to help organized labor reach other ethnic groups. LIPA's catalog of available videos is a valuable resource for labor leaders, organizers, educators and activists alike.

Television Programs

Because broadcast television programs have great impact on the public, union members and opinion leaders, LIPA continued its tradition of high-quality broadcast production in 1990-91. The half-hour documentary "Health Care: Critical Condition" aired on Financial News Network on Labor Day 1990, and subsequently was broadcast on many PBS and independent television stations across the country. The program showed the impact of the nation's health care crisis on working Americans and explained the role of unions in the effort to reform the ailing health care system.

In 1991 LIPA produced a half-hour documentary based on "Battles Won, Battles Begun," the informational video which was produced for the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs. The program was designed to inform the public of the relationship between a strong free trade union movement and the rise of democracy. This is now understood due to the success of the Solidarity movement in Poland, but the public often does not know how free trade unions are building democracy in the Philippines, South Africa, Chile, China and many other nations. This dramatic program looks at the tremendous impact of the trade union movement abroad and the real work that begins after democracy is won.

In addition to its own broadcast productions, LIPA provides material and occasional technical support to the more than 40 labor-oriented cable and PBS television programs around the country which deliver labor's message with regularly scheduled programs. These programs keep union members and the general public aware of labor issues and the contributions made by the labor movement.

Labor in the Community

Community Services

The primary objectives of the AFL-CIO Department of Community Services is to help union families, involve union volunteers in helping each other and their communities, and to inform America of the good things unions do.

With layoffs mounting across the country and employers demanding deeper concessions from workers, the AFL-CIO has placed special emphasis on helping local unions deal with the effects of unemployment and on helping union members on the picket line. Step-by-step action plans and materials were developed to aid unions and their members respond to job loss.

Helping workers with food, housing, financial problems and health care requires recruiting, training and including union volunteers. A training manual and video for union counselors were distributed to unions, state and local AFL-CIOs and university labor education programs as part of an effort to reach and train more union volunteers. These men and women trained as union counselors are the foundation of the AFL-CIO Community Services.

Placing more union volunteers with social service agencies has been a priority. Involving union volunteers this way gives unions a voice in community activities and assist in building community coalitions around issues of economic justice and social action.

The AFL-CIO has helped union members promote their good works by providing media skills training for local community services activists. By assisting in solving family problems and meeting community needs, unions place organized labor in a positive light.

The AFL-CIO is working with the Committee on Older and Retired Workers to survey union retiree clubs to identify current activities and needed

assistance. Year-round services for retired members have been designed, including pre-retirement and retirement counseling, information and referral training, and volunteer recruitment.

As the federal government abrogates more of its social service responsibilities and loads them onto already overburdened state budgets, voluntary social agencies are being asked to carry staggering caseloads of families which have fallen through the shredded "safety net." In response, the AFL-CIO is pressing for increased federal aid to programs serving poor children and families and stimulating union support for local voluntary charities.

The national AFL-CIO Campaign in Support of United Way is a coordinated national effort to improve fund raising skills, union campaign materials, and labor's use of volunteers to raise much needed funding for these social service programs.

The Department of Community Services continues to encourage union members to donate blood to the American Red Cross to offset the shortages typical in January and August.

"Operation Stateside" was an AFL-CIO project to help the Red Cross raise funds and recruit volunteers to help families of National Guard and reserve troops deployed in "Operation Desert Storm."

The AFL-CIO Disaster Coastline Project, which prepares union halls to be Red Cross disaster service centers, has been renamed the AFL-CIO Disaster Response Network (DRN) — with the emphasis on "response." The DRN — which will be identified by a distinctive AFL-CIO logo — is continuing to sign up new halls as part of the program and union volunteers are being trained as Red Cross Disaster Response Teams.

Project Scouting, a nationwide campaign, is aimed at organizing more union sponsored Boy Scouts of America units to increase participation by union members in mentoring and role modeling for young boys and at bringing labor's message to the workers of the future. The "American Labor" merit badge has proven a good way of reaching youth and involving union members in Scouting. Still another is the establishment of Disaster Preparedness Explorer Posts at the union halls in the AFL-CIO/American Red Cross Disaster Response Network. Over 130 trade unionists received the George Meany Award for Service to Scouting in the past calendar year.

AFL-CIO Community Services is working with the National Association of Letter Carriers to replicate their successful one day, community wide food drive in Phoenix, Arizona, and expand it to ten pilot cities in October. Food stuffs are picked up at residences by postal employees and delivered to social service agencies that feed the hungry.

National recognition for community service efforts during the past two years came in several forms. The United Way's Joseph A. Beirne Award for outstanding labor efforts was given to Robert L. Parish of UAW Local 2031 in Adrian, Michigan, in 1990 and to Lois Hartel, manager of the ILGWU's Hazelton/Wyoming Valley District Council in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania in 1991.

The Red Cross initiated its Samuel Gompers Award for notable labor involvement in 1990. That year, the winner was Jerry King, Community Services chair of UAW Local 652 in Lansing, Michigan. This year, President Ernest Grecco of the Baltimore AFL-CIO was the recipient.

The AFL-CIO's Murray-Green-Meany Award was given at the National Conference on Community Services, in recognition of outstanding human service involvement. The 1990 honoree was William Aramony, president of United Way of America, and in 1991 the award was given to the late Congressman Mickey Leland.

Council Recommendation

As an indifferent federal government loads more and more of its legitimate social services responsibilities onto the shoulders of already staggered state governments, it is increasingly difficult for workers to find the help they need. Helping working families with food, housing, health care, substance abuse treatment, financial counseling and assistance is particularly important during periods of unemployment or strikes.

American labor is proud of its community services role and determined to see it continued, expanded, and improved. Getting more trained union volunteers involved in helping those in need is key to productive community services programs. To encourage active participation by union members in community affairs, the AFL-CIO continues to encourage state federations, central labor councils and affiliated local unions to establish community services committees.

We also urge affiliates and local AFL-CIOs to actively recruit volunteers to serve on the boards of voluntary agencies, to work as union counselors, to organize community services committees and to raise money for worthwhile charities.

Union volunteers are also needed to help disadvantaged children in America's cities and suburbs, providing positive role models for kids lured by drugs, crime and teenage pregnancy. We encourage affiliates and central labor councils to sponsor Scout troops, recreational activities and mentoring programs for high risk youth as an alternative to delinquency and despair.

Union retirees are an excellent source of volunteers for community services activities. AFL-CIO Retirement Counseling is an effective program for enriching the lives of retirees and for involving them in the voluntary activities that let them share a lifetime of wisdom and experience. State and local AFL-CIOs need to form retiree committees and sponsor this counseling program.

As we strive to restore an enlightened government activism on behalf of the poor and elderly, the AFL-CIO encourages affiliates to continue to work in partnership with voluntary agencies like United Way, American Red Cross and Boy Scouts of America to help meet the human service needs of the communities in which our members live. Increased labor financial support and volunteer participation on boards and committees should help make these agencies more sensitive to problems of working families and more responsive American workers in need.

Drug and Alcohol Programs

Abuse of drugs and alcohol remains a major social problem in America. The Department of Community Services is working on a practical plan of action for unions which would encompass the work- place, the household and the community.

Member Assistance Program standards have been adopted to help local unions negotiate effective workplace drug abuse programs. Including unions and union volunteers in youth mentoring — such as sponsoring Scout troops for high risk kids — is a key element of anti-drug efforts.

Council Recommendation

The AFL-CIO believes as strongly as anybody in the need for a drug-free America, but we also believe that drug testing legislation can and should include adequate procedural rules and technical safeguards to protect workers' rights, privacy and dignity. We call upon governments and employers who have embarked upon random drug testing to seek a more enlightened approach.

Collective bargaining is the most effective means to develop work place drug programs that emphasize education, privacy and treatment.

Employee Assistance Programs have been initiated by unions in hundreds of workplaces. Such programs treat workers as human beings, not merely as cogs in a machine to be discarded if they have problems. Employee assistance efforts benefit employers and workers alike. Employees keep their jobs and learn to overcome their problems. Employers learn to value their work forces and gain the positive outcomes that follow when employers demonstrate a commitment to their work force. The AFL-CIO is proud of its record in advancing Employee Assistance Programs and will continue to work to promote programs that help workers with special problems live fuller lives at home and at work.

Random drug testing is inconsistent with a worker's basic rights to privacy and dignity. The labor movement will continue to resist invasive and unjustified drug testing.

Workers who test positive under procedures bargained collectively should retain employment status and be guaranteed confidentiality, appropriate treatment and after care, not retribution. Drug testing should not preempt state and local government personnel procedures and, in view of the inexact nature of drug tests and the potential for false positives, should provide access to the courts for wronged employees.

Congress and state legislatures should enact measures requiring drug testing laboratories to meet certification standards established by the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration.

Labor and the World

The dramatic changes on the world scene that have occurred in the past two years have confronted the AFL-CIO with new international challenges and demands. Less dramatic but no less consequential for its work has been the increasing activity of AFL-CIO affiliates in the international labor arena, arising from a heightened awareness of the expanding impact of multinational corporations on their members and the need to enforce internationally recognized worker rights standards.

As AFL-CIO affiliated unions have become more engaged in transnational work — through their International Trade Secretariats, bilateral relations with counterpart organizations abroad and union-to-union programs supported by the AFL-CIO's four international institutes — so have state and local AFL-CIOs looked to the federation for more information and guidance on foreign policy issues.

Africa

In 1989, positive changes in Mozambique led to the re-establishment of trade union ties with the labor movement there. The emergence of an independent Namibia opened the way for future relations with the burgeoning democratic labor movement in that country. The revival of the labor movement in Chad and the renewal of trade union relations with Morocco and Tunisia led to increased contacts and cooperative programs of support for trade unions in those countries.

There were setbacks as well, such as the military coup in Sudan and the suspension of aid to the country. The upheaval in Liberia likewise forced a reduction of support to the labor movement there.

As relations changed between the West and the East, Africans feared that the industrialized nations would provide less support to the developing nations on their continent. This concern, coupled with greater demands for economic reforms, deepened African anxiety and caused further problems.

Most governments responded by nominally legitimizing opposition groups and announcing parliamentary reforms. But some nations, such as Kenya, continued to oppose legitimizing an opposition. In others, such as Sudan, Liberia, Rwanda, Mauritania, and Chad, the conflict over accepting a pluralistic political system led to bloody civil wars.

A positive development came in Angola, where the reconciliation process leading to free elections has been accepted by all parties concerned. In Zaire, Benin, Gabon, Niger, Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Senegal, concessions were made to multiparty systems.

Perhaps the most dramatic political events of the last two years have taken place in South Africa. The release from prison of Nelson Mandela, his historic visit to the AFL-CIO, the government's moves to dismantle apartheid and the involvement of unions in the political process demonstrate that American labor's support for the black South African trade union movement proved to be a key to change.

The development of regional organizations is evidence of the desire of African workers to look beyond national boundaries to address pressing economic and social problems facing their regions. Accordingly, five organizations have been established. These regional organizations play an important role in the struggle for democracy in Africa.

A political byproduct of this regionalization is the status and prestige that such organizations afford their members. By belonging to a strong and active regional body, a member federation enhances its status and strengthens its infrastructure in its own country. The result is greater democracy on the local, regional and international levels.

Asia

Fang Lizhi, the Chinese astrophysicist and recipient of the 1990 George Meany Human Rights Award, has done perhaps more than anyone else to dispel the misconception that democracy and human rights are "Western" concepts. He argues tirelessly that, just as there is no Western physics or Eastern physics, so the principles of democracy and human rights are universal.

Anti-democratic regimes — new and old, communist and non-communist — are reaching out to multinational business for support, and getting it. Thomas A. Seale, executive director of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Thailand, echoing the rulers in Beijing, praised the military coup there as "a great leap forward to a better, Thai-style democracy." One of the first acts of the new Thai regime was to outlaw unions in state enterprises, which form the backbone of the Thai labor movement.

Business executives from the United States, Canada, Japan, Germany and other nations are vying with each other to grab commercial opportunities not only in China but also in Vietnam, Burma, Kuwait, and other countries under autocratic rule. The result is that foreign business people in many Asian countries enjoy human rights denied the local citizens. In Beijing, for example, the American Chamber of Commerce is free to express its views, open an office, and officially register. But the communist regime metes out its severest measures, including executions, for workers who try to do the same.

Local business people from Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea, Hong Kong and Thailand are having their own special impact on the Asian scene: they export

their own rapacious policies and practices. They have built a huge network of commercial relationships with local elites in several Asian countries, which stretches to the Caribbean and Mexico. They use manufacturing facilities and the most vulnerable workers to export an increasing volume of products into the United States.

As a result, the expanding global economy has not benefitted millions of working men, women and children in the Third World. Children as young as seven are members of the industrial work force in some countries producing goods for sale in North America, Europe and Japan. Women, their numbers multiplying in new factories, are victimized not only by substandard wages but by inhuman working conditions and the denial of their right to form unions.

Some countries — principally Mongolia, Nepal and Bangladesh — have made progress toward democracy. Further, the U.S. government shows signs of becoming more sensitive to international worker rights issues.

Central and Eastern Europe

Democratic elections have fundamentally changed the political landscape in Poland, Hungary and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. In addition, the public has rallied around democratically elected leaders to foil a coup attempt in the Soviet Union, giving heart to the prospects of democracy in those republics — including the Baltic States, which were granted independence after 50 years of Soviet occupation. But the future of political democracy was open to question in Albania, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Yet even in the best situations, the new political structure is still fragile. People are fearful of the future, uneasy about what economic reform will mean, and skeptical about the long term. For them, the new democracy too often means inflation and the threat of job loss. In societies where jobs often include a wide variety of social benefits, where housing shortages preclude mobility and where there is little in the way of a social safety net, the prospect of unemployment is frightening. At the work site, fear and skepticism are exacerbated because management remains in the hands of the old apparat.

Except for the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the old communist unions continue to dominate the new democratic trade unions in Central and Eastern Europe. Their grip on the distribution of benefits, their control of vast financial and real estate wealth and their ties to the old management apparat helps them to discriminate against workers in new, democratic trade union organizations.

In this context, the new unions must shoulder tremendous burdens. They must re-define the role of trade unions while creating a new niche for workers' organizations in societies where trade unions historically have been associated with the apparatus of repression. In countries where economic reform is taking shape, the democratic unions are the only institutions that both support painful restructuring and protect the interests of ordinary people whose lives will be most affected by change.

Clearly, the future of fundamental democratic and economic reform will only be partially determined at the parliamentary level. Just as important will be the reaction at the work sites and in the streets, as was demonstrated in the Soviet Union, where an attempted coup led by elements of the KGB, the military and the ex-head of the official trade union movement was thwarted as workers rallied around Boris Yeltsin and respect for the rule of law. The strength of the new democratic trade unions are key to the success of the democratic transformation.

Latin America

The democratic trend in Latin America continued during 1990 and 1991. The greatest impetus came from the Southern Cone — Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay — where civilian governments were installed by open, honest, and peaceful elections.

In Argentina, the successful party in the 1989 election still holds power, despite recurring crises; Brazil in 1990 elected a president by direct popular vote for the first time in a quarter century; Chile finally put an end to the long Pinochet dictatorship with the inauguration of a democratic government; Paraguay followed suit by electing a president to begin rebuilding from the even longer-running Stroessner dictatorship; and in Uruguay, there was another democratic transfer of power.

Even more dramatic developments took place elsewhere in the hemisphere during the past two years. Few close observers of the scene in Haiti believed it was possible to break the hold of the old Duvalier dictatorship by the electoral process, yet it was done in 1990. Tragically, on Sept. 30, 1991, the military overthrew president Aristide in a violent coup strongly protested by the AFL-CIO and international labor organizations, which repledged their commitment to restore legality and democracy in that country. Almost as implausible was the stunning upset victory of Violeta Chamorro when democratic forces rallied behind her to oust the Sandinista dictatorship in what most likely was the only honest election in Nicaraguan history.

Elsewhere in Central America, open and relatively free presidential elections were held in Honduras and Guatemala, with popularly chosen civilian governments taking office during the period. Even though communism was collapsing around the world, a Marxist rebel movement continued to wage war in El Salvador, although a cease-fire agreement in early September promised to ease the heavy toll that left- and right-wing death squads have taken on the civilian population.

Perhaps the most difficult elections to stage and execute, given the circumstances on the ground, were those held in Colombia and Peru. Peruvian authorities openly conceded they were unable to control large areas of the country, while in Colombia the drug lords arranged the murder of several prominent presidential candidates. Yet elections were held and the popular will has so far been respected.

There have been and will continue to be disappointments and flat, unqualified failures as nations proceed along the paths of self-government, and as the hemisphere's democratic experience becomes more deeply rooted through custom and usage, trial and error. But it must also be accepted that the aggregate of that experience has been almost wholly successful, with a few exceptions. The continuing commitment of the hemisphere's democrats, not the least of whom are the AFL-CIO and its counterparts in Latin America and the Caribbean, will build on the momentum already achieved.

In the period under review, the federation has been able to turn its attention to the plight of working men and women in the hemisphere's last remaining dictatorship, Cuba. The initiative stems from the AFL-CIO Executive Council statement of Aug. 1, 1990, which took note of "the increasingly harsh repression . . . fueled by the government's fear that Cuban workers will seek to emulate the democratic revolution sweeping the rest of the globe."

In keeping with its pledge to help Cuban workers build a democratic trade union movement, the AFL-CIO has organized a Labor Committee for a Free Cuba. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland publicly welcomed the Castro government's March 1991 announcement that it would release more Cuban trade unionists from prison. He said U.S. labor would push its campaign for a free Cuba through the international labor movement and official diplomatic channels. The federation is committed to working for an alternative for the Cuban nation: free elections, amnesty for political offenses and respect for worker rights, especially full freedom of association.

The AFL-CIO's war on unfair labor practices in the hemisphere at one point centered on the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) trading privilege. In the past two years, however, the attack has been broadened to target more subtle forms of abuse of internationally recognized worker rights by multinational firms. Chief among these has been the proliferation of export processing zones in the Caribbean and Central America and, more recently, the proposed U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement. While hundreds of thousands of jobs would be negatively affected, the only real beneficiaries of this disastrous undertaking will be the multinational corporations and large banks.

AFL-CIO Activities

Committees

The Subcommittee on Perestroika sought through in-depth meetings with experts to understand the implications of *glasnost* and *perestroika* for workers and the prospects for the emergence of an independent trade union movement. Since 1989, the situation has changed and federation representatives, including Kirkland, have been permitted to travel to the Soviet Union and to meet with

independent trade unionists. Now that such direct contacts have been established, the subcommittee plans to meet in the future on an ad hoc basis as the need arises.

Although established in 1989 before Tiananman Square, the **Subcommittee on China** quickly turned its attention to the plight of workers who had participated in the democracy demonstrations. The subcommittee held numerous meetings with experts and participants in the democracy movement, and with the assistance of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), made contacts with representatives of the new Workers Autonomous Federation who had escaped from China.

In August 1990, Kirkland appointed a **Labor Committee for a Free Cuba**, whose goal is to assist workers inside Cuba to develop free and democratic trade unions. The committee has publicized its work and met with individuals who know of worker rights violations under the Castro regime. The committee also generated a report to the International Labor Organization (ILO), submitted through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

In addition, the committee mounted an international appeal for the release of two trade unionists — Mario Chanes de Armas and Ernesto Diaz — who had been in Cuban jails for more than 25 years. Diaz was released in March and Chanes was released in July. The committee was instrumental in the organization of the “Free Cuba Day” activities in Miami during the February 1991 meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

The **Committee on Defense** was convened to assess the Persian Gulf War, and met on four occasions. It interviewed 12 individuals with a wide variety of perspective on the deployment of American troops in the Gulf and on the use of force against Iraq. They represented Congress, the Executive Branch, the military and the private sector, and included members of Congress, current and former government officials, diplomats, military officials, defense strategists and political activists.

Bilaterals/Labor Summit

In 1990, two bilateral meetings were held with AFL-CIO counterpart organizations abroad.

The first, with the Austrian OeGB, took place in Washington in January. Later in the year, Kirkland made a visit to Vienna at the invitation of the Austrians. At both meetings, issues of interest to both organizations were discussed, including developments in Central and Eastern Europe, comparative social security policies, trade, and the international economy.

The second, in October, was with the Japanese labor federation RENGO and was hosted by the AFL-CIO in Washington. Although this meeting continued a long tradition of annual bilateral meetings, it had special significance as the first meeting with the new RENGO that resulted from the merger of unions in the public and private sectors.

In addition to these bilateral meetings, the federation hosted the 1990 "Labor Summit," which presents to the heads of state of the annual Organization For Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) summit the views of the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD on the major economic issues facing the industrialized democracies.

In March 1991, a bilateral meeting was held with the German Trade Union Confederation (DGB). Its new President, Hans-Werner Meyer met with Kirkland to discuss economics, programs in Central and Eastern Europe, comparisons of the trade union situations in each country, and the problems of German reunification.

A second bilateral meeting was held in April 1991 with the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM). Secretary-Treasurer Donahue led the AFL-CIO delegation in discussions of the proposed U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement and other issues of mutual concern.

Education

The Department of International Affairs organized two regional conferences in 1990. The first, in May, responding to a request from the Connecticut State Federation, spanned two days and provided an overview of the federation's international policies and activities. The second, at the invitation of the South Florida Central Labor Council, in addition to presenting an overview, focused on issues of special interest to the Florida labor community.

The department also continued its annual week-long Training Institute at the George Meany Labor Studies Center. Last December, 25 participants from around the country came together for an intensive educational program whose goal was to enlist, at the local level, support of the international work of the AFL-CIO. In addition to the educational benefits for the participants, the department has found these programs to be a valuable source of feedback from trade unionists around the country.

ITS Conference

In November 1990, the Department sponsored a one-day conference on *The Role of American Labor in the International Trade Secretariats*. The high-level participation in the conference of those affiliates most active in their ITSs reflected their growing awareness of the need for greater cooperation and the exchange of information. Several affiliates were especially interested in learning more about the emerging democratic trade union organizations in Central and Eastern Europe, from whom their ITSs were receiving applications for membership. Others felt that American influence in their ITSs had declined in recent years and that ways needed to be found to reverse this trend.

In cooperation with the Departments of Economic Research and Organization and Field Services, the Industrial Union Department and Food and Allied Service Trades Department, the department held a second conference on *Con-*

fronting the Multinationals in April 1991. The conference focused on helping the affiliates develop more effective strategies for mobilizing international support for corporate campaigns targeting multinational corporations.

Publications

The department continued to produce its monthly *Bulletin of International Affairs*, aimed at keeping trade unionists informed of the federation's international work. A special report, published as a *Bulletin* supplement, focused on "Forced Labor in China." It has been widely distributed among Chinese exiles and in the Chinese-American community.

Three additional reports were published during 1990. The first covered Kirkland's trip to Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The second was entitled *Building Independent Unions in the Soviet Union*. The third reported on Kirkland's August-September trip to Poland and the Soviet Union.

The department also published a pamphlet, *Taming the Economic Jungle*, based on Kirkland's October 1990 address to the Socialist International.

The department continued to supervise the activities of INTERCO Press, an international editorial features service that places articles reflecting AFL-CIO views on a variety of subjects in newspapers around the world. During the past two years, INTERCO Press continued to expand the number of publications in which such articles are published.

International Labor Arena

The volume of work of the AFL-CIO European Office has increased considerably as it participates in a great many activities aimed at Central and Eastern Europe. This includes, among other things, the following: missions to Central and Eastern European countries; efforts to develop an ILO assistance program for Central and Eastern Europe; cooperation with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and participation in the pertinent activities of the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the OECD; and participation in ICFTU activities.

The AFL-CIO European Office also has actively participated in all ICFTU ad hoc consultations and in the newly established Coordinating Committee on Central and Eastern Europe.

European trade unions are pushing very hard for recognition of the social dimension of European unification so that the single market does not only lead to free trade and free movement of workers within Europe, but results in the improvement of social protections and working conditions.

The AFL-CIO European Office continues to work closely with affiliated unions and with ITSs on problems involving American subsidiaries of foreign-based multinational enterprises. Most activities take the form of cooperation with ITS's individual unions and confederations and, through them, occasional direct discussions with company managements. Special attention has been given

to obtaining neutrality in organizing campaigns and recognition based on card checks.

The AFL-CIO filed a complaint with the ILO Committee on Freedom of Association in July 1990 against the U.S. government concerning the legal possibility for employers to permanently replace strikers. The complaint argues that existing U.S. law and practice based on the Supreme Court's 1938 Mackay decision violates the right to strike and undermines free collective bargaining. This complaint was prepared in cooperation with the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. The ILO committee, after hearing this case, ruled in June 1991 that the U.S. government should take into account the fact that, in cases of legal strikes, the use of permanent replacements "entails a risk of derogation from the right to strike, which may affect the free exercise of trade union rights."

The AFL-CIO also filed a complaint with the committee concerning the right to organize and bargain collectively of American public employees. This complaint, which was filed in November 1990, relates to state and local government employees in the 24 states without comprehensive collective bargaining legislation as well as federal employees covered by the Civil Service Reform Act. The complaint was prepared in cooperation with the Public Employee Department of the AFL-CIO.

A complaint was filed with the same ILO committee in May 1990 by the United Food and Commercial Workers over the anti-union campaign of Food Lion, an American subsidiary of the Belgian multinational Delhaize. The complaint is supported by the AFL-CIO and by the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees (FIET), an International Trade Secretariat.

The Committee on Freedom of Association has reached conclusions on numerous American cases in the last few years, including several which involved multinational enterprises. All such cases have focused mainly on delays, cumbersome procedures and the ineffective application of U.S. labor laws.

Ever since it reactivated its affiliation with the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the OECD in 1976, the AFL-CIO has played a very active role in this organization. Over the past 15 years or so, the role assumed by TUAC, the quality of its contribution and the weight it carries within the OECD have increased considerably. In addition to the proposals and position papers it submits to the various OECD meetings and conferences, the TUAC each Spring prepares a comprehensive statement analyzing the economic and social situation, as well as policy proposals. In a growing number of OECD member countries, the statement is used by unions to make presentations with their respective governments during the preparation of these meetings.

The AFL-CIO worked very closely with the ICFTU in a campaign to make consideration of a social clause part of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The ICFTU called on its affiliates throughout the world to intervene with their respective governments in support of a U.S. government proposal for a working party to examine the inclusion of worker rights provision in the GATT. The Uruguay Round failed to reach

agreement, but efforts continue to influence governments on this issue in the hope that a meaningful social clause can be included in future trade agreements.

Visitors Program

The department oversees three trade union exchange programs funded by the United States Information Agency (USIA). One of these programs is sponsored by the USIA's Office of International Visitors. The other two programs, an exchange program for emerging trade union leaders, and the Samuel Gompers Exchange Program for labor leaders from Central and Eastern Europe, are sponsored by the USIA's Office of Citizen Exchange Programs.

In 1990, 125 visiting trade unionists were given the opportunity not only to learn about the policies of the federation, but to meet with their counterparts in AFL-CIO affiliated organizations.

George Meany Human Rights Award

In February 1990, the Executive Council chose the distinguished Chinese dissident leader and astrophysicist Fang Lizhi to receive the 1990 George Meany Human Rights Award. He traveled to Miami Feb. 18, 1991, to receive his prize.

Kazimieras Uoka, Lithuanian trade union leader, was chosen to receive the 1991 George Meany Human Rights Award. Uoka founded and is currently chairman of the Lithuanian Workers Union, and is a member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Worker Rights

The AFL-CIO continued its efforts to deny preferential trade benefits to countries that violate fundamental worker rights, in the belief that such violations are unfair trade practices.

Although the AFL-CIO has been far from satisfied with our government's decisions on our GSP petitions, it is clear that the very threat of the AFL-CIO filing a case against a given country can stimulate efforts toward reform and give encouragement to our trade union friends in that country. For example, an AFL-CIO report on Costa Rican violations of worker rights helped bring about a labor-government dialogue that resulted in several significant changes in the administration of laws on Solidarismo. Meanwhile, representatives of the International Affairs Department, the Institutes and the Economic Research and Legislative Departments have been meeting to consider recommendations for legislation that would change the procedures by which the USTR arrives at decisions in these cases.

In June 1990, the AFL-CIO petition identified nine countries that violated worker rights and should be denied the benefits of the GSP program. They were: Bangladesh, Benin, El Salvador, Haiti, Malaysia, Nepal, Sudan, Syria and Turkey. In addition, the AFL-CIO called for termination of GSP benefits to the Dominican Republic, which already was under review. In August, the Office of the United States Trade Representative announced that it would conduct inves-

tigations of Bangladesh, El Salvador and Sudan, in addition to five continuations from previous years. Four of these continuations (Benin, Haiti, Nepal, Syria) were included in the AFL-CIO petition. Our petitions against Malaysia and Turkey were not accepted for review.

On June 27, 1990, the AFL-CIO presented testimony regarding the reinstatement of GSP benefits for three countries. The AFL-CIO favored reinstatement of benefits for Chile and opposed reinstatement for the Central African Republic and Paraguay. On Feb. 4, 1991, the White House announced that President Bush had reinstated GSP benefits for all three countries.

In April of this year, the USTR announced that Sudan would lose its preferential status under GSP. The USTR will continue its investigations of Bangladesh, El Salvador and Syria; Benin, Haiti, and Nepal were certified as taking steps.

In addition to pursuing worker rights protections through the GSP process, the federation has reached agreement with the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) requiring that language guaranteeing basic worker rights be included in contracts that OPIC signs with American firms seeking OPIC benefits for investments in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Nicaragua and Chile. The AFL-CIO shall continue to press OPIC toward universalizing this contract provision.

African-American Labor Center

The AFL-CIO actively supported the struggle for national independence in Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. Once this independence was gained, it saw the need to continue to support a free and democratic trade union movement that could contribute to nation-building and a sound economy. To carry out this mission, the AFL-CIO created the African-American Labor Center (AALC) in 1964.

The AALC develops programs at the request and with the advice of African trade union federations and carries them out with the knowledge and cooperation of the host government. Each project is designed to insure that all administrative and financial responsibilities are eventually assumed by the African trade unionists themselves.

The AALC has a staff of 18 people in Washington and eight regional and country field representatives. Throughout its 27-year history, the AALC has worked with the labor movements in 45 African countries.

In general, AALC projects involve assistance to the national trade union centers. To meet some of the requests from individual African unions, and to help establish direct relations between American unions and their counterparts in Africa, the AALC coordinates union-to-union programs with AFL-CIO affiliates through their appropriate ITSs.

The AALC currently works with 11 ITSs through their American affiliates to provide assistance for seminars, workshops, study tours, vehicles, equipment and professional expertise for African trade unions.

The AALC has assisted many African trade union federations to establish labor education departments and institutes. The AALC, through the education department of 25 labor federations, Pan-African labor studies institutes and union-to-union cooperation, sponsors approximately 500 seminars each year for 10,000 African trade unionists. Topics include basic trade unionism, advanced training, health and safety, labor research and statistics, women's roles in the trade union movement, and cooperative development.

The AALC's education and research department has been organizing advanced training seminars in the United States since 1984. Union leaders from 30 different African countries have participated. The three-week programs are held at the George Meany Labor Studies Center and cover topics such as American trade unionism, comparative industrial relations, collective bargaining, labor economics, and techniques of worker education.

These leadership training sessions have led participants to develop model courses in trade union administration, collective bargaining, economics, and the role of unions in structural adjustment.

Other related programs include administrative support in the form of office equipment, vehicles and other materials desperately needed in the day-to-day functioning of a union; union medical and social services in the form of support for maternal and child care programs and literacy training; communication and information in the form of printing presses, typewriters, supplies and publications expertise; and cooperative development in the form of loans and seminars to help set up or strengthen union mutual aid societies.

In addition, the AALC arranges study tours for approximately 150 African visitors to the United States each year. This program permits African trade union leaders to become more familiar with the U.S. labor movement and receive technical training not available in Africa. American trade unionists likewise are afforded the opportunity to travel to Africa to offer their expertise in specific areas and to obtain insight into the politics, economics and trade union movements there.

In South Africa, the AALC continued to carry out the AFL-CIO's Program of Action in Support of Black Trade Unions, which supports basic change aimed at eliminating apartheid and hastening the advent of self-determination and majority rule. The AALC also has worked with several international and American trade union organizations in providing assistance to the South African labor movement.

Asian-American Free Labor Institute

The mission of the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) is to assist trade unions in countries throughout Asia, the Pacific and the Near East. In 1991, AAFLI maintained resident representatives in six countries. The backbone of the institute's work is its technical and educational assistance to free trade unions in approximately 30 countries.

Since AAFLI was founded in 1968, more than half a million Asian trade unionists have participated in the institute's training and education programs.

In 1990 alone, almost 46,000 trade unionists took part in 1,227 AAFLI-sponsored education and training seminars, workshops and symposiums.

AAFLI recognizes that securing basic worker rights, whether in law or in fact, is essential for trade unionists to successfully utilize the education and training they receive. To that end, AAFLI uses a variety of tools to advance its worker rights agenda.

The institute assists Asian unions to document violations, initiate media campaigns, hold symposiums and conduct training sessions to promote labor rights standards and insure their enforcement. By monitoring government compliance of enforcement of minimum wage laws in Indonesia and the Philippines, unions assisted by AAFLI have drawn public attention to the issue, helped improve government enforcement and provided a tool to organizers who can point to the unions' effectiveness in protecting their members' interests.

A primary AAFLI goal over the past two years has been to help increase unions' ability to recruit new members and to become financially self-sufficient. For trade unions in the Philippines, for example, winning certification elections was crucial to the growth and strengthening of the free labor movement. Putting unions on a sounder financial base contributed to the process. The Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) was able to use its own newly generated funds and those available from AAFLI to train new organizers and increase assistance to recruitment campaigns in workplaces not yet organized. AAFLI also sponsored a series of programs to strengthen TUCP local unions prior to certification elections through education workshops for rank-and-file members. In Thailand, AAFLI's organizing programs have been one of its most significant contributions to the Thai labor movement. AAFLI-trained organizers have been responsible for more than two-thirds of all the unions organized in Thailand over the past two years. And in Fiji, the technical assistance and education AAFLI has provided to organizers allowed major gains to be made in organizing garment and gold mine workers.

AAFLI also continued to help unions benefit their membership by developing service programs that include components such as cooperatives, medical care and revolving loan funds. In Bangladesh alone, more than 45,000 union members and dependents took part in a union-run medical program sponsored by the Institute.

Another aspect of AAFLI's international solidarity work involves facilitating communication and contact between American unions and their brothers and sisters in similar industries overseas. In 1990, the union-to-union program assisted 10 AFL-CIO affiliates in meeting with Asian counterparts and conducting programs with them. Union-to-union program activities include trade union education courses; special international and regional seminars and conferences on a variety of subjects; organizing campaigns; and the publication of trade union journals and educational materials.

The program also brings foreign trade unionists to the United States for special training and sends experienced American union officials overseas to take part in programs. Since 1968, 119 regional seminars and conferences and 212 country education and organizing seminars have been held under this program.

American Institute for Free Labor Development

The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), founded in 1962 to serve as the AFL-CIO's operating arm in Latin America and the Caribbean, has provided advanced training for 5,000 labor leaders from the region. In recent years, this training has been offered at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies. The great bulk of AIFLD's assistance to the democratic labor movement in the hemisphere, however, has taken place in the field, where more than 600,000 trade unionists from more than two dozen countries have attended AIFLD-sponsored labor education courses or have otherwise benefitted from the institute's year-round trade union development programs.

AIFLD's program is supported by Congress through the Agency for International Development (AID) and to a lesser degree by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Several of the AFL-CIO's individual affiliated unions contribute financially and in kind to trade union development programs sponsored by the federation, AID and NED. Special AIFLD programs are tailored as well for the needs of farm workers, or campesinos, throughout the region. From time to time, AIFLD operations are augmented by special congressional appropriations provided for democratic development programs, as was done to support free elections in Chile, Haiti and Nicaragua during the period under review.

The core of AIFLD's regular education program is concentrated on trade union development in the urban sector, in the cities and towns of the region and with agrarian workers who also are in need of the protection of organized unions and agricultural cooperatives in Latin America's vast rural sector. This training is offered in special programs at the George Meany Center and in residential, evening and weekend courses on site in the field.

On the average, AIFLD operates up to eight courses per academic year at the center and several hundred one-day, one-week, weekend and evening courses annually in more than 20 countries. Several of these courses are offered on a regional basis, permitting participants from more than one country to participate in the same training program. During the period under review, the center programs and those offered in the field attracted an average of 350 and 43,000 students, respectively.

AIFLD continued during the period to supply modest grants and credits from its regional revolving loan fund and the AFL-CIO Impact Projects fund. These financed social and community development projects sponsored by democratic labor organizations in the region. AIFLD also developed a unique foundation in El Salvador that will combine the efforts of labor and management in financing substantial projects for low-income groups in the country. Naturally, the emphasis in project development will be on union-sponsored programs. This concept will be replicated in other countries.

AIFLD also continued to support union-to-union cooperation throughout Latin America and the Caribbean among AFL-CIO affiliated unions and their counterpart ITSS. It has organized and promoted special programs to advance, protect and strengthen human and trade union rights in the hemisphere, through

wide-ranging activities supported by NED. Among the more effective of these programs in promoting democratic trade union solidarity in the Americas is the reciprocal exchange program with U.S. and Central American trade unionists.

Free Trade Union Institute

The AFL-CIO founded the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) in 1977, primarily to administer programs of support for democratic trade unions in Spain and Portugal, as those countries struggled to undo the legacy of decades of fascist rule.

FTUI's responsibilities expanded in 1983, with the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Founded by the AFL-CIO and other private sector groups, NED focuses on programs that promote the democratic prospect throughout the world.

From a practical standpoint, the democratic unions of Central and Eastern Europe face common problems. Without exception, the workers who organized these new unions started from scratch. Few of the new union leaders had any notion of how to organize and administer a democratic trade union. The problems of leadership relating to the rank and file and the provision of services to the members were entirely new. Collective bargaining was an unknown art.

The AFL-CIO and the FTUI have tailored the early assistance programs to address these needs, using funds from the NED and AID. The first programs included basic infrastructure support, with an emphasis on giving the unions the ability to communicate with their affiliates and new members. The assistance included copiers, newsprint, facsimile machines, mimeographs, computers and printers, filing cabinets and minivans — what has come to be known as "liberation technology."

Such assistance helped some of these new organizations, such as FRATIA in Romania, to manage more effectively the large numbers of workers who joined its ranks after Ceausescu fell. For Podkrepa in Bulgaria and the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions in Hungary, this assistance enabled them to play significant roles in crucial early elections, as well as to organize and represent new members. Such basic assistance continues to be particularly vital in Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia, where economic problems and the lack of hard currency make the purchase of equipment and supplies quite difficult.

Many of the AFL-CIO's activities throughout Central and Eastern Europe are conducted in close cooperation with the ICFTU. FTUI contributes one-third of the costs of the ICFTU's local educational program costs in the region, and sponsors the participation in that program of skilled American union staff and labor educators. The first education programs focused on organizing and collective bargaining. Programs carried out in 1991 focused on social security, trade union publications, and membership services, among other topics.

There is an urgent and immediate need for sector-specific assistance in the region and such programs form a significant part of FTUI's 1991 program. In

all of these countries, unions in specific industries are reaching out to their counterparts in similar crafts and industries for assistance. Their needs are basic. Because these unionists are building new institutions from the ground up, they must quickly develop research, communications, organization and administrative capabilities. At the same time, they need counsel on an array of policy issues.

These union-to-union programs are not simply specialized technical aid. They are attempts to take advantage of the natural affinity and feelings of fraternity among workers in like trades and industries in different countries. Traditionally, such relationships are a safety net for democratic trade unionists in repressive environments. Trade unionists in Central and Eastern Europe depend upon their friends outside the region for support. The AFL-CIO has learned through its worldwide experiences that successes, setbacks and failures in the labor movement of one country can resonate throughout a region. The most dramatic example of this was *Solidarnosc* in Poland.

Solidarnosc went through a major transformation with Poland's first elections in 1989. Many of its activists entered government at various levels. The recent election of Lech Walesa as president of Poland and the 1991 spring parliamentary elections brought further changes. In late February 1991, *Solidarnosc* elected a new national and regional leadership.

This was a watershed period for *Solidarnosc*. Throughout the 1980s, the movement spearheaded the fight for democracy in Poland. With a democratically elected parliament finally in place, *Solidarnosc* began to focus its energies on the workplace and to set about the task of creating an industrial democracy in Poland. The old Communist Union, OPZZ, still has a larger membership and, as the pain of economic reform grows, has found a new role as spokesman for the disenchanted. OPZZ also owns and controls far greater resources than *Solidarnosc*, because the government up to now has been unwilling to challenge the immense property and financial holdings the communists accumulated under the old regime.

Solidarnosc continues to be an inspirational model for workers throughout Central and Eastern Europe. The challenge of securing democracy and the fruits of democratic victory reaped by ordinary people will dominate the debate throughout the region in the foreseeable future.

The emergence of the free trade union movement in the USSR in 1989 and its growth in 1990 and 1991 has introduced an important new force for democratic change onto the Soviet scene. Strikes by miners in the USSR have won the support of as many as a million workers. Strikes in the Ukraine affected ten percent of the republic's workplaces. Still, at this point, the free trade union movement in the Soviet Union is not a single, cohesive force, represented by one democratic organization.

Rather, there is a series of structures each with basic needs for organizational infrastructure support and educational initiatives. There exists a loose coalition of free trade unions, democratic worker clubs, and strike movements, as well as an emerging, mass-based miners trade union. Also, trade union structures are emerging on the level of various republics, such as the Lithuanian

Workers Union, the Solidarity Trade Unions of Ukraine and the Strike Committees of the Ukraine.

In addition, there are a number of important local and regional efforts to consolidate workers in a variety of crafts, trades, and professions. These are represented by such recently formed groups as the Union of Workers of the Kuzbass (in the Russian Republic) and the Union of Workers of Karaganda (in Kazakhstan).

In the last year, the AFL-CIO and FTUI have had the opportunity to observe the first two congresses of the independent miners movement of the USSR. They have also observed meetings of leaders of the Confederation of Labor and of the Strike Committees in Ukraine. On Sept. 3, 1990, Kirkland, at the head of an AFL-CIO delegation, met with nearly 100 free trade union leaders from around the USSR at a Labor Day gathering in Moscow at Spaso House, the residence of the U.S. Ambassador to the USSR.

A series of AFL-CIO and FTUI visits to the USSR and the Baltic states in 1990 and 1991, as well as a reciprocal visit of mine worker strike committee activists in January 1990 have been held. In January 1991, the AFL-CIO hosted a delegation of 15 free trade union leaders from Russia, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan and the Ukraine.

Council Recommendation

Democratic Transition in Africa

Significant changes are occurring throughout Africa, opening new opportunities for democratic trade unionism. Marxist regimes are toppling, and the autocratic, single-party ruling establishments throughout the continent are acknowledging the need for a transition to democracy characterized by multiparty parliamentary systems.

Most African governments have bent before the winds of change by nominally legitimizing opposition groups and announcing parliamentary reforms. Some continue to deny the legitimacy of the opposition. In a number of African states, the conflict over accepting a pluralistic political system unleashed bloody civil wars. In others, however, concessions to a multiparty democracy have been made.

In certain countries, the trade union movement has been in the forefront of the struggle towards a pluralistic society. Support for trade unions in these countries helps to ensure progress toward a democratic system in which all citizens and all workers can benefit.

In South Africa the AFL-CIO will persist in its support of the fight to end apartheid and construct a non-racial, democratic society. Parliamentary repeal of apartheid legislation must take root on the community level. Peace accords must be followed by national compliance and vigilant enforcement. Multiparty conferences must be expeditiously convened and impasses resolved through

negotiations. A government representative of all South Africans must be in place to determine national issues and persevere in establishing an equitable society.

The AFL-CIO will continue to:

- Support the black trade union movement in South Africa.
- Promote the growth of free and democratic national trade union movements throughout Africa to bring about social justice for the working people.
- Cooperate with regional and pan-African trade union organizations to confront common regional problems, coordinate activities, and secure equal terms and conditions of work.
- Forge union-to-union ties between African and American trade union counterparts.
- Press for full trade union independence from governments and political parties, and for securing and protecting worker and human rights.

Asia

The past two years have seen a confluence of anti-democratic interests in Asia. Some governments are run by communist parties — China, Vietnam, and North Korea. Others are ruled by military juntas, as in Burma and Thailand, while old-fashioned strongmen hold sway in places like Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. All these states seek to promote corporate interests at the expense of their workers' basic rights and livelihood. Their common contention is that promotion of democracy and trade union rights by outsiders constitutes interference in their nation's internal affairs and that western concepts of democracy and human rights simply do not apply. Evidence of a resurgent independent labor movement in countries such as Indonesia and underground organizations in China demonstrates that workers do not agree.

The AFL-CIO affirms its support for and solidarity with the workers living in the Asian autocracies in their struggle to build unions and promote labor and democratic rights. It also reiterates its support for those workers who are struggling to build and defend the fragile democracies in countries such as Bangladesh and the Philippines. By doing so, the AFL-CIO plays an important role in defending workers, including women and children, against the exploitation of multinational and foreign national corporations, against forced labor, and, by extension, continues the fight for the rights of workers here at home.

The Middle East

Early in the year, a broad alliance of countries under the auspices of the United Nations turned back Iraq's aggression in Kuwait. For trade unionists, the war in the Gulf focused well-deserved attention on the sorry state of democracy, the general lack of worker rights and the extreme exploitation of migrant

workers in the Middle East. The AFL-CIO calls for the U.S. government and governments in the region to address these pressing problems, while the situation is still fluid and amenable to reform. Until these issues are addressed, the community of nations that fought to restore Kuwait's sovereignty can not claim any final victory.

One of the positive results of the Gulf War was to create an environment in which a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute may now be possible. In this context, the AFL-CIO reiterates its support for Israeli democracy and in particular the Israeli trade union movement, and calls for concerted effort by the U.S. government and all parties involved to take concrete steps that can lead to a lasting peace. Such steps must insure the legitimate security needs of Israel, as well as other countries in the region.

International Worker Rights

Prison labor in China, child labor in Bangladesh, the discharge of union members by a U.S. corporation in Malaysia, crass exploitation of migrant workers in Saudi Arabia, are all examples of the growing victimization of working men, women, and children in today's global economy. Because of the growing vulnerability of workers in the international marketplace, the AFL-CIO dedicates itself to the struggle for international worker rights on every possible front.

The decision to extend or withhold trade privileges is an especially useful lever in this struggle; the federation will continue its efforts to persuade the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government to enforce and improve worker rights provisions in American trade law.

Under the provisions of the GSP law, our government grants trading privileges to countries unless private U.S. organizations, through a system of petitions, can persuade the president that workers in those nations are indeed being denied their trade union rights. The administration has leaned over backwards to not take countries off the GSP even though strong cases have been presented against them. The AFL-CIO believes the present procedure needs to be improved so that firmer action and a quicker response is taken by the executive branch in countries where workers' rights are not observed. The inclusion of worker-rights provisions in the contracts signed by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and U.S. companies investing abroad can also provide important protections for workers abroad.

Both the U.S. government and intergovernmental agencies must improve their collection of information about what is happening in the international labor market, especially regarding working women and children. Such information is woefully inadequate for South Korea, Malaysia, and other Asian countries playing large roles in the global economy.

Because of its size and the enormity of the repression there, China is a crucial test of the U.S. commitment to human rights. The United States must keep up the pressure against China to respect human rights. The Bush Admini-

istration must focus not simply on the Chinese government, but also on U.S. and foreign firms doing business there. Private groups and consumers can contribute to an international pressure campaign aimed at liberalizing Chinese society.

For example, the AFL-CIO supports the national consumer boycott of made-in-China toys (the "Toycott") launched by Frontlash and pro-democracy Chinese and Tibetan organizations. This and other grassroots initiatives are needed to persuade governmental and corporate policymakers to pay attention to human rights issues.

Soviet Union, the Baltic States and Central and Eastern Europe

Throughout Central and Eastern Europe, countries that were totalitarian in their political and economic structures for nearly half a century are engaged in an unprecedented revolution: the creation of societies with a democratic political framework and free market economic policies. Such a wholesale reorganization of society necessarily creates insecurity and tension as the economic rules and guarantees around which working people ordered their lives are removed or dramatically altered.

By protecting the interests of working people, and by playing a full role in the debate over social and economic policies, unions protect democratic values. There is a tendency by leaders in Central and Eastern Europe to believe that unregulated free markets are a panacea. As workers in countries with market-oriented economies have learned, however, freedom and democracy do not flow automatically from the free market. A commitment to free market economics must be tempered by a sober dedication to social justice, fairness and compassion.

The attempt and failure of the August 1991 coup is a sign of the growing power of democratic ideas throughout the unravelling USSR. The coup failed in large measure thanks to the steadfast resistance of workers in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, Moldavia, and the Baltic States. The essential role of working people was underscored by Boris Yeltsin in the first hours of the coup when he called on workers to stage a general strike against the illegal takeover of power.

Predictably, the official party-controlled General Confederation of Trade Unions (VKP) ignored Yeltsin's call and instead offered a justification for an iron hand to save the country from impending "chaos" while urging workers not to disrupt economic production.

The aftermath of the coup has seen the continuing disintegration of the Communist Party, the discrediting of its puppet institutions, the collapse of central power, and the restoration of independence for Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Power, now, is devolving to the republics with proposals to radically

restructure the USSR as an economic commonwealth, modeled on the European Community.

In all these transformations, the AFL-CIO will continue to be guided by one fundamental principle: only a strong democratic trade union movement will be able to ensure a stable democracy in whatever takes the place of the former USSR.

The AFL-CIO, for its part, pledges to assist the emerging free trade union movements in the republics and in the newly free states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. We will make every effort to respond with material and technical assistance, channelling such aid through the vibrant democratic trade unions that are emerging to give workers an authentic voice, while refusing to work through discredited appendages of the old Communist order.

The outcome of the fight for democracy and social justice in Central and Eastern Europe will have a profound impact on the future of workers in the United States. The AFL-CIO is committed to this struggle, at home and abroad, through its continuing support for free and independent trade unions in Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic States and the Soviet Union.

Solidarista Associations

Employers in Central America, with the collaboration of several conservative governments, are promoting the formation of "Solidarity" associations that are clearly intended to replace free trade unions. These company unions eliminate collective contracts, wage negotiations, and grievance procedures. On occasion, U.S. taxpayers' money has been used by the Bush Administration to promote the creation of these organizations. The AFL-CIO opposes any recognition of Solidarista associations as being representative of labor, and urges Congress to assure that U.S. public funds are no longer used to promote the Solidarista concept.

El Salvador

Peace talks between the government and rebel sides in the Salvadoran civil war, being held under the auspices of a United Nations mediator, offer considerable hope for an end to that tragic conflict. The AFL-CIO suggests that there be very substantial reductions in the size of the Salvadoran military, as well as the disbanding of the FMLN guerrilla armies, and that such reductions in size be monitored by the United Nations.

At present, the Salvadoran military continues to rage out of civilian control, committing atrocities against the nation's citizenry in general and all-too-often against worker and peasant representatives in particular. Of particular pain to the AFL-CIO is the fact that a decade after the murders of our trade union brothers Rodolfo Viera, Michael Hammer, and Mark Pearlman, the killers go unpunished. The establishment of an effective judicial system is so crucial to the development of democracy in El Salvador, and the subordination of the military authorities to that judiciary so important, that until these requirements

of democracy are achieved, the AFL-CIO continues its opposition to any military aid to El Salvador.

Cuba

It is time for Castro to go the way of the fallen Communist tyrants of the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe. The AFL-CIO Labor Committee for a Free Cuba has documented that government labor fronts are imposed on the workers in place of free trade unions, partisan and ideological discrimination is openly applied in hiring decisions, workers are compelled to work extra hours without pay, and those who have dared to try to form free trade unions remain imprisoned under inhuman conditions. The AFL-CIO calls upon free trade union confederations and democratic governments throughout the world to show their solidarity with Cuba's oppressed workers, publicize the deplorable situation there, and condition any aid to or trade with Cuba on allowing full exercise by Cuban workers of their rights to organize, bargain, and strike.

National Defense

Repeatedly over the years, the AFL-CIO has insisted that spending for national defense, and the configuration of our military forces, should be determined by a single consideration: the nature and extent of the external threat to our national security. We correspondingly argued that levels of social spending should be driven by social needs, and that the two should not be confused.

The radical changes that have occurred in East-West relations dramatically reduce the threat to U.S. national security and now allow for significant reductions in military spending. We are encouraged by the substantial cuts in military arsenals and manpower undertaken by both sides.

The Federation urges that reductions in military spending be applied to meeting our urgent and growing social problems at home. Job opportunities and appropriate training must be provided for workers adversely affected by cuts in defense spending, and communities hurt by base closings must receive Federal assistance to help them get back on their feet. The Administration must commit itself to convert abandoned military facilities into socially useful enterprises.

The AFL-CIO's Committee on Defense will continue to monitor closely the government's shifting policies on defense, their budgetary consequences, and their impact on American workers.

Labor and the Law

Labor-Management Relations Cases

Introduction

During the past two years, the Supreme Court decided 16 cases involving the principal federal statutes regulating labor-management relations. Looking at the won-lost statistics and nothing else, the picture appears favorable in a majority of these cases. Workers and unions prevailed. But looking behind the results at why the cases came out as they did, shows no cause for celebration.

First, many of the cases in which workers and unions prevailed involved employer challenges to predictable, moderate administrative agency decisions. The Court's "pro worker/pro-union" decisions are thus far more accurately described as "pro-agency" decisions, reflecting the Court's stated preference for judicial deference to the agencies far more than any solicitude for worker or union rights.

Second, the administrative agencies which issued those favorable decisions have time and again demonstrated their sympathy for management prerogatives, their willingness to narrowly construe workers' rights, and their inclination to alter previously settled law in management's interests. Most of the unsuccessful employer efforts at the Supreme Court level are thus failed efforts to push the agencies to even more anti-worker and anti-union positions than the agencies otherwise take on their own. Few, if any, are examples of employer challenges to agency actions seeking to expand workers' rights beyond the prior law.

Third, the few cases in which the Court reversed an administrative agency decision — or in which a significant number of justices argued for such a reversal — involved employer challenges to pro-worker or pro-union agency decisions. This is not a Court prone to sustain a challenge to an agency position because the agency construed worker rights or union rights too narrowly. Indeed, the Court in exercising its discretionary jurisdiction routinely rejects worker and union requests to hear the cases lost in the increasingly anti-worker and anti-union administrative agencies and lower federal courts.

For all of these reasons, the fact that the trade union movement did as well as it has should not be taken as an indication that the labor law is developing in a favorable way. The trend is a source of some satisfaction only to the extent it reflects the Court's disposition not to push the adverse development of the labor

law beyond its current path, and not to accept the arguments of the employers and right-wing zealots who agitate for even more anti-worker, anti-union results.

The National Labor Relations Act

The Court reviewed three National Labor Relations Board decisions, upholding the board in all three cases. In two of the cases, the board had adopted rules favorable to unions and in one case the board had narrowed union rights.

The NLRA case of greatest significance during the past two terms was undoubtedly *American Hospital Association v. NLRB*, in which the Court unanimously upheld the NLRB's 1990 rules defining appropriate bargaining units in acute care hospitals. The *Hospital Association* decision ended more than 15 years of legal confusion regarding appropriate hospital collective bargaining units and did so in a way that is generally favorable to the right to organize.

Since 1974, when Congress amended the NLRA to cover non-profit hospitals, the NLRB and the lower federal courts had repeatedly disagreed over the proper approach with respect to defining hospital bargaining units. As a result of this confusion, hospitals had for years been able to resist unionization efforts simply by engaging in prolonged litigation before the NLRB and the courts over the unit definition question.

In response, the NLRB — for the first time in its history — engaged in a substantive rulemaking proceeding. The resulting rule establishes eight presumptively acceptable units for hospital employees, generally paralleling the unit configuration urged by the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

The hospitals vigorously argued to the Supreme Court both that the NLRB had no authority to engage in rulemaking on bargaining unit issues and that the board had erred in permitting as many units as the rule provides. The Court rejected these arguments and upheld the NLRB's rulemaking authority and then deferred to the board's judgments embodied in the substantive rule.

In *NLRB v. Curtin Matheson Scientific, Inc.*, the Supreme Court again upheld a ruling of the NLRB that was favorable to unions, and again based its decision on deference to the agency. In this instance, however, the decision was only by a 5-4 vote, and the substance of the victory was far more modest. *Curtin Matheson* involved an employer who had permanently replaced most of his workers when they participated in a lawful economic strike. The employer then refused to bargain further with the strikers' union on the theory that once a majority of his workers were replacements, the union could no longer claim majority status. The NLRB held that the employer violated NLRA §§8(a)(1)&(5) by presuming that strike replacements opposed union representation without "objective evidence" of their opposition sufficient to create a "good-faith doubt." Out of deference to the NLRB, a slim majority of the Court upheld this ruling, concluding that the board was not unreasonable in reaching the conclusion that strike replacements may desire union representation after the controversies surrounding the strike have receded.

It is important to recognize the narrowness of the *Curtin Matheson* decision. The Court in no way questioned or interfered with the so-called "right" of employers to permanently replace strikers. Nor did the decision question the NLRB's underlying rule that employers may — without any decertification election — renounce long-standing bargaining relationships on the basis of "objective evidence sufficient to generate a good faith doubt" as to the union's continued majority status. Nevertheless, the decision did narrowly allow the NLRB to reject the automatic rule urged by employers that unions lose their status whenever an employer is able to hire a majority of permanent replacements.

In a third NLRB case, *Litton Financial Printing Division v. NLRB*, the Court upheld a decision of the NLRB that narrowly construed workers' rights under the NLRA and that narrowly construed prior Supreme Court decisions that had given far broader effect to the NLRA's workers' rights provisions. The board ruling in question permitted an employer who, after the expiration of a collective bargaining agreement, unilaterally laid off employees without regard to seniority to refuse to submit the union's grievance on the layoffs to arbitration. The Court accepted the board's conclusion that the employer's renunciation of arbitration does not constitute an improper unilateral change in employment conditions. In so doing, the Court also accepted the board's narrow construction of earlier Supreme Court precedents that had prohibited unilateral employer changes in conditions of employment and had established a presumption that an arbitration agreement survives a contract's expiration when the dispute concerns the expired contract's terms.

The Duty of Fair Representation

In the most significant of its three duty of fair representation cases, the Court made clear that unions continue to have a broad discretion to determine how best to serve the interests of the employees the union represents. In *ALPA v. O'Neill*, a group of former Continental pilots challenged the union's strike settlement by alleging that the agreement prejudiced their rights. The Court made clear that in order to prevail against their union, employees have to show that the union action is "discriminatory," "in bad faith," or "so far outside of a wide range of reasonableness that it [was] wholly irrational or arbitrary." It is not sufficient for the employees to show that the union action was negligent, unwise, or more favorable to one group of employees than another.

The two remaining duty of fair representation decisions, however, are, in contrast, likely to stimulate more litigation in this area, not less.

In *Breiner v. Sheet Metal Workers*, the Court held that a union's discriminatory operation of a hiring hall constitutes a breach of the duty of fair representation redressable in court without regard to whether the alleged wrong would also be an unfair labor practice within the NLRB's jurisdiction.

Chauffeurs v. Terry holds that employees have a right to a jury trial in any duty of fair representation action seeking monetary relief from a union. Jury trials are, of course, far less predictable than trials before judges. In particular, juries are more likely to hold in favor of individual plaintiffs and against

institutions; and, in the duty of fair representation context, a union may be perceived as an impersonal institution with "deep pockets". Thus, by assuring a right to a jury trial for those who bring DFR actions, the Supreme Court has increased the risk that unions may be held liable in DFR cases even when the union's actions are entirely proper.

Union Security

In *Abood v. Detroit Board of Education*, decided in 1977, the Court held that, in the public sector, nonmember employees who voice an objection cannot be compelled to financially support union activities that are political or ideological in nature and are unrelated to collective bargaining. In *Lenhert v. Ferris Faculty Assoc.*, the Court further defined what sorts of expenditures may be charged to objecting nonmembers who work in the public sector, and what sorts may not be charged.

Most importantly, the justices agreed unanimously that unions do not have to break down their collective bargaining expenditures in calculating the fee charged to objectors on a bargaining unit by bargaining unit basis. Both the majority opinion and Justice Scalia's partial dissent recognized that it is normal for unions to pool resources among various units and to deploy such resources in the various units as needed. The Court left a measure of confusion, however, since Justice Blackmun, joined by three other justices, would require at least some litigation expenses, requiring those expenses to be broken down by bargaining unit; Justices Marshall and Kennedy expressly disagreed with that part of Justice Blackmun's opinion, and the three other justices did not squarely address the issue.

Lenhert holds, too, that only public sector lobbying necessary to implement a collective bargaining agreement may be charged to objectors. With respect to other miscellaneous cost items, the Court held that objecting nonmembers can be charged for the costs of informing employees of various employment-related services, of preparing for a strike — even though the strike itself would be unlawful under state law — and of various union meetings; objecting nonmembers cannot be charged for the costs of public relations programs intended to improve the image of the employees' profession.

In *Keller v. State Bar of California*, the Court for the first time applied the law developed in *Abood v. Detroit Board of Education* outside the collective bargaining context. In essence, the *Keller* opinion extends to state bar associations the rule covering public sector labor unions so that objecting lawyers may be compelled to financially support lobbying by their state bar association only to the extent that the lobbying is reasonably related to regulating the legal profession or improving the quality of legal services.

Federal Labor Law Preemption

In *Steelworkers v. Rawson*, the Supreme Court rejected efforts to hold unions liable to employees as a matter of state tort law for conduct relating to the unions' collective bargaining functions. After a mine accident, the families

of some of the victims sued the union and claimed that the union was liable in damages under state tort law if, after negotiating safety provisions in the collective bargaining agreement, the union was negligent in its safety enforcement efforts.

The Supreme Court held that only federal law — not state law — could impose on the union a duty to employees based on the union's status as collective bargaining representative or on the union's enforcement of the collective bargaining agreement. The Court held also that under the relevant federal law — the law setting out the duty of fair representation — the union could not be held liable for mere negligence in its contract enforcement actions, or for decisions within the union's broad discretion regarding how best to enforce its contracts. Thus, like *ALPA v. O'Neill*, *Rawson* reflects the current Court's belief that a union must be accorded broad latitude in choosing how best to represent the interests of the workers it represents.

Golden State Transit Corp. v. Los Angeles involved efforts by a taxi company to collect damages against a municipality for business losses caused by the municipality's unlawful efforts to revoke the company's license during a strike in order to force the company to settle. The Court held that NLRA preemption rules establish "rights" — whether express or implied — that can be the basis for a damages action in federal court under 42 U.S.C. §1983, which allows suits against a person who "under color of state law" violates a federal right. In this case, the employer could recover damages for the city's interference with its implied NLRA "right" to resist union demands free of local government sanction. While *Golden State* allowed an employer a federal action for damages, the same reasoning may well allow unions and workers to sue public entities or officers for damages when these entities or officers interfere with NLRA §7 rights.

In another case involving issues of federal preemption, *English v. General Electric Co.*, the Court ruled that an employee who was fired after reporting violations of nuclear-safety standards at the nuclear facility where she worked could pursue a state-law tort claim for intentional infliction of emotional distress as well as a claim under a federal "whistleblower" law that prohibits retaliation against employees for reporting safety violations in the nuclear industry. A state court had dismissed the employee's state-law claim on the ground that federal law preempted the field of nuclear safety regulation. The Supreme Court reversed, holding that neither Congress' general regulation of the nuclear-safety field, nor the provisions of the particular federal statute, barred the employee from asserting her state-law tort claim against her employer.

The Federal Labor Relations Act

The Supreme Court reviewed two decisions of the Federal Labor Relations Authority that had been favorable to unions. Both involved the scope of collective bargaining in the federal sector. The Court affirmed one of these FLRA decisions and reversed the other.

In *Fort Stewart Schools v. FLRA*, the Court agreed with the FLRA's holding that federal unions have the right to bargain regarding the wage levels of the

small number of federal employees whose wages are not set by statute. But in *Department of the Treasury v. FLRA* the Court rejected the FLRA's position that federal unions can bargain to include disputes over an agency's adherence to federal rules on the contracting out of work within their contract's grievance-arbitration procedures. Given the Court's general trend of upholding agency interpretations of the statutes that the agencies are charged with administering, the Court's willingness to overturn the FLRA in *Department of Treasury* can only be seen as a reflection of the Court's unease with the right of federal employees to engage in collective bargaining accorded by the FLRA.

Other Labor Relations Cases

The Court gave a broad interpretation to a candidate for union office's right to make mailings to the union's membership in *Masters Mates & Pilots v. Brown*. The Landrum-Griffin Act requires unions to comply with "all reasonable requests of any candidate" for distribution of campaign literature to the membership at the candidate's expense. In *Brown* the Court held that in determining the "reasonableness" of a candidate's request, the courts should not give any deference to a union's internal rules. Although the issue in *Brown* is of quite limited effect, the decision indicates that the Court, although solicitous of institutional concerns generally, showed no such concern with preserving a measure of flexibility for unions in their internal affairs.

Norfolk and Western Railway Company v. American Train Dispatchers again shows little respect for the rights of unions — or workers. The *Norfolk and Western* case involved the interaction of the Interstate Commerce Act (ICA) and the Railway Labor Act. The Interstate Commerce Commission has authority to approve certain consolidations of transportation carriers and to exempt those carriers from the antitrust laws and "all other" laws, as necessary to carry out the consolidation. Interpreting this ICC authority very broadly — and the RLA's protections quite narrowly — the Court held that this provision authorized the ICC to exempt carriers involved in approved consolidations not only from the RLA but from the provisions of collective bargaining agreements that had been negotiated pursuant to the RLA as well.

Groves v. Ring Screw Works was the lone case involving §301 of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 which concerns the enforcement of collective bargaining agreements. The agreement at issue in the case reserved to either party the right to refuse to submit grievances to arbitration. It was plain that in the face of such a refusal, the other party would gain the right to resort to economic action. When the employer refused to arbitrate a wrongful discharge grievance, the union, however, chose not to strike, but to seek enforcement of the contract by bringing an action in federal court. The employer argued that the inference raised by the contract language and substance is that the union retained only the right to strike over alleged contract breaches. The Court held that, because of the interest in industrial peace, any limit on the right to enforce a contract would have to be explicit. The contract's specific reservation of the right to strike thus did not prevent the union from bringing suit.

Employment Discrimination Cases

Of the Supreme Court's eleven decisions involving discrimination in employment, three concerned major substantive issues, four raised significant procedural issues, and the remaining four raised narrow, technical procedural issues. Surprisingly, in an increasingly conservative Court, the plaintiffs prevailed in eight of these cases, and did so either by unanimous votes or by substantial margins.

As was true in the labor relations area, it would be a mistake to read too much into the bare numbers. The fact that most of the cases were procedural — and the further fact that many were of marginal significance — tends to explain why the tally sheet adds up as it does. That explanation gains added credence from the further facts that of the three major, substantive cases, plaintiffs prevailed only in *UAW v. Johnson Controls*; and that of the procedural cases, the plaintiffs lost in *Gilmer v. Interstate/Johnson Lane Corp.*, the case with the largest potential impact.

It is significant, too, that nearly half of the cases — five of eleven — were Age Discrimination in Employment Act cases, while the remainder were split between allegations of race, sex, and national origin discrimination. This division follows the trend in the lower federal courts. It is difficult to believe that the reason age cases are the most predominant category is because there is more discrimination based on age than on other proscribed factors. It is more likely that the number of age discrimination cases is increasing because the age discrimination statute, in contrast to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, provides for damages in addition to back pay, and for jury trials; and because age discrimination is particularly likely to harm higher paid, executive employees who have more incentive to bring suit and more in the way of resources with which to do so.

The Substantive Employment Discrimination Cases

UAW v. Johnson Controls, the most important Supreme Court Title VII case, involved an employer policy that excluded fertile women generally from lead-exposed jobs on the ground that there is reason to believe that lead at low exposure levels can create subtle learning disabilities in any fetuses the women may conceive while employed. The lower courts had uniformly held that such "fetal protection" policies are not per se violations of Title VII. The Supreme Court disagreed, and held that such policies are invalid per se.

The five-justice majority (including the newly-appointed Justice Souter), ruled that Congress left to each woman, and not to her employer or to the courts, the decision "whether a woman's reproductive role is more important to herself and her family than her economic role." Justice Scalia agreed with the majority's broad holding, with minor caveats. Three members of the Court — Justices White, Kennedy, and Rehnquist — would have held that fetal protections policies may be valid in very narrow circumstances.

We cannot be certain, of course, why *Johnson Controls* was decided as it was, with none of the justices showing much sympathy for the employer's position despite that position's obvious emotional appeal. Apparently, however, the case turned on the Court's unwillingness to credit the company's assertion that its policy was a product of pure altruism. While this Court has proved willing to preserve employer discretion where doing so advances the economic interests of business, the Court does not seem willing to grant employers wide berth to impose noneconomic value choices upon employees.

The Court's holding against the validity of "fetal protection" employment policies is of critical importance to the development of both sex discrimination law under Title VII and occupational safety and health law, for several reasons.

First, there are a myriad of workplace circumstances that create some danger to fetal health, including not only the presence of toxic substances but also the presence of infectious diseases and radiation, and the use of machinery (including motor vehicles). If employers in those workplaces could exclude substantially all women, the sexual desegregation of the workplace brought about by Title VII could have been substantially reversed.

Second, in order to support its policy, the employer in *Johnson Controls* argued that sex is a "bona fide occupational qualification ("bfoq")," since the bfoq is the only explicit statutory defense where an employer intentionally excludes women from job slots. To uphold this argument, the Court would have had to vastly expand the bfoq defense. By declining to do so, the Court made clear that the only circumstances in which women can be excluded from jobs as a class is where their sex makes it impossible for them to do the work, a very narrow class of cases indeed.

Finally, organized labor's interest in the *Johnson Controls* issue stemmed not only from unions' concern for women's employment opportunities but also from a conviction that exclusion of the most vulnerable individuals from the workplace, rather than correction of the workplace conditions creating the danger, is bad occupational health policy. For example, permitting the exclusion of fertile women allowed Johnson Controls to minimize the importance of the remaining injuries caused or possibly caused by lead, and thereby to maintain the overall level of lead exposure in the workplace at a level that is still risky for those who are exposed. With exclusion of women for fetal health reasons precluded, it is much more likely that the company will feel constrained to clean up the workplace generally.

Unlike *Johnson Controls*, the other two substantive employment discrimination cases decided in the last two terms concerned whether or not the federal discrimination statutes protect discrete, narrow groups of individuals.

In *EEOC v. Arabian American Oil Co.*, the question was whether Title VII covers discrimination by American companies against American citizens abroad. The Court concluded, 6-3, that the statute does not, with Justices Marshall, Blackmun, and Stevens dissenting. The majority reached its conclusion, despite strong indications that Congress did intend to cover such workers, and did so on the judicially-created "presumption" that statutes apply outside the United States only if Congress says so expressly.

Additionally — and this aspect of the opinion may be of greater general significance than the actual holding — the majority asserted that EEOC guidelines, unlike other administrative interpretations of statutes, are not entitled to deference by the courts. The dissenters — and Justice Scalia as well — took sharp issue with this distinction. The EEOC has over the years issued “guidelines” on many basic statutory construction issues, guidelines that in recent years have generally been taken seriously by the courts. The suggestion that the EEOC’s views can be ignored (a suggestion that the Court had made previously, in 1977, but seemingly abandoned thereafter), may throw open other basic questions of statutory interpretation for renewed litigation.

Gregory v. Ashcroft is of even narrower direct impact than *Arabian American Oil*. *Gregory* holds that appointed state court judges are not covered by the age discrimination statute and therefore can be required to retire at age seventy. As was true in *Arabian American Oil*, however, *Gregory*’s reasoning may have a much broader impact.

Gregory indicates that whenever Congress legislates in a way that significantly affects state “sovereignty” — including, apparently, setting employment conditions for state employees — Congress must make its will known with extreme clarity, or the courts will conclude that the states are not regulated in that regard. The Court split, 5-4, on the validity of this interpretive approach, the closest vote in any employment discrimination case in the last two terms. Since Justices White, Stevens, Marshall and Blackmun disagreed with the majority, it is safe to say that *Gregory* is the one anti-discrimination case in which the retirement of Justice Brennan made a difference in the law.

The Procedural Employment Discrimination Cases

Three of the eight decisions in this category significantly advanced the interests of plaintiffs in securing proper adjudication of their employment discrimination cases, while one could substantially hamper nonunion, but not union, employees in vindicating their employment discrimination rights.

Hoffman-La Roche Inc. v. Sperling, for example, held, 7-2, that although age discrimination cases (like minimum wage cases and unlike Title VII cases) cannot be brought as class actions, the district court in such cases can facilitate the joinder of all similarly affected employees by requiring that the defendant produce their names and addresses, and authorizing an approved notice to all such employees asking whether they wish to join the suit. The holding is one of practical importance since the greater the number of employees who join the suit, the greater the resources available to the plaintiffs as a group and the more likely it is that an employer will offer to settle meritorious claims without protracted litigation.

The question in *Yellow Freight System v. Donnelly* was whether or not Title VII rights can be vindicated in state as well as federal courts, an issue so basic to Title VII enforcement that it is remarkable that it remained unresolved more than twenty-five years after the statute was passed: Applying another of its rapidly-multiplying “plain statement” standards, the Court decided that since Congress did not affirmatively state that there is exclusive federal jurisdiction

under Title VII, state courts can indeed adjudicate federal employment discrimination cases.

The *Yellow Freight* holding has various practical ramifications, which, in general, favor plaintiffs but also may favor some defendants: For example, as in *Yellow Freight* itself, the holding protects employees who file suit in state court from dismissal of their federal claims if the federal statute of limitations runs out after the state court filing. On the other hand, employees will not be able to litigate in federal court Title VII issues that could have been adjudicated in an earlier state court law suit but were not.

Astoria Federal Savings and Loan Assn. v. Solimino directly concerned the question whether an employee can adjudicate his/her employment discrimination claims in both state and federal fora. The Court held, 9-0, that under the age discrimination statute, as under Title VII, adjudication of state law employment discrimination issues in state administrative proceedings — as opposed to state judicial proceedings — does not preclude relitigation of the same factual questions under Title VII. Since employees are encouraged by Title VII to use state administrative agencies to enforce their employment discrimination rights before filing federal lawsuits, and many do so, any result other than the one reached in *Astoria Federal* would have seriously compromised the rights of ADEA plaintiffs to their day in court.

Finally, *Gilmer v. Interstate/Johnson Lane Corp.* produced the one major procedural loss for discrimination plaintiffs. *Gilmer* concerned whether an employee who is not covered by a collective bargaining agreement can be required to arbitrate, rather than litigate in court, an age discrimination claim. The employee in question worked in the securities industry, and had agreed to arbitration as part of his registration as a securities dealer. The Court held, 7-2, that the arbitration agreement was enforceable in this context. There is, however, one footnote in the *Gilmer* opinion that suggests that arbitration provisions in ordinary employment contracts, rather than in licensing or registration applications such as the one involved in *Gilmer*, may not be enforceable.

Even with the uncertainty as to its scope, the *Gilmer* opinion is likely to accelerate a trend toward arbitration systems in nonunion workplaces as employers seek an even more hospitable forum than that provided by the courts. Without unions to assist employees in presenting their cases, and with the arbitrators beholden to the employers alone for future employment, arbitration of employment discrimination-related issues in the nonunion context heavily favors the employers.

The remaining employment discrimination cases address narrow, technical procedural issues.

Lytle v. Household Manufacturing held, unanimously, that an employer cannot be deprived of a jury trial under one employment discrimination statute because the judge dismissed his claim under that statute and then, after trial under another parallel statute, decided himself that there had been no discrimination.

Irwin v. Veterans Administration decided, again unanimously, that, in general, statutes of limitations can be applied in a flexible manner even when

the government is the defendant and, in particular, that a federal employee filing an employment discrimination claim can excuse failure to comply with the applicable limitations requirements on the same basis as if the defendant were a private employer. A similar federal employees' limitations period question, this time under the age discrimination statute, was decided in *Stevens v. Department of the Treasury*: The Court, applying the statutory provisions literally, determined, once more unanimously, that there is no statute of limitations as such applicable to federal employees who do not choose to pursue administrative remedies, only the requirement that a federal employee notify the EEOC of an intent to file suit within one hundred eighty days of the alleged illegal action and at least thirty days before filing suit.

Finally, *University of Pennsylvania v. EEOC* held, yet again unanimously, that universities, like other employers, must provide the EEOC with relevant information, including confidential evaluations and records of similar employees, when the EEOC is investigating a claim of employment discrimination made by a professor involved in a tenure dispute.

Free Speech Cases

During the last two terms, the Supreme Court decided five important First Amendment cases involving issues of particular interest to the labor movement, with mixed results.

In *Austin v. Michigan Chamber of Commerce*, a state chamber of commerce contended that it had a First Amendment right to make independent political expenditures out of corporate funds despite the state's prohibition of such expenditures. The Court rejected this argument by 6-3 vote, holding that a not-for-profit corporation composed of business organizations can constitutionally be restricted in its expenditure of corporate funds for political purposes. As the Court explained, the states may legitimately regulate corporate expenditures in order to limit "the corrosive and distorting effects of immense aggregations of wealth that are accumulated with the help of the corporate form and that have little or no correlation to the public's support for the corporation's political ideas."

In reaching its conclusions, the majority emphasized that this state interest is not strong enough to support restrictions on independent political expenditures by not-for-profit corporations that are formed for ideological purposes and are not composed of business corporations, emphasizing that the financial resources of such entities do reflect the level of public support for their ideas, rather than simply the success of their state-assisted economic endeavors. In addition, the Court found that corporate expenditures can be limited even if union expenditures are not, since "the funds available for a union's political activities more accurately reflect members' support for the organization's political views than does a corporation's general treasury."

In *Rutan v. Republican Party of Illinois*, the Court, by a 5-4 vote, held that — with the exception of high level policy positions — governments may not base promotion, transfer, or recall decisions on a public employee's political affiliation or campaign activities. In so doing, the Court extended and reaffirmed its decisions in *Elrod v. Burns* and *Branti v. Frankel*, which broadly protect public employees from the coercive effect of patronage systems.

Although *Rutan* was a victory for public employees, the case presents reasons for grave concern. Two of the justices in the majority (Justices Brennan and Marshall) have now left the Court, and the four dissenters (Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justices Scalia, O'Connor, and Kennedy) urged that the Court overrule its entire line of anti-patronage cases. Thus, *Rutan* provides a vivid illustration of how recent changes in the Court membership may radically alter employee legal rights.

Another case illustrating the same point is *Rust v. Sullivan*. In *Rust*, the Court, again by a 5-4 vote, upheld a controversial Reagan Administration regulation regarding family planning clinics that accept federal funds for providing services to the poor. The regulation broadly prohibits such clinics from giving patients any information or counselling regarding abortion, even if no federal funds are used for dispensing such information or counselling. In essence, then, the decision allows the government to prohibit the dissemination of truthful and relevant — but politically disfavored — medical information to patients.

The Court also rejected an assertion of free speech rights in *United States v. Kokinda*, which involved a post office regulation that prohibits solicitations of contributions on postal premises. Once again by a 5-4 vote, the Court upheld the regulation against a challenge by two individuals who had been arrested for soliciting political contributions from postal patrons on a post-office sidewalk.

Finally, in an antitrust case involving free speech issues, *Federal Trade Commission v. Superior Court Trial Lawyers Association*, the Court denied the First Amendment claims of independent contractors who sought to wage a group boycott. The Court ruled that an association of lawyers representing indigent criminal defendants could be prosecuted under the antitrust laws for organizing such a boycott of new case assignments in protest to the low fees provided by the government for their work. The Court specifically rejected the argument that a boycott directed at the government and seeking to influence government policy is protected by the First Amendment. The Court stated that where such activity is designed to advance the economic position of its participants, it is not within the First Amendment's protections.

Pension and Benefit Cases

In the last two years, the Supreme Court decided four "fringe benefit" cases: two concerned substantive issues, while the other two involved questions relating to whether federal law supersedes state laws.

In *Guidry v. Sheet Metal Workers National Pension Fund*, the Court held, unanimously, that a court may not order a pension fund to pay a former union officer's pension benefits directly to a union in repayment for money the officer embezzled from the union. *Guidry* was a case in which valid competing interests were in conflict: On the one hand, as a general matter, unions have favored a prohibition upon garnishing, attaching, or otherwise seizing an individual's pension payments. At the same time, in *Guidry* the union officer had built up his pension rights feloniously and at the expense of the union and its members, and had no assets other than the pension from which the union could be repaid. In deciding between these competing concerns, the court took a strict view of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act's rule prohibiting creditors from reaching pension benefits, while suggesting that there might be an exception where the entity seeking to be repaid from pension benefits is the pension fund itself.

Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. v. LTV Corp. concerned a pension plan involuntarily terminated by the PBGC, the federal agency that insures pension plans and takes over the assets and liabilities of defunct plans. The question presented was whether a company can be required to restore a terminated plan — making the company once again responsible for providing all benefits promised by the plan — simply because the company, after termination, provides a new pension plan that, combined with the insured portion of the terminated plan, offers substantially the same benefits as the terminated plan. The Court upheld the PBGC's right to restore a plan under these circumstances, holding that the determination that permitting such "follow-up" plans would encourage abuse of the statutory scheme, and increase the insurance premiums to employers generally.

The preemption cases — *FMC Corp. v. Holliday* and *Ingersoll-Rand Co. v. McClendon* — are two more in what is now a long line of cases in the Supreme Court and lower courts holding that ERISA's broadly worded preemption provision goes so far as to displace a range of state laws that only peripherally affect employee benefits. Specifically, in *FMC Corp. v. Holliday* the Court held invalid a state law prohibiting uninsured health plans from required repayment of benefits if the claimant recovers medical costs as part of a tort recovery. At the same time, because of a specific provision in ERISA permitting states to regulate insurance, insured plans can be prohibited from requiring such repayments. And in *Ingersoll-Rand Co. v. McClendon*, the Court unanimously voided a state cause of action that — like ERISA — allowed suits by employees who were discharged by an employer in order to avoid paying pension benefits.

The Supreme Court ERISA preemption decisions go well beyond the legitimate desire to avoid the situation in which conflicting federal and state regulations govern a single employee benefit, by voiding at least certain state statutes that protect more general employment rights and have only the most minor tangential effect on employee benefits.

Worker Health, Safety and Compensation Cases

Workers prevailed in two cases involving the administration of the Occupational Safety and Health Act, but did less well in cases interpreting various occupations disability statutes.

In *Dole v. United Steelworkers of America*, the Court upheld the validity of the portions of the Department of Labor's Hazard Communication Standard challenged by the Office of Management and Budget. The standard generally requires employers to disclose information to employees about the potential hazards of chemicals found at their workplaces. OMB sought to disapprove portions of the standard under the Federal Paperwork Reduction Act on the ground that the standard's requirement imposed undue paperwork burdens on employers and were not necessary to protect employees.

The Supreme Court ruled that the Paperwork Reduction Act does not give OMB authority to disapprove regulations mandating disclosure of information to third parties as a means of safeguarding their health and safety, nor did it give OMB power to second-guess the Department of Labor's determination that certain disclosure requirements would be an effective means of protecting employees from workplace hazards.

Martin v. Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission arose after the Secretary of Labor fined an employer for failing to provide employees with proper respirators. The employer contested the citation before the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission, and the commission vacated the citation, disagreeing with the secretary's interpretation of regulations the secretary herself had issued. The court of appeals had upheld the review commission's pro-employer decision, but the Supreme Court reversed, holding that courts must defer to the Secretary of Labor's reasonable interpretations of her regulations rather than to the interpretations of the review commission.

In *Adams Fruit Co. v. Barrett*, the Court backed the rights of migrant farmworkers to file suit under the Migrant and Seasonal Agricultural Worker Protection Act (AWPA) to recover damages for injuries suffered as the result of an employer's violations of that Act. The Court rejected an employer argument that no right to recover under the federal statute should be recognized where farmworkers could obtain compensation for work-related injuries under state workers' compensation statutes.

U.S. Department of Labor v. Triplett, in contrast, makes it more difficult for workers to secure competent legal counsel to assist in vindicating their rights to health-related benefits by upholding Department of Labor regulations that prohibit lawyers and black lung benefit claimants from entering into contractual fee agreements. The regulations permit lawyers to accept fees for handling cases under the Black Lung Benefits Act only if the claimant succeeds in obtaining benefits, and then only after submitting a fee request to the Department, which passes on the request's "reasonableness."

The Court also limited workers' access to benefits in *Office of Personnel Management v. Richmond*. The case involved a disabled federal government employee who obtained incorrect legal advice from a government personnel

officer concerning the eligibility requirements for the federal government's disability retirement program. Because the employee acted in reliance on the advice provided by the government personnel officer, the employee was denied six months of benefits. The Supreme Court rejected the employee's claim that he should not lose benefits as a consequence of the government's error, holding that the provision of erroneous legal advice cannot estop the government from denying benefits that are not authorized by Congress.

In *Miles v. Apex Marine Corp.*, the Court expanded the circumstances under which wrongful death actions could be brought on behalf of seamen, but limited the possible damages recoverable in such actions by the seamen's families. And, in *Chesapeake and Ohio Railway v. Schwalb*, the Court held that railroad workers who were injured while performing traditional railroad work relating to the loading of a ship are covered by the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, and cannot bring actions in court under the Federal Employers' Liability Act.

Miscellaneous

In *Air Courier Conference of America v. American Postal Workers Union*, the Court held that unions representing U.S. Postal Service employees do not have standing to challenge a regulation that allowed private mail services to compete with the postal service. The Court held that the unions could not challenge the regulation as contrary to a statute that protects the Postal Service's monopoly, despite the regulation's adverse effect on postal workers' employment. Following its tendency to interpret statutes in ways that deny litigants access to the federal courts, the Court concluded that Congress had enacted the statute only to ensure that all areas of the nation were served by the Postal Service, and not also to protect the interests of workers employed by the Service.

In *McNary v. Haitian Refugee Center*, the Court held that actions raising constitutional and statutory challenges to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's rules and policies implementing the amnesty program can be brought in federal court. The INS had contended that the 1986 immigration reform law was not intended to authorize the filing of such court actions. By providing for court scrutiny of the INS' amnesty rules and policies, *McNary* should further Congress' goal of encouraging undocumented workers to come forward to obtain legal status and to vindicate their legal rights. In turn, such a result should curtail employers' ability to exploit such workers by virtue of their fear of deportation.

Siebert v. Gilley involved a public employee's claim under the Due Process Clause of the Constitution. The employee alleged that his prior government employer had violated his constitutional "liberty" interests by acting with malicious intent in giving him a negative job recommendation that had interfered with his ability to obtain new employment. The Supreme Court held that the employee had failed to state a constitutional claim because harm to a public employees' "reputation" interests does not constitute an infringement of constitutional "liberty" interests.

Headquarters Departments

The AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington, D.C., is organized into more than a score of departments and service divisions reflecting the broad range of federation activities and programs.

Developments in the special areas covered by these departments are detailed in other sections of this report. This section provides a brief description of activities not dealt with elsewhere along with a listing of the personnel of the various departments and divisions.

The federation's library works closely with all departments in providing basic information and research material. Its more than 25,000 volumes and microfilm and microfiche files as well as specialized collections constitute a major resource.

Legal functions and services of the federation continue to be directed by the Office of the General Counsel.

The Division of Budget and Planning is responsible for overall management of the budget and program planning process in the Secretary-Treasurer's office.

The Division of Facilities Management is responsible for all travel and hotel arrangements related to meetings, conferences and conventions as well as the individual travel of all staff.

The Division of Building Management is responsible for management of the headquarters building and garage.

The Computer Systems and Services Department is responsible for the federation's computerized information systems and data processing needs.

The Division of Reproduction, Mailings and Subscriptions maintains mailing lists for AFL-CIO publications and handles their subscriptions as well as distribution of pamphlets. It provides centralized reproduction and mailing facilities for all departments.

The following persons served in the headquarters of the federation as the 19th convention neared:

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT: Kenneth Young, executive assistant to the President; Dennis Beal, Susan Dunlop and David St. John, assistants to the President; Adrian Karatnycky, special assistant to the President; Mary Bausch, Patricia Connolly, Hindi Fracasse, Stan Hitt, George Mason, Kim Mercer, Dorothy Roberson, Lorie Sommerkamp, Quentine White, Barbara Winstead.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER: Charles McDonald, executive assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer; Arleen Gilliam, assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer; Paul Gordon, special assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer; Joseph Burrell, Elsie Koch, Alfreda McAdams, Mary Jean McCracken, Rhonda Shoemaker.

ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT: William Collins, controller; Steve Rohrbaugh, assistant controller; Marion Billingsley, Barbara Channell, Dave Dyer, Selma Golding, Vonceil Gray, Patsy Howell, Ann Marie Kain, Shirley Kidd, Tagie Kooser, Carole Maloney, George Nelms, James Perry, Kathy Roby, Brian Simpson.

BUILDING MAINTENANCE DIVISION: Joe Dustin, building manager; Mae Adkins, Emilio Arguello, Gray Beasley, Joseph Brush, Helen Dabney, Thomas Davis, John Easley, Elden Ferguson, Leon Ford, Lois Ford, Hazel Foster, Joseph Gilchrist, Jack Harlow, Joseph Hill, Woodrow Johnson, Phil Kelley, Brian Lewis, Sam Lindsey, Mary Martin, Brian McCracken, James Osborn, Michael Ryan, Paul Semelsberger, Dorothy Stroman, Victor Tabbs, Carlton Vick, Claude Ward, Katherine Whitten, Betty Witcher, Stephen Worrey.

CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT: Richard Womack, director; Sybil Burke, Susana Gomez, Cynthia McCaughan, Patricia Osborne.

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION: John Perkins, director; Marta David and R. R. Foutz, assistant directors; Dan Cochran, Trudy Conrad, Carol Eickert, Beverly Franklin, Arlee Green, Nancy Hudson, Janet Hyland, Michael Ingrao, Amy Lampkin, Theresa Malin, Sheryl Meyers, Robert Moses, Cassandra Parker, Steve Protulis, Julie Smith, Maureen Smith, Nan Tancredi, James Thompson, Jean Whitley.

COMMUNITY SERVICES DEPARTMENT: Joe Velasquez, director; Ray Andrus, Alan Bosch, Chris Marston, Milly McGuckin, Flora Whaley, Janet Yarmola.

COMPUTER SYSTEMS AND SERVICES DEPARTMENT: Tom Riggle, director; Richard Drennan, assistant director; Charles Adkins, Pat Allen, Jim Bailey, Janet Bonillo, Blair Calton, Yvonne Cole, Frances Dailey, Diana Dow, Jean Dula, Deena Flinchum, Jeretha Gardner, Dennis Graham, Donna Hall, Phil Herrin, Claretha Hill, Bessie Hubbard, Sue LaPlant, Cheryl Leid, Larry Lundgren, Tim Mehok, Chris Parker, Bob Reed, Mike Reinecke, Pok Sun Webb.

ECONOMIC RESEARCH DEPARTMENT: Rudy Oswald, director; Mark Anderson, Markley Roberts, assistant directors; Deborah Bolls, Erika Burch, Betty Bussink, Kay Clark, Janet Coco, Bill Cunningham, Anne Draper, Patricia Floyd, Sheldon Friedman, Debbie Justus, Dee Lally, Cindy Lamberts, Frank Parente, Patricia Sedlazeck, Gregory Woodhead, John Zalusky

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT: Dorothy Shields, director; Edgar Czarniecki, associate director; Mary Lehman, Anthony Sarmiento, Susan

Washington, assistant directors; Sherry Ali, Lydia Clemons, Nina Davis, Mitchell Dubich, Louise McLaurin, Lisa Robbins, Eva Walton.

EMPLOYEE BENEFITS DEPARTMENT: Karen Ignagni, director; Mary Logan, Meredith Miller, assistant directors; Claudia Bradbury, Richard Grant, Martha Lynch, Jean Reagh, Debbie Reinecke.

GEORGE MEANY CENTER FOR LABOR STUDIES: Robert Pleasure, executive director; Jeffrey McDonald, deputy director; Charles Adkins, David Alexander, Chester Anderson, Karen Banks, Joseph Barrett, Larry Barrett, Janice Bleything, Brenda Cantrell, Patricia Costello, Jean Dearden, Lynda DeLoach, Rhonda Gaskins, Bernice Henderson, Chuck Hodell, Pete Hoefer, William Jenkins, Stuart Kaufman, Michelle Kikta, Todd Kosmerick, Christine Lawson, Claudette Lewis, Diana Linton, Genevieve Lutz, Dottie Madison, Irma Mayhew, Brenda Moon, Gene Morrill, Janet O'Connor, David Palmer, Marilyn Powers, Thomas Probey, Robert Reynolds, Robyn Robbins, Lillian Roehl, Lisa Rose, Sharon Simon, Marilyn Sneiderman, Donald Spatz, Carrie Spruill, Linda Townsend, Kenneth Travis, Janis Underwood, Louise Walsh, Susan Wendel.

HOUSING INVESTMENT TRUST: Floyd Hyde, chief executive officer; William Tutt, financial manager; Michael Arnold, director of investor relations; Marcie Cohen, affordable housing program director; Harry Thompson, deputy financial manager; Philip Couture, Byron Giltz, Jeffrey Greendorfer, representatives; Murnis Banner, Donald Egan, Robin Gormley, Betty Leonard, Christine Mandarano, Donna Sachau, Stephanie Turman, Michael Wagner, Ruth Walter.

INFORMATION DEPARTMENT: Rex Hardesty, director; Michael Byrne, assistant director; Elizabeth Nyrop Barnes, Muriel Cooper, Candice Johnson, Hilda Julbe, Debbie Morris, Phyllis Norris, Colleen M. O'Neill, John Oravec, James B. Parks, Sharolyn A. Rosier, Mary Ellis Sneden, Marion Taylor, Steve Yarmola.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT: Tom Kahn, director; Paul Somogyi, assistant director; Anne Knipper, assistant to the director; James Baker, Paul Barton, Toni Douglas, Simone Facotti, Nancy Gaist, Joyce Lindner, Mary Meriwether, Joyce Penn, Steven Slezak, Jerald Zellhoefer.

LEGAL DEPARTMENT: Laurence Gold, general counsel; Marsha S. Berzon, Walter Kamiat, Margaret McCormick, David Silberman, associate general counsels; Tamra Hammett, Nancy Tutt, Kathy Van Helden.

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT: Robert McGlotten, director; Peggy Taylor, associate director; Tom Owens, assistant to the director; Byron Charlton, Bill Cunningham, Andrea Davis, Ernie DuBester, Virginia Gorman, Mike Hall, Linda Miller, Calvin Johnson, Dawn Magee, Deane Meyers, Jane O'Grady, Jay Power, Debbie Pratt, Nalini Roy, Brenda Rutledge, David Saltz, Vera Taylor, Marge Tracey, Rebecca White.

LIBRARY: Ruby Tyson, librarian; Jannie Cobb, Leah Keilsohn.

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH DEPARTMENT: Margaret Seminario, director; Jim Ellenberger, assistant director; Diane Factor, Lynn Rhinehart, Hindi Fracasse, Antoinette Keightley, Christine Tate.

ORGANIZING INSTITUTE: Richard Bensinger, Executive Director; Mark Splain, Deputy Director; Allison Porter, Recruitment Director.

ORGANIZATION AND FIELD SERVICES DEPARTMENT: Joseph Shantz, director; Michael Gildea, Kevin Kistler, Green Lewis, Vincent O'Brien, assistant directors; Barbara Boswell, Michael Bowen, Maria Boyle, Michael Calabrese, Kay Davis, Maria Denyer, Edward Feigen, Maria Hernandez, Frances Kenin, Bren Leiss, Georgia McCeney, Marcia Stickle, Michael Szpak.

UNION PRIVILEGE: David Silberman, Director; Robert Tahler, Senior Vice President; Candice Brown, LaChelle Carpenter, Valerie Day, Connie Eisaman, Christina Flood, Tabitha Harris, Michelle King, Deanna Lyons, Freda McDonald, John McNabb, Pamela Miles, Judy Miller, Iles Minoff, Karol Olson, Doreen Price, Jon Ross, Elizabeth Sullivan, B. Elizabeth Tunney, Kathy Van Helden, Yvette Williams, Caron Zaleznick.

PERSONNEL DIVISION: Richard Flanagan, director; Beatrice Lapp, health plan administrator; Virginia Asbury, Susan Barry, Susan Cheselka, Fredia Kennedy.

DIVISION OF FACILITIES MANAGEMENT: Georgia Dunfee, director; Maureen Houston, convention coordinator; Ruby Horsham.

PURCHASING AND SUPPLIES DIVISION: Donald Clark, purchasing agent; Nancy Klepper, Mary Pringle, Nelcina Wiggins.

DIVISION OF REPRODUCTION, MAILINGS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS: Edwin Schmidt, director; Renate Lawson, assistant director; Emilio Arguello, Robert Baxter, Andrew Brown, Shelley Cantrell, Jerome Cary, Lorenzo Davin, Gregory Drennan, Gail Glover, Mitchell Graves, William Grigg, Lloyd Groves, Cindy Howard, Joseph Kekeris, Jill Kibler, Ann Kuhse, Robert Lester, Joan Lindberg, Donna Pingley, Rick Pleinis, Mary Reardon, Robert Rounds, Dennis Salamone, Charles Sommerkamp, Steve Yarmola.

Trade and Industrial Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department

Safety and Health

A top priority of the Building and Construction Trades Department's legislative program is passage of the Construction Safety, Health and Education Improvement Act. In 1990, substantial progress was made with the measure being approved by both the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee and the House Subcommittee on Health and Safety. Bills were reintroduced in the 102nd session of Congress and hearings were held by Rep. Joseph Gaydos (D-Pa.), a chief House sponsor, in April and May 1991. The Senate version was introduced by Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.).

Through its safety and health committee, the BCTD has testified and submitted statements on four different Occupational Safety and Health Administration rule-making procedures.

A significant project was preparing materials for the asbestos standard remand, an action OSHA was forced to take as a result of a lawsuit brought by the BCTD.

In November 1990, the Department testified on the chemical process management safety standard in response to accidents that occurred at the Phillips facility in Pasadena, Tex., and chemical related explosions at other sites.

The BCTD continues to oversee the monitoring and evaluation of the joint Laborers-Associated General Contractors Hazardous Waste Worker Training Program, now conducted at 13 sites nationwide.

Apprenticeship and Training

In August 1990, the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT) published proposed changes to the regulations governing the establishment and operation of apprenticeship programs. Many of the proposed

changes were detrimental to the jointly operated apprenticeship programs of BCTD affiliates.

BCTD general presidents, at the request of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Joint Apprenticeship Committee, urged affiliates, local unions, local joint apprenticeship committees and employer associations to comment on the proposals. More than 60,000 letters were received by the Labor Department in opposition to the changes.

At the same time, the BCTD's legislative representatives pressed Congress to add a provision to the emergency supplemental appropriations bill to block the Labor Department from expending any funds to implement or administer its new "helper" and "apprenticeship" regulations. Both the House and Senate voted overwhelmingly to support the unions' position.

The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training then requested to meet with the Building Trades JAC to discuss revisions that jointly operated programs in the construction industry could accept. These meetings will continue until the unions' concerns for apprentices and the training programs are resolved.

Recently, concerns have been raised about the capability of the unionized construction industry to continue to provide a skilled work force into the 1990s. The Building Trades national and local joint apprenticeship committees, with an equal number of union and management representatives, are prepared to expand their programs when necessary, to meet any demand by contractors for building trades workers.

Polish American Building Trades Craft Training Center

In 1989, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, BCTD President Robert A. Georgine, and then Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole served on a Presidential mission to Poland. Among the problems they found confronting the Polish people was a severe housing shortage — with a 25- to 30-year wait for housing. A tripartite team of labor, business and government representatives was sent to Poland in January 1990, with Raymond J. Robertson, vice president of the Iron Workers and chairman of the Building Trades JAC, representing President Georgine, and Ken Young, Executive Assistant to Kirkland, and European Representative Jim Baker attending on behalf of the AFL-CIO.

Following meetings with the Polish Ministers of Labor, Education, Housing and Construction, as well as visits to schools and construction sites, the team recommended establishment of a craft training program. This would provide Polish workers with new skills for a market economy and help alleviate Poland's housing shortage through the transfer of modern American construction technology to Polish workers. As a result of these meetings, Georgine and Dole agreed to establish the program.

In May 1990, the Electrical Workers, Plumbers and Pipefitters, Bricklayers, Carpenters and Iron Workers sent their apprenticeship and training directors to Poland to determine what could be done to help Solidarnosc and Polish workers.

Under the program, 10 Polish trainers were selected by Solidarnosc to come to the United States and learn modern construction techniques in carpentry, plumbing and pipefitting, bricklaying, electrical work and ironworking. The trainers spent three weeks at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies learning teaching techniques and two months at construction sites in Chicago in on-the-job training sessions. Apprenticeship and journeymen upgrading classes also were observed.

The trainers returned to Poland, accompanied by the Americans who stayed about a month, and began setting up the Polish-American Building Crafts Training Center in Praga. The Center will be equipped with modern equipment, materials and tools donated and purchased in the United States. In June 1991, the first large group of students was enrolled for day and evening classes.

Legislative

The BCTD's legislative efforts gained ground in the first session of the 102nd Congress.

An amendment by Rep. Charles Stenholm (D-Tex.) to remove Davis-Bacon Act provisions from all federal contracts was successfully opposed. A similar attempt in the House Military Construction Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by Rep. William Hefner (D-N.C.), failed on a voice vote.

The Building and Construction Trades Department legislative agenda includes reform of the Davis Bacon Act (H.R. 1987), Construction Safety and Health bills (H.R. 1063 and S. 673), travel expenses measure (H.R. 183), Surface Transportation Act (S. 965), National Infrastructure Corporation bill (S. 794), amendments to the Employment Retirement Act (S. 794), striker replacement legislation (H.R. 5 and S. 55) and the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement.

The Department is concerned about a measure pending in the House Banking Committee that would remove federal protection for employee pension fund accounts kept in banks. Known as the pass-through provision, the measure would repeal the current law which provides up to \$100,000 per member in federal insurance coverage for pension fund deposits.

Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) has offered amendments to the Employee Retirement Act (S. 794), that are strongly supported by the BCTD.

Legal Activity

The following cases represent the major legal activities of the BCTD since the 1989 AFL-CIO convention.

A. Cases under the National Labor Relations Act:

NLRB rulemaking to determine appropriate bargaining units in health care facilities. In an earlier ruling, the NLRB had proposed six units for hospital worker organizing, one of which directly affected the BCTD. That determination would have included maintenance employees, service employees and office clerical employees in a single unit. The BCTD argued that the Board should establish separate units for each of those employee groups for a total of eight bargaining units and the NLRB accepted that position. (129 LRR 14).

The American Hospital Association then sought to overturn the board's eight-unit rule in court. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit upheld the NLRB's position, which was supported by the AFL-CIO and BCTD. (*American Hospital Association v. NLRB*, 133 LRRM 3073 1990). The AHA appealed the ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld the rule in a unanimous decision issued in April 1991. (*American Hospital Association v. NLRB*, 137 LRRM 2001 1991).

NLRA Preemption of BCTD project agreements for public sector work. In *ABC of Massachusetts, et al., v. Massachusetts Water Resources Authority, et al.* (U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit), the Associated Builders and Contractors alleged that a project agreement governing construction of the Boston Harbor Wastewater Treatment Facilities — as well as the MWRA bid specifications incorporating provisions of that agreement — was unlawful because it was preempted by the National Labor Relations Act.

The principal focus of the ABC lawsuit was a requirement that all contractors working on the project abide by the terms of the agreement. The U.S. District Court in Boston denied ABC's motion for a preliminary injunction, and ABC appealed. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit reversed the District Court and held that the MWRA's adoption in its bid specification of the project agreement's restrictions on subcontracting interfered with the bargaining process and was preempted by the NLRA. (135 LRRM 2713 1990). The BCTD and Boston Building Trades Council filed a petition for rehearing before the full appeals court arguing that the three judge panel decision was incorrect. The case was argued before the full appeals court on February 4, 1991, and a May 15, 1991 decision upheld the ruling in favor of the ABC by a 3-2 vote. 137 LRRM 2249 (1991).

Petitions for a writ of certiorari to the U.S. Supreme Court are presently being prepared by the unions, the MWRA and the project contractor, and the Supreme Court is expected to decide in late 1991 whether it will hear the case.

B. Cases under the Davis-Bacon Act.

Building & Construction Trades Department v. Dole (U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia). In 1982, the Secretary of Labor was enjoined from promulgating regulations regarding the use of "helpers" on federal con-

struction projects covered by Davis-Bacon prevailing wage requirements. In 1983, however, the Secretary was granted authority to recognize "helper" classifications if their use was a prevailing practice in the locality. The injunction was eventually vacated and the revised "helper" regulations became effective on February 4, 1991. Implementation of these regulations was suspended after enactment of the Dire Emergency Appropriations Act, which prohibits the Department of Labor from spending any money to implement them.

Building and Construction Trades Department v. U.S. Department of Labor Wage Appeals Board (Midway Excavators, Inc.) (U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit). This case involves the application of Davis-Bacon prevailing wage requirements to truck drivers employed by a construction contractor on federal and federally-assisted construction projects. Although a regulation under Davis-Bacon purports to extend coverage to the transportation of materials and supplies off the actual site of construction, the appeals court held that the term "employed directly upon the site of the work" restricted Davis-Bacon coverage.

The court ruled that government contractors are required to pay prevailing wages only to mechanics and laborers employed "directly upon the site of the work" and not to truck drivers who haul materials and supplies to and from the job site.

Miree Construction Corp. v. Dole (U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit). To comply with the Davis-Bacon Act's prevailing wage requirements, a non-union contractor's contributions to an apprenticeship program can only be credited up to the amount of its actual training costs. In calculating the prevailing wage rate, the Labor Department divided the \$500 billed to the contractor by the total number of hours worked by the contractor's employees during the year, not just those hours worked on Davis-Bacon projects. In addition, a credit was allowed for the hourly amount only for carpenters; costs incurred for training one classification of employees could not be credited toward the prevailing wage for another classification. This decision was upheld on appeal; contributions beyond the \$500 actually spent for the apprenticeship program by the contractor were found to be unreasonable and not creditable under Davis-Bacon.

Occupational Safety and Health Act

The BCTD challenged the disapproval of three provisions in the hazard communication standard by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget. Following a favorable decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, the federal government filed a petition for review in the Supreme Court of the United States.

On February 21, 1990, the Supreme Court ruled that OMB is not authorized to review federal agency rules which require employers to provide information to workers. The Court held that requirements in OSHA standards for the dissemination of information to workers for the purpose of protecting workers from occupational injury and disease are not subject to OMB review.

General Presidents' Committee on Contract Maintenance

Contract Maintenance work under the General Presidents' Project Maintenance Agreement continued to grow over the past two years with several new contractors entering the industry and with the addition of many new industrial plant locations.

The manhours worked under the General Presidents' Agreement in 1990 were in excess of 30 million despite a general decline in overall industrial work. Maintenance work in oil refineries, chemical and processing plants has increased during this period while manhours in the electric industry has leveled off with the completion of major modification and retrofit work in nuclear power plants.

The General Presidents' Committee and the Associated Maintenance Contractors through a Joint Education Committee, have set up an extensive program to promote contract maintenance with users groups and industrial plant owners. Meetings are being held throughout the United States and thus far the plan has been quite successful. With most industries planning major modification and upgrading work in existing plants during the next few years, it is expected that several hundred million dollars worth of this work will go out for bid in the very near future. It is expected that this work will continue at very high levels for the next several years.

Organizing

Organizing activities for construction have been expanded considerably in coordination with the expanded organizing activities of the unions affiliated with the Department.

Organizing seminars have been upgraded for the training of representatives of Building Trades Councils and local unions in the latest techniques for organizing new workers and contractors working in the industry.

The Department's relatively new program called the Construction Organizing Statistical Monitoring System (COSMOS) now provides biweekly construction project information to all affiliated International Unions. Source of the information is obtained from F.W. Dodge Company and covers all construction projects within the continental United States. The projects are reported in various stages of construction (planning through start) indicating the locations, descriptions, dollar values, structure types, contractors, owners, Davis Bacon provisions, etc. To further assist, the affiliated International Unions tape service is made available to enable them to develop their own data base and specialized reporting systems.

Monthly reports on new projects in the early planning stages are being forwarded to the Building and Construction Trades Councils based upon their

geographical jurisdiction. This monthly reporting will assist each council in enhancing their own organizing programs.

Presently the Department is tracking over 135,000 projects with an estimated worth of \$790 billion dollars, approximately 80,000 of these projects are in the planning stage. The COSMOS database has also been used to track Davis Bacon projects and to assist the Davis Bacon Subcommittee in the selection of counties where new surveys may be required.

To complement the COSMOS database a contractors' database has been developed which provides the name, address and contact person of union contractors who are willing to work in certain areas of the country as well as the types of construction on which they are interested in bidding. This information also has been distributed to the affiliated internationals and the Building Trades Councils.

The Organizing Committee is continuing to target non-union contractors and major construction projects in conjunction with the COSMOS program.

Multiemployer Plans

The NCCMP continued its efforts in 1989, 1990 and 1991 to protect and promote the interests of multiemployer employee benefit plans. In the Spring of 1989, the NCCMP submitted written comments to Jack Kemp, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and to Elizabeth Dole, Secretary of Labor, opposing proposed DOL regulations requiring that plans charge their participants prevailing bank interest rates on participant loans. The NCCMP also met with IRS representatives and submitted written comments on the Treasury Department's proposed regulations in connection with minimum participation requirements for pension plans. The NCCMP urged the IRS to modify certain rules to make the regulations more workable for multiemployer plans. Other issues on which the NCCMP submitted testimony to Congress included federal taxation of pension plans' gains from short-term investments and the need to simplify pension legislation.

In 1990, the NCCMP asked the IRS to clarify tax rules pertaining to employee death benefits by confirming that employee death benefits paid from self-funded multiemployer plans are properly treated as proceeds of a life insurance contract. The NCCMP also asked the IRS to clarify how multiemployer pension plans should calculate the Tax Code's contribution deduction limits.

The NCCMP filed several *amicus curiae* briefs with the Supreme Court and lower federal courts in 1989 and 1990. In one brief, the NCCMP successfully urged the Supreme Court to protect self-funded plans against state insurance laws by enforcing ERISA's preemption provisions. Another brief to the Supreme Court urged the Court to affirm corporate officials' liability for delinquent benefit fund contributions. In a brief to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, the NCCMP, differing with the District Court and the PBGC, argued that interest

assessment on withdrawal liability properly begin as of the date the liability is calculated.

Occupational Health Foundation

The Occupational Health Foundation (OHF) has dramatically expanded its activities in serving affiliates of the BCTD, IUD, MTD, PED, Maritime Department and FAST during 1990-1991, particularly in areas involving health screenings, support for safety and health regulatory activities and technical assistance involving chemical exposure problems.

The OHF continued its original program of conducting medical screenings as part of affiliate health promotion programs. These screenings included workers exposed to asbestos, PCB's and a variety of other toxic substances. The OHF also provides a resource to individuals with need for medical and legal assistance in determining whether the illness they have is work related.

The OHF provided assistance to Departments and affiliates engaged in efforts to obtain strong safety and health regulations in such areas as asbestos exposure, chemical right to know, ergonomics, cumulative trauma, chemical process safety, seat belt safety, and lead exposure.

The Foundation provides technical support to many Departments and affiliates with special occupational health needs, including industrial hygiene and education services.

The Foundation has also developed curriculum and conducted training programs for affiliates engaged in asbestos and lead abatement training, and hazardous waste training under various State and Federal grant programs.

One significant role for OHF has been to provide technical support to Departments in their ongoing efforts to improve the safety and health programs for workers at Department of Energy nuclear weapons facilities.

The OHF will conduct a major conference in July, 1991, on the Occupational Health Issues of the 1990s. This conference, conducted under a grant from the Centers for Disease Control, will bring together experts from the medical and scientific community, academia, government, labor and management to review the current and anticipated occupational health problems facing workers in the next decade.

The Hassan Fathy Institute for Construction Workers

The Hassan Fathy Institute for Construction Workers (HFI) is an international labor institute of construction unions from 19 countries dedicated to helping construction workers from Central and Eastern Europe and developing countries create stronger, more effective unions. The main focus of the Institute

is in the areas of vocational education and workers' rights. The Institute maintains its headquarters in Rome, Italy.

President Georgine is President of the Institute and a co-founder with Natale Forlani, Secretary General of FILCA-CISL and Francesco Marabottini, Secretary General of another Italian construction union, Feneal-UIL. The BCTD and the Italian unions are the principal donors. In 1990 the BCTD hired a full-time employee based in Rome to direct the activities of the institute. The Italian unions have supplied a furnished office and staff support.

The international vocational training programs of the BCTD in El Salvador and Poland come under the umbrella of the Institute.

The Institute is also developing plans for rebuilding housing in Egypt and supplying American workers for the reconstruction of Kuwait.

Tennessee Valley Authority Trades and Labor Council

The Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council, comprising fourteen building trades crafts and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO, recently completed negotiations for new labor agreements with the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). One agreement covers 6,000 permanent operating and maintenance workers. Two other agreements, for new construction work and for maintenance and modification work, affects an additional 6,000 to 12,000 workers. TVA also will have private contractors perform work under the agreements.

As the good relationship between TVA and the Council, regarding labor relations and collective bargaining continues, TVA's future plans or modification and expansion is expected to create thousands of new jobs for residents of the Tennessee Valley.

Communications and Special Events

Through the publication and circulation of information vital to affiliated unions and their members, the Department keeps building and construction trades workers abreast of the latest legislative, political, and legal developments that influence their lives.

Among the most important communication tools is "The Builders," a legislative and political newsletter sent out weekly when Congress is in session.

The Department distributes publication order forms, which list nearly 50 publications and videos.

To promote legislation addressing the nation's rapidly growing infrastructure problems, the Department prepared a white paper, "Our Roads Are In Ribbons," describing the dismal state of America's infrastructure.

Other special reports were prepared detailing the latest developments concerning the Davis-Bacon Act, Coal-Slurry legislation, double-breasting, and the productivity advantages of union construction workers.

Union-busting consultants, anti-union employers, and the Reagan Administration's right-wing ideology confronted the labor movement with one of its most challenging decades.

To operate successfully in this hostile environment, the BCTD implemented an aggressive communications and public relations program designed to communicate a clear and strong message to the Department's potential membership, the general public, opinion leaders, and the media.

As one important way to reach out to union membership, the Department mails "clipsheets," to affiliated Internationals and their local unions. Clipsheets consist of camera-ready art and editorial material for use in publications.

The Department also produces videos on a variety of topics which are available for use in local Building Trades Councils and local unions.

Further to reach the public, the Department uses addresses to economic business, political, and trade organizations by Department Officers, as well as press conferences and briefings on issues of major concern to building tradesmen and their families.

Blueprint for Cure Campaign

The effort to find a permanent cure for diabetes has been gaining momentum ever since the early 1970s when the Diabetes Research Institute Foundation joined forces with Dr. Daniel Mintz and his colleagues at the University of Miami School of Medicine.

With each new breakthrough in diabetes research at the DRI during the 1970s and early 1980s, it became clear that the Institute needed to greatly expand its research capabilities. The BCTD Governing Board of Presidents voted unanimously in 1985 to support the Diabetes Research Institute and to help raise the funds required to build this much needed facility.

The Department has relied on several fundraising sources. Individual local unions and internationals have donated handsomely to the fund. Many of these have adopted a check-off system for the fundraising campaign. At the same time, others have held golf tournaments, fishing tournaments, and walkathons to raise money for the cause.

The Labor of Love Tournament annually yields between \$250,000 and \$300,000.

The Annual Dollars Against Diabetes (DAD's) Day event has been a success since 1987, due largely to the efforts of local building tradesmen and other union members who have dedicated their Father's Day weekends to carrying posters and buckets to busy street corners and shopping malls. In 1990, in 240 cities and all 50 states, the Department raised \$1.5 million.

The Department was the only labor organization in 1989 to have been honored by the White House as one of the top 100 private sector initiatives in the nation.

Report of the Canadian Office

The last year has been marked by an unprecedented amount of activity in the Building and Construction Trades union movement in Canada.

In October 1990, the Canadian Executive Board approved "Operation Coast to Coast - Union Yes." As part of the Department's strategy to combat all union-busting activities, each Provincial Building and Construction Trades Council has representation at the national level and has been requested to form its own committee with a provincial director.

The Operation Coast to Coast Committee structure is also used to assist charitable, social and public interest activities worthy of organized labor's support.

The decision to hold a DAD's Day for the first time in Canada in support of Juvenile Diabetes Canada was announced in April 1991.

In September 1990 representatives of the federal and provincial governments, and a consortium of four major energy corporations signed agreements to open the way for the development of Newfoundland's offshore fields. The agreement marks the beginning of the \$5.2 billion Hibernia Project, the largest conventional oil project ever undertaken by the oil and gas industry in Canada and the Building and Construction Trades will be taking a major part of this massive project.

An agreement was signed in July 1990 ensuring that the Hibernia Project will be built union. The Project is expected to produce 21,000 man years of work. Site clearing and road construction began in 1990.

The Lloydminster Bi-Provincial Upgrader Project agreement was signed in June 1990. This \$1.3 billion project, at peak, will employ 2,200 workers.

The Canadian Office has prepared a manual for distribution to all building trades affiliates, which offers an overview of pertinent immigration policies and regulations and gives a guideline on how to deal with immigration officials when incidents occur.

Food and Allied Service Trades Department

The Food and Allied Service Trades Department (FAST) has sixteen national and international affiliates, representing workers in the food, beverage and allied industries. The combined membership of these unions is more than 3.5 million hard working men and women.

Given the proven programs and strengths of our affiliates, FAST feels it must make a strong commitment to the realization of worker aspirations; to developing, presenting and pressing new challenges; to leading the labor movement into previously unknown territory; and to continue pursuing dignity, justice and respect.

FAST accomplishes these objectives in a variety of ways. Most important is our commitment to servicing our affiliates. Regardless of the request, FAST will take any necessary measures to develop and implement a comprehensive response incorporating the expertise of all sectors of our operation; corporate affairs; health and safety, environmental affairs, media relations, legislation and special services.

Leadership — its a word taken seriously at FAST. In 1990, we worked with affiliates to devise methods to lead the movement in different directions. A sampling of these directions include:

1. A continuing commitment to using health and safety as an organizing and bargaining tool. FAST agitates for the safest workplaces possible.
2. A willingness to explore environmental issues critical to union members and their families.
3. Confronting challenges and devising tools to organize the changing American work force.
4. Developing innovative media strategies.
5. Continually enhancing, reforming and refining the comprehensive campaign - a concept FAST crafted over twelve years ago and continually refines.
6. A rededication to building coalitions with other members of America's progressive movement.

The world of work is changing, and the roles of unions are changing as well. In order to play a significant role, unions must develop new tools and dedicate themselves to the goals of solidarity.

Corporate Affairs

Ferretting out information about America's private and public corporations and putting it to use in the service of workers' aspirations remains the exclusive focus of FAST's Corporate Affairs Division.

Helping affiliates marshal the power to organize and get contracts with resistant employers all over the country is the Division's hallmark.

From the mundane to the sophisticated, traditional to nontraditional, Comprehensive Campaigns are becoming increasingly routine among FAST's affiliates.

As a direct result of experience gained and training received through campaigns and other FAST programs, hundreds of local unions now regularly gather detailed information about targeted employers. This allows elected leaders to make better decisions, and conduct more effective campaigns, as well as smarter, more productive engagements.

Health, Safety and the Environment

The continuing mission of the Department's Division of Health, Safety and the Environment is to provide our affiliates and their members with information, resources and strategies to assist them in securing healthy and safe working conditions. Now in its thirteenth year, the program continues to develop into a nationally recognized clearinghouse of information about health and safety in the food and service sectors of the American economy.

1990 and 1991 were busy years for the Division, as it assumed responsibility for FAST's environmental affairs. The Division has begun assembling information utilizing environmental laws and regulations to protect men and women at work. We have focused significant effort on building coalitions with members of the environmental community, and have spoken at numerous conferences on building bridges between labor and environmentalists. The Division also continued to provide services to FAST affiliates following specific requests.

Governed by resolutions adopted at the last three FAST conventions, the Division continued its efforts for the promulgation of a complete grain facilities standard.

FAST was victorious in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. OSHA was ordered to lift a stay that had been imposed on portions of the standard. FAST was also successful in prompting OSHA to reconsider expanding the dust action level facility wide. The Division coordinated Grain Workers Memorial Day in April 1990, which included commemorative speeches on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The Health, Safety and Environment Division devoted considerable resources to improving workers' right to know about chemical hazards they face on the job and in their communities. FAST worked with OSHA, MSHA, the ILO, the EPA and the Administrative Conference of the United States in improving these regulations. Division representatives also provided right to know training for hundreds of workers.

The Division worked with the Transportation•Communications Union (TCU) in surveying its members on their use of video display terminals. This project compiled a 100 question survey, sent it to 30,000 TCU members, tallied the results and issued a series of reports. The survey results have been used by the TCU to craft bargaining proposals and will be used to promulgate future regulations.

The Division also participated in the legislative arena to ensure that the voice of food and service workers was heard in the halls of Congress: FAST testified before a task force in Albany, NY, regarding health and safety in the food industry; worked with a variety of House and Senate committees; and assisted in developing proposals for OSHA reform which will be the preeminent labor health and safety issue of the next several years. FAST is also participating in tripartite discussions with industry and government officials about problems with the nation's workers' compensation systems.

Legislation

FAST, working in conjunction with its affiliates, has strived to construct innovative legislative programs based on sound policy and irrefutable facts.

Constantly charting a wide variety of issues that affect the food and services industries, as well as important social issues, FAST's Division of Legislation worked on a wide variety of issues important to all working men and women during the 101st Congress.

- FAST has been working with the AFL-CIO to construct a sensible approach to providing national health care.
- FAST is a member of a broad coalition of groups prompting family and medical leave.
- FAST led the fight to increase OSHA penalties and is still working to improve criminal sanctions under the federal job safety law.
- FAST worked with labor and consumer groups to fashion a reliable seafood inspection system.
- FAST helped craft strong consumer protection legislation to update the nation's food labeling system.
- FAST worked with the House Agriculture Committee to write strong language on pesticides in the 1990 Farm Bill.

FAST attempts to fully support affiliates and speaks as a common voice on issues of concern to all members of the Department. The Division strives to provide a Washington presence for our affiliates, especially for those without a full time lobbyist.

Over the past year we have developed several methods to keep our affiliates updated on any variety of legislative initiatives.

Our lobbying efforts are unique to say the least. Based on accurate and factual information, FAST attempts to integrate our legislative agenda with the comprehensive campaign structure.

During the past year, FAST also played a role in several major hearings that were held on the Hill: the Division helped arrange important hearings on child labor; FAST's Legislative Division testified before the Senate on legislation concerning gray market goods; President Harbrant testified before the House Banking Committee on the Savings and Loan debacle; and FAST's director of special services testified before the New York State Assembly on workers and consumer health and safety in the food industry.

The Division has focused considerable effort on addressing the problem of child labor, both here and abroad. The enforcement sweeps launched by the Department of Labor in the Spring of 1990 confirmed FAST's worst suspicions — the majority of child labor scofflaws are members of the food and retail industries.

FAST helped the House Subcommittee on Employment and Housing prepare for these hearings by providing information and helping to locate witnesses. Many of our affiliates were involved. The hearings were enlightening to say the least. Over the course of the year, we completed two reports of a three part series on child labor in the United States. FAST is an active member of the Child Labor Coalition and is working closely with Congress and the Senate as legislation is drafted. Recent efforts have focused on international child labor efforts.

Division of Special Services

The workplace is a laboratory of social trends and, at the same time, a profoundly political place. Every day, unions discover and realize ways that our nation's destiny becomes manifest through the work we do. And every day, unions improve jobs and working conditions. This has become so routine, that we have begun to take ourselves for granted!

It is increasingly important that FAST, our affiliates and fellow trade unionists speak out about what we are seeing, experiencing and confronting — if we don't, no one will. Issues such as drug testing and computer surveillance, the impact wage concessions have on a community's standard of living and the fall out from leveraged buy-outs are all phenomena that unions can articulate better than anyone else.

FAST is committed to striving for dignity, justice and respect for all workers. Many of the methods undertaken in attempting to meet these goals may seem slightly unorthodox to some.

FAST recently worked with Legislation to develop some different lobbying devices. Special Services used traditional letters, poems, handbills, simulated packages of beef, food labels and menus.

The Division worked with Health, Safety and Environment to develop a comprehensive strategy on Grain Worker's Memorial Day and is presently combining forces on a briefing book on the environment for workers and their families and are forging coalitions with environmental advocates and media representatives. FAST worked with Renew America on their "Searching for Success" program to find the nation's best examples of cleanup programs that work.

Special Services has been instrumental in working with People Against Dangerous Delivery (PADD). This group was formed to convince delivery companies to formulate the safest policies possible. PADD has had some successes. For example: the District of Columbia passed regulations this past year requiring that companies consider their workers when developing delivery policies. Other communities are considering similar regulations.

PADD has become a regular feature in the press. They've agitated for effective child labor laws, participated in Congressional hearings and served as a clearinghouse of information for victims of dangerous delivery accidents.

PADD is a demonstration of support and solidarity to workers in the fast food sector, to communities and to kids. It is a reflection of all the labor movement can be.

FAST, through its Special Services Division attempted to extend the message to trade unionism in other ways as well.

- FAST developed a board game about the labor movement and wrote publicly about its potential as a training tool.
- FAST helped the Council on Economic Priorities develop a workplace issues category for "Shopping for a Better World". The Division's Director is an advisor to CEP.
- FAST sponsored a program for college students to come to Washington and gain some experience by working with us for a short period.
- FAST has developed "tent cards" on dignity, justice, respect and solidarity.
- FAST has devised ad slicks to promote worthy social causes and labor concerns.
- FAST monitors developments in the media for innovations which may help the entire family of labor.
- FAST is developing new programs and materials that address the changing makeup and outlook of the American work force.
- FAST has worked closely with the Boy Scouts of America to teach the nation's youth about the ideals of the labor movement.
- FAST co-sponsored an information house at Earth Day to let the public know of labor's environmental concerns.

Through these and other programs the FAST Special Services Division has proven itself to be an indescribable, but integral part of our operations. It's truly the "comprehensive" in the comprehensive campaign.

Industrial Union Department

Organizing

Currently, 20 unions are involved in the Industrial Union Department's cooperative organizing program, which receives direction from the Department's Committee on Organization, chaired by United Paperworkers International Union President Wayne Glenn. These unions have assigned 48 organizers to work in six separate regions (Georgia, Southeast, Metrolina, Mississippi/Alabama, Nashville, and Knoxville). The program continues to attract new support from IUD affiliated unions.

In June, 1990, the IUD initiated the Metrolina project, based in Charlotte, N.C., which encompasses both North and South Carolina counties within a 50-mile radius of Charlotte. A special emphasis is being placed on foreign-owned firms in order to take advantage of our relationship with foreign unions.

During the two-year period ending June 30, 1991, the IUD participated in 100 organizing campaigns involving 21,557 employees. Final determinations were made in 89 of those campaigns. Recognition was received or elections won in 68 percent of the completed campaigns involving 11,083 employees, while 32 percent of the elections involving 7,281 employees were lost. The remaining 11 elections have not yet been resolved because of pending unfair labor practice charges or objections to the conduct of the election. The IUD's 68 percent win record exceeds the all-union average of just under 50 percent.

A major factor in many of the successful campaigns has been the 11-year old organizer intern program. To date, 50 interns have participated in an on-the-job training program that was designed to give IUD affiliates the opportunity to utilize the services of energetic and committed organizers for up to two years. There are presently nine interns assigned to the program.

The IUD's cooperative organizing program was an integral part of several major victories. Specifically, successful campaigns were concluded at Freightliner in Mt. Holly, NC, involving 1340 employees (UAW); Dyncorp in Columbus, MS, involving 465 employees (IUE); ConAgra Poultry in Athens, AL, involving 631 employees (UFCW); Russell Stover in Cookeville, TN, involving 700 employees (BCT); and Arcata Graphics in Nashville/Clarksville involving 884 employees (GCIU). During this period, 28 first contracts involving units totaling 4524 employees were also ratified.

Coordinated Bargaining

Through its collective bargaining program, under the guidance of our Coordinated Bargaining Committee chaired by President John Barry of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the IUD brings together the strengths and expertise of the various international unions holding contracts with major conglomerates. Today this program includes 68 company and

industry committees with 2,100 bargaining units covering approximately 500,000 workers.

Several new company-based committees were inaugurated during the last two years, including ones for workers at Union Tank Car, Terex (formerly Fruehauf), ADT, PPG, DuPont, Handy & Harman, BTR, and Tredegar. Greater coordination was also achieved at Bay State Gas, which is part of the Inter-Union Gas Conference activities. The IUD's air conditioning industry conference brings together unions representing 20,000 workers. In addition, the appliance industry committee, which brings together 18 unions at 85 organized plants representing 50,000 workers, now includes additional committees for individual companies. The committee for employees of Swedish-owned Electrolux, has been active at the international level in efforts to convince Electrolux, which has an admirable labor relations record in its home country, to deal fairly with its domestic employees. In cooperation with the Metal Trades Department, the IUD coordinates a conference for nuclear workers, which concentrates on health and safety problems of workers in government-owned nuclear plants.

Legislation

In 1989, the IUD and its affiliates were asked to lead the first phase of a campaign for legislation to ban the firing of strikers. This effort involved three elements: an education program; a lobbying campaign concentrated not only in Washington but in key states and districts; and an effort to enlist the support of non-labor allies.

The education program, which was based on several nation-wide polls and focus group programs, included the preparation of a wide array of materials, particularly an effective video produced in collaboration with the Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

The grassroots campaign was made possible by the assignment of full-time staff by more than a dozen international unions to work with state federation officers in key states.

Labor's allies responded to the legislative issue with enthusiasm, and helped in the formation of an unprecedented number of national and local committees, representing religious, Black, Hispanic and women's leaders supporting the legislation.

As a result of the coordinated effort, an unexpectedly large number of members of Congress signed up as co-sponsors of the bills, which would amend both the National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act, and which were introduced as H.R. 5 and S. 55 in the 102nd Congress. H.R. 5 passed the House on a 247 to 182 vote in July, 1991.

In 1991, the IUD effort was incorporated into a total AFL-CIO campaign with labor's effort directed at a Senate vote.

IUD legislative activity has also focused on a number of other issues, including the promotion of government support for high technology development, and support for a trade policy which would not further damage the country's industrial base.

The department's annual legislative conferences in 1990 and 1991 attracted a growing number of affiliates, and concentrated on striker replacement as well as other issues.

Direction for the legislative program is provided by the Committee on Legislation, chaired by International Ladies' Garment Workers Union President Jay Mazur.

Coordinated Campaigns

During the past two years the IUD has dramatically increased its level of support for coordinated campaign activities, with a continued emphasis on linking the program with our organizing and bargaining efforts. Guidance is provided by a committee chaired by United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners President Sigurd Lucassen.

The IUD played a significant role in the successful campaign against the Tribune Corporation and the New York Daily News, which resulted in a major victory for the printing trades unions, and the entire labor movement. Throughout the year-long effort, working through the AFL-CIO Strategic Approaches Committee and the IUD's Newspaper Industry Coordinating Committee (NICC), the involved unions worked to build solidarity and keep people on the job through an inside game program, supplemented by an aggressive all-fronts boycott. All activities were supplemented by a "corporate" campaign involving communications with creditors and shareholders. The NICC continues to coordinate campaigns and other forms of inter-union cooperation in cities around the country, including Cincinnati, OH, Tampa, FL, and Wilmington, DE.

The department is providing major support in the campaign to end the lock-out of 1,700 United Steelworkers of America members at the Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation in Ravenswood, WV. A multi-faceted campaign is putting pressure on domestic and foreign owners and creditors.

The IUD functions as the operational center of the North American Coordinating Committee of the International Federation of Chemical, Energy and General Workers Unions (ICEF), and plays a significant role in developing global campaigns against anti-union foreign-owned companies operating in the U.S., and against U.S. firms with global holdings.

The IUD maintains a staff committee designed to heighten awareness of these techniques and share experience and expertise among unions, and works closely with the AFL-CIO's Strategic Approaches Committee.

Reindustrialization

The IUD's Reindustrialization Committee, chaired by UAW President Owen Bieber, has begun a review of public policy issues relating to the

development of technology. The first product will be a conference on the subject in the fall of 1991, followed by the publication of a volume dealing with labor's concern with the issues.

International Trade

Trade issues are addressed for the department by the IUD Committee on International Trade, chaired by United Steelworkers of America President Lynn R. Williams.

The IUD has worked hard to re-direct international trade negotiations initiated by the Reagan-Bush administrations. In the Uruguay Round of GATT trade negotiations, the IUD and its affiliates, with the support of the Labor-Industry Coalition for International Trade (LICIT), have worked to prevent the Administration from weakening U.S. laws protecting manufacturing industries against foreign unfair trade practices. Preventing the sacrifice of industries such as textiles and apparel is another priority area. LICIT published an important study of dumping issues in the trade round and two reports, "The Uruguay Round: Will it be a Good Deal for U.S. Manufacturing?" (June 1990), and "Report Card on the Uruguay Round and Manufacturing" (Jan. 1991), have helped raise the profile of manufacturing issues in these negotiations.

LICIT is now undertaking an initiative aimed at private anti-competitive practices of our trading partners.

Through the Committee to Preserve American Color Television, COM-PACT, the IUD has worked with the directly involved unions — International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, International Association of Machinists, IUE and the Communications Workers of America — to prevent circumvention of anti-dumping orders on color TVs and tubes, as dumped components have been assembled in Mexico and shipped into the United States without paying the penalty duties that would have been assessed on direct imports.

Jobs With Justice

The Jobs With Justice campaign, initiated by a number of IUD member unions under the leadership of CWA President Morton Bahr in 1987, has continued to expand as a nation-wide movement of solidarity among unions and of mutual support between the labor movement and progressive groups in the broader community.

National health care reform has been the focus of Jobs With Justice (JWJ) activities in 1990 and 1991, with Health Care Action Days held in over 100 cities in October 1990 and June 1991. Over 20 participating international unions and dozens of community groups are taking part in the JWJ coalition in Washington and around the country.

Health, Safety and Environment

The last two years have seen a continued expansion of IUD health, safety and environment programs in response to the growing need to prevent, treat and compensate for occupational disease and injury, under the direction of a committee chaired by IAM President George Kourpias.

To improve the chances of medical assistance to workers at risk because of past exposure to toxic agents such as radiation, asbestos and carcinogenic chemicals, IUD continues to press for passage of notification and assistance bills, while at the same time working with the Public Health Service and the Department of Energy in the design and implementation of programs that can be conducted without further congressional authorization.

The Workplace Health Fund, created by the Department to bring resources for research and educational program development into the international labor movement, assists affiliates conducting hazardous waste training programs through a Clearinghouse; arranges medical assistance for DOE nuclear workers and applies new discoveries in detecting and treating cancer through its Selikoff Fund; establishes ergonomics training centers for union staff; and prevents plant explosions and toxic releases through the Center for Emergency Response Planning. The IUD, in addition, investigates a broad spectrum of issues ranging from hazardous child labor to OSHA reform in conjunction with management, through the Occupational Safety and Health Forum, and with 150 government and university scientists in 30 countries who are members of the Collegium Ramazzini.

Pension Funds

Under the auspices of its Committee on Pension and Benefit Fund Policy, chaired by President Jack Sheinkman of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, the department has been working to secure federal legislation that would limit pension plan reversions. It has also taken steps to strengthen the ability of union members to have a measure of control over their pension funds, mainly through federal legislation to mandate worker representation on single employer funds.

The department's quarterly publication, "Labor & Investments," continues to be the labor movement's source of information on the role and status of pension and benefit funds in our society. In addition, the IUD regularly convenes a group of administrators of industrially based multi-employer pension funds, enabling them to share information and discuss areas of mutual interest.

Even though it has been affected by massive plant closings in the manufacturing sector, the IUD-sponsored multi-union, multi-employer National Industrial Group Pension Plan (NIGPP) remains financially strong with assets of \$440 million. This represents an increase of \$40 million in the past two years. The NIGPP, which is the official multi-employer plan of the Allied Industrial

Workers, UAW and the United Steel Workers, currently covers 31,000 active and 12,500 retired participants from more than 600 bargaining units, represented by 20 national and international unions.

Officers

The IUD Executive Council elected the following new members in the period June 29, 1989 to July 15, 1991: Kenneth L. Coss of United Rubber Workers, Frank Hanley of the International Union of Operating Engineers, George J. Kourpias of IAM and Richard Trumka of the United Mine Workers of America.

Howard D. Samuel and Elmer Chatak remain as President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively.

Maritime Trades Department

Operation Desert Shield/Storm proved beyond doubt that American workers can still deliver. Without advance preparation, workers in virtually every sector of the economy — manufacturing, services, transportation, government — proved they are capable of producing quality products as efficiently as anyone in the world. Had it not been for the skilled American workers who supported the nation's rush to meet the surge requirements of an unprecedented military activation, the sterling victory we achieved might well have tarnished.

But while the nation's attention was focused on its valiant sons and daughters fighting in the Persian Gulf, long-standing problems continued to fester on the home front. The recession, which actually began one month before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, was beginning to have its impact as tens of thousands of workers lost their jobs. This in turn made more severe a number of crises that continue to plague all Americans: the savings and loan crisis, which promises to be the number one competitor for scarcer federal budget dollars; ever-spiraling increases in the cost of medical care, whose current inequitable regime places us at a severe competitive disadvantage with our industrialized trading partners; the continuing export of American jobs and the consequent loss of available trained and skilled workers; and an intractable balance-of-trade deficit, further weakening our economy and increasing unemployment.

The maritime industry has had a particularly difficult time surviving in the face of a generalized economic downturn. Despite repeated promises to the contrary, the federal government has been negligent in providing leadership to revitalize the merchant marine to its necessary capacity as the nation's fourth arm of defense. Unwilling to commit the resources required to promote a healthy

maritime sector, some Bush administration officials appear content to allow the industry to continue drifting aimlessly.

Fortunately, the Persian Gulf War underscored the role domestic sealift capacity plays in enabling the United States to protect democratic ideals around the globe. Members of Congress, administration officials, military officers and industry officials, recognizing the industry's value, have expressed strong interest in developing a maritime policy capable of improving the industry's fate during the 1990s.

Consequently, the Maritime Trades Department (MTD) takes very seriously its responsibility of representing the interests of its affiliated unions in the halls of Congress and the Executive Branch. The department is determined to take advantage of this important opportunity to promote substantive policy improvements. A review of MTD activities since 1989 reflects the foundation on which we intend to build.

Washington Activities

Congressional reaction to the state of the maritime industry took tangible form last October with the passage of defense appropriation and authorization bills containing \$900 million for sealift ships and \$250 million for construction of strategic sealift vessels. This swift legislative action was followed up by an additional \$1.3 billion appropriation that was included in the fiscal year 1992 defense budget. These amounts are substantially greater than those appropriated in the past, and reflect growing concern about future sealift shortfalls.

Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm were the first major tests of a national maritime policy, or lack of one, characterizing the last decade. During that time, the government preferred simply to acquire and lay up vessels in reserve status rather than vigorously supporting an active commercial fleet. This myopic fixation on the Ready Reserve Force, along with the government's refusal to provide commercial ship construction incentives, resulted in marginal capability. Now many in government are simply advocating adding vessels to the reserve fleet as the way to prepare for future emergencies. While the MTD appreciates the surge sealift capacity available through expansion of the RRF, it believes both active commercial shipbuilding and vessel operating sectors must be maintained to perform the broadened functions that will be needed.

Recent legislative activity points to further congressional interest in improving the industry's viability. Bills have been introduced to guarantee the reemployment rights of merchant seamen serving in a war zone, and the administration has proposed the creation of a merchant marine reserve. While the MTD does not reject outright any initiatives that can support sealift, the department has long put forth the position that successful sealift requires a broad long-term commitment, sustained through times of peace as well as times of war. Only a program to keep active commercial vessels loaded with cargo and

underway will ensure that sufficient ships and crews are available during the next crisis.

Readiness is also affected by where vessels, both commercial and military, are located when an emergency occurs. The continued concentration of Navy vessels in a small number of ports has the effect of creating concentrated targets vulnerable to attacks that in a single stroke could wipe out a major portion of American defense capability. The obvious solution is to disperse the naval fleet among a larger number of strategic port locations. Such a move would have the additional salutary effects of spreading the economic benefits to ship repair yards and related industrial companies associated with fleet maintenance around the country, and would provide suitable facilities to keep newer ships in a state of readiness.

Consequently, the MTD supported the concept of strategic homeporting, and backed Navy plans to locate homeports in the Northeast, Northwest and on the Gulf Coast. The Department conveyed its position last year to the House Armed Services Committee in the hopes of decreasing overcrowding at the current limited network of ports.

The defense authorization bill unfortunately contained a provision directing the closure of the strategic homeport of Staten Island, New York while awaiting the outcome of a Navy study of the port's infrastructure. This year, the homeporting issue has been clouded by its consideration by the Base Closure and Realignment Commission as a possible candidate for elimination. The MTD believes sufficient national security and economic considerations exist to justify complete development of the Navy's homeporting concept. The department petitioned the commission to delete these facilities from the list of bases being recommended for closure.

The maritime sector has faced a number of threats presented in the guise of international trade talks. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has been the vehicle for its 107 member nations to seek to lower trade barriers and increase international commerce. Throughout the current Uruguay Round of talks, the MTD fought the inclusion of maritime in any services agreement negotiated by the trade ministers. Last year the MTD submitted testimony to the Senate Finance Committee outlining the impact that maritime inclusion under GATT would have on the merchant marine. Specifically, the department noted that both present and future maritime promotion programs would be jeopardized, our maritime policies made subordinate to the judgments of other countries, and our domestic trades would be opened to heavily subsidized foreign carriers. We were successful in gaining the co-sponsorship of a majority of senators and more than a third of the House of Representatives of resolutions opposing such inclusion.

Throughout 1990, we attempted to gain a similar commitment from the Bush administration. As the talks deadline approached, the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) offered a so-called exclusion proposal which in fact would have had the opposite effect by opening the door to international influence over the course of our maritime policies. At the last minute, the administration reversed itself, and insisted that all transportation services should be addressed

outside of the GATT process. However, the talks collapsed in December before any final agreement could be arranged. With the revival of negotiations, the MTD will continue to oppose any services agreement that could in any way infringe on the sovereignty of the U.S.-flag merchant marine.

The administration this year linked its request for an extension of congressional fast-track authority for GATT to a similar request for a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) including Mexico and Canada. The MTD joined the Federation in opposing this move. In a letter to every member of both houses of Congress, the Department urged endorsement of H.R. 101, introduced by Rep. Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.), and S. 78 by Sen. Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.) to revoke the fast-track authority, arguing that both the social and economic differences between the U.S. and Mexico and the resistance of many GATT members to accommodate American concerns call for such a move.

All Port Maritime Councils were urged to contact their congressional delegations to voice concerns about the inevitable loss of American jobs that would occur unless the United States, first, developed a comprehensive national trade policy: one which has trade equity as its central objective. Fast track authority was ultimately granted the United States Trade Representative to enter into these trade negotiations. The MTD will monitor the progress of these talks and stand ready to contribute to the debate on what these final agreements should permit.

While multilateral negotiations are fraught with danger, bilateral agreements between trading partners are the appropriate means of boosting the expansion of trade while helping to bring down unfair trade barriers. Over the last several years, however, a number of important bilateral agreements were allowed to lapse at the expense of thousands of American manufacturing, maritime and agriculture jobs.

In June 1990, the United States and the USSR signed a new five-year bilateral maritime agreement. Unlike the previous agreement with the Soviet Union, this pact does not provide for cargo sharing — an element which should be key to any maritime treaty. Although the MTD fought to ensure that a strict cargo sharing provision be included, the administration, succumbing to pressure from major grain traders, reversed its initial position and left it out of the agreement. Instead, the protocol provides access to the cross trades, eases and broadens access to ports in both countries and assures that the selection of vessels will be based solely on commercial considerations.

Trade talks notwithstanding, many American industries have been hurt by foreign dumping on our shores. The MTD has long supported some form of legislation to address the enormous economic disruptions caused by the flood of imports in the textile, clothing and shoe industries. In the past, the department joined the needle trade unions in securing a majority of both houses of Congress in seeking to stem the growth of these unfair imports, which have claimed the jobs of over 400,000 Americans in the last decade, only to see a bill vetoed by the president. History repeated itself in October 1990 when President Bush scuttled the latest textile bill with a veto that Congress was unable to override.

Shipyards, once a symbol of America's industrial strength, have also fallen on hard times. A combination of foreign governments' largesse toward their home yards and our own government's negligence has driven many domestic shipyards out of business, and put the remainder on a thin lifeline connected to naval construction and repair work. The MTD has sought restoration of government support for American shipbuilding and effective retaliation against unfair foreign competition.

In 1989, domestic shipbuilders forced the administration's hand by filing a Section 301 complaint against the dumping practices of their foreign counterparts. The government responded by commencing negotiations with the leading offending nations, including Korea, Japan, Germany and Norway, in an effort to persuade them to stop shipbuilding subsidies. The MTD has participated in a series of labor meetings with representatives of the USTR and the Labor Department and encouraged a prompt and beneficial resolution of these talks. Through the summer of this year, the parties have failed to establish a program that will permit a return to a market approach to ship construction worldwide. Regrettably, these calls for abandonment of subsidies have been met with a series of requests by foreign shipyards for additional support by their governments. Sensing the futility surrounding these negotiations, congressional interests introduced bills in the last Congress seeking to level the playing field for domestic shipyards. Similar measures have been reintroduced in the current Congress and have commenced moving through the legislative process.

As the popularity of leisure cruises has grown by quantum leaps, so too has concern about the safety aboard the huge passenger vessels that carry their largely American clientele to exotic ports of call. The U.S. cruise market is overwhelmingly dominated by foreign-flag vessels, which are currently exempt from U.S. manning and safety standards, thereby raising a non-competitive barrier to U.S.-flag operators to enter the lucrative trade.

The MTD last year presented testimony to the House Merchant Marine Subcommittee itemizing a number of ideas to improve passenger safety, with special emphasis on foreign-flag operations. Among the proposals were increased Public Health Service vessel sanitation inspections, more thorough accident investigations, uniform language ability among safety-related personnel, new standards for day care, medical personnel and facilities, and fire-fighting and lifeboat training.

With American tourists making up the bulk of this growing maritime sector, it is only appropriate that the vessels that draw the bulk of their trade from U.S. ports meet minimum American standards. The MTD is supporting H.R. 1191, introduced by House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Chairman Walter Jones (D-N.C.), requiring the reporting of casualties involving foreign passenger vessels, as well as H.R. 1126, by Rep. William Clay (D-Mo.), to extend federal labor laws to foreign-flag ships.

The Jones Act continued to be the subject of much contention. The winter of 1989-90 was marked by unseasonably cold temperatures that spawned spot fuel oil shortages, particularly in the Northeast, prompting a number of requests to waive the Jones Act to allow foreign vessels to deliver the heating fuel. After

the waivers were denied and stories of personal hardships were given substantial publicity, there were many calls for solutions, ranging from a streamlining of the waiver process to a blanket waiver during energy emergencies or, alternatively, an outright repeal of the Jones Act.

An investigation undertaken by the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee concluded that the Maritime Administration had acted properly when it had refused foreign tankers access to the domestic market. In the debate that followed this report, the MTD insisted that waivers should be granted only on a case-by-case basis, and only after it was determined that suitable U.S.-flag vessels are unavailable. The result was a set of procedures adopted by the Customs Service, Energy Department and the Maritime Administration to improve government coordination and response time to specific requests for waivers.

This regulatory scuffle was only one example of how other industries have traditionally blamed the Jones Act for their own economic woes, and have sought to weaken or eliminate its provisions. Thanks in part to pressure from energy producers, President Bush ordered a blanket waiver of the Jones Act for the emergency drawdown of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve immediately after the outbreak of hostilities in the Persian Gulf earlier this year. As a result, foreign-flag vessels monopolized the tanker carriage of this oil, squeezing out their unsubsidized American competitors. Clearly, each year brings with it new challenges to America's cabotage laws, which are kept in place only through the determination of the MTD and other maritime groups who support the domestic maritime sector with U.S.-owned and -built vessels manned by American seamen.

The grounding of the *Exxon Valdez* in Prince William Sound, Alaska also had a number of ramifications affecting U.S. energy policy, both short- and long-term. One of the most immediate effects was to cause the delay of legislation to open the state's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) to exploration and development. Before the highly publicized incident, the MTD had successfully promoted an amendment in the Senate Energy Committee assuring that any oil extracted from the ANWR would be reserved for domestic consumption. Such a restriction would ensure that American seafarers and shipyard workers would retain the benefits of their nation's natural resources, while increasing energy security, reducing consumer energy costs and boosting utilization of the U.S.-flag tanker fleet. With interest in domestic energy supplies renewed by the crisis in the Persian Gulf, the department is hopeful that new ANWR legislation, with a similar restriction, will pass during the present Congress.

Through its activities as a member of the Coalition to Keep Alaska Oil, the MTD also helped convince Congress to vote an extension of the Export Administration Act (EAA) through June 30, 1992, including the Section 7(d) restrictions on the export of Alaska North Slope oil. Although the EAA extension was vetoed by President Bush, the restrictions remain in place under emergency presidential powers. The Senate passed early in the current congressional session a bill extending the Export Administration Act to June 30, 1992,

and it is now awaiting House action. Since every barrel of oil exported to the Pacific Rim must be replaced by an import from potentially unstable parts of the world, the MTD has worked within a broad coalition of labor and industry to ensure that the restrictions on Alaska oil exports are retained.

Keeping our oil at home is a basic premise of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR), which provides the United States with an extra measure of energy security by establishing a buffer between domestic consumption and widely fluctuating supplies during an energy emergency. One such emergency was created last summer when Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait. This prompted the administration to move forward with a test of the system by drawing down the reserve by a nominal amount, only to be followed last January by a wartime drawdown.

The MTD views the SPR as an essential component of America's overall strategy to become energy independent. With the developments of the last decade, including increased oil imports, decreased domestic production and serious disruptions to overseas sources of oil, as well as the hostilities in the Persian Gulf, it is more important than ever that it be adequately maintained. The department has supported legislative moves to expand the SPR beyond its current 750 million barrel cap. Additionally, in the wake of President Bush's blanket waiver of the Jones Act under the emergency conditions of the drawdown ordered immediately after the beginning of Operation Desert Storm, as well as the possible creation of a Defense Petroleum Reserve that could be considered exempt from cabotage requirements, we will remain vigilant to make sure that U.S. maritime laws are strictly enforced in any future reserve fills and drawdowns.

While Congress has debated for the better part of a decade what to do about liability in the event of a catastrophic domestic oil spill, it took the *Exxon Valdez* incident in Alaska to force its hand and pass a comprehensive oil spill bill. Included in the legislation are the phase-in of the use of double hulls on tankers over the next 20 years, stricter manning and pilotage standards, more stringent licensing, registry and documentation requirements, establishment of a billion-dollar federal spill clean-up fund and the ability for individual states to seek unlimited damages. The MTD believes the legislation represents an important step towards achieving a proper balance in protecting both our environmental and maritime resources.

As a vital component of the American merchant marine, the Great Lakes fleet has faced unique challenges. Heavily reliant on the waterways infrastructure, its survival demands federal action to improve locks, deepen channels, improve ports, procure icebreaking capability and combat the influx of zebra mussels. The MTD has supported the U.S.-flag dredging fleet in many of these projects, as well as calling for its use in the post-war reconstruction of Persian Gulf ports.

With the first farm bill up in five years, the Department had its hands full last year fending off attacks on cargo preference. In an echo of the battles that shaped up over the last farm bill in 1985, attempts were made in the Congress to deny the U.S. merchant marine its rightful share of foreign food aid shipments.

The MTD worked with its many friends in Congress to counter a series of moves to block these government-impelled cargoes from American vessels, and the final farm bill passed in October 1990.

While agriculture is a high-profile industry, aquaculture often gets ignored. Beef and poultry have been subject to mandatory federal inspection programs for decades, but no similar program exists for seafood, thus jeopardizing the safety of the American diet. Of the various legislative efforts to correct this problem, the MTD preferred a bill passed by the House in the last Congress which included important whistleblower protections needed by fish processing workers, who would be assuming much of the inspection responsibility themselves. A Senate bill lacking this protection also passed, but the two were never reconciled in conference before Congress adjourned last fall.

With a drug epidemic sweeping the country, the MTD has tried to strike a balance between the need for a drug- and alcohol-free workplace and the constitutionally protected privacy rights of American citizens. When the Coast Guard established drug testing of merchant seamen in a manner too broad, MTD affiliates brought suit, and a federal court blocked the agency from implementing random testing until it could more narrowly define the individuals to be tested.

As of last December, all other drug testing programs, including pre-employment, periodic, post accident and reasonable cause, are fully in place. A revised random testing program designed to meet the court's requirement to link testing with safety-related jobs will soon join them. The MTD will continue to seek ways to reduce drug and alcohol abuse among American workers while ensuring that their rights are preserved.

For nearly half a century, merchant seamen who served and sacrificed during World War II have been singled out for discriminatory treatment, most notably in the awarding of veterans benefits. While some benefits were finally granted, the eligibility period ends August 15, 1945, nearly 18 months before that for the uniformed services. An MTD-supported bill was introduced in the last Congress to end this latest form of discrimination by extending the eligibility period to Dec. 31, 1946. The legislation was reported out of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee but died in the House Veterans Affairs Committee. However, another bill to extend veterans benefits to otherwise unqualified merchant seamen has again been reported out of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee in the present Congress and awaits hopefully more favorable Veterans Committee action.

The MTD maintained its active involvement in general labor issues, including those governing the public sector work force. The Hatch Act is over half a century old, and it hasn't improved with age. Originally passed to protect federal and certain state and county employees from unfair political pressure in connection with their public jobs, in recent years it has served largely to block government workers from free and open participation in the political process. While the last Congress passed a bill giving federal workers the right to engage in limited forms of political activities, it fell before President Bush's veto axe. Had it been enacted, the affected employees would have been permitted to work

in campaigns and voter registration drives and to do some fundraising. Because it believes that political activity is the highest form of expression in a democracy, the MTD supports continued efforts to reform the Hatch Act.

The MTD from the start supported workplace justice at Eastern Airlines, and since the Machinists were forced into a strike in March 1989 backed a legislative remedy to the dispute. That year Congress passed a bill to establish a bipartisan panel to investigate the situation and recommend a solution, but President Bush made it his last veto of 1989. Last year, the House voted 261-160 to override the veto, falling short of the necessary two-thirds vote. Since then, Eastern's sister carrier, equally anti-union Continental, joined her in the bankruptcy courts. The once-proud Eastern has now ceased operations and its various assets, built on the sweat of its workers, are being liquidated.

American workers have been repeatedly displaced or seen their wages and working conditions hurt by an influx of non-immigrant temporary workers. The Immigration Revision and Family Reunification Act, enacted last year, seeks to establish minimum job protection and working standards for Americans, while setting visa limits based on a realistic assessment of anticipated employment requirements. The department supported the efforts of the longshore unions to secure relief from the shipowners' increasing use of alien crewmembers to perform cargo movements in violation of traditional cargo handling practices. Unfortunately, another MTD-backed amendment to require employers to train American workers or students to eventually fill those jobs was defeated.

The MTD strongly supports improvements in the safety and health conditions of the American workplace. Since establishment of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration in 1970 however, little has been done to punish employers for willful violations of the law, even when leading to injury or death. Provisions contained in the 1990 budget reconciliation package to strengthen criminal penalties were stripped from the final bill. The MTD has called for labor-management worksite safety programs, expanded worker rights to refuse abnormally hazardous work, strengthen OSHA shutdown authority, expanded OSHA coverage and improved health and safety programs in the construction industry.

Since the onset of the Reagan administration, organized labor has often been forced to operate under a siege mentality. This attitude, although undesired, is certainly justified. Although they had supported his candidacy, the president ordered the termination of the nation's air traffic controllers who had gone on strike after failing, through the collective bargaining process, to rectify the serious concerns that they had about wages, benefits and, most importantly, safe operating conditions. The legacy of this strike remains today. One can make a strong argument that air travel safety has deteriorated since PATCO members were discharged from their jobs. It also can be said that this strike served as a turning point in collective bargaining relationships. Spurred on by a new breed of management consultant, many companies abandoned the time-honored practice of permitting workers to engage in lawful strike activity without fear of reprisal. Although management had possessed the right to permanently replace workers since the 1938 Supreme Court decision in the Mackay Radio case, few

corporate managers had ever implemented a worker replacement program. With the PATCO strike, however, management was encouraged by the federal government to take on organized labor. Throughout the decade several classic cases of union busting activity surfaced.

Legislation to correct this problem has been introduced in two consecutive Congresses. Simply stated, H.R. 5 and S. 55 would prohibit the permanent replacement of any union member who engages in legitimate strike activities. The MTD, having witnessed the devastating impact that management's use of the Mackay loophole has had on its affiliated unions, has actively supported the AFL-CIO's effort to secure passage of this necessary legislation. Along with other federation affiliates and departments, the MTD has actively lobbied the Congress to secure its passage. The Department also has utilized its port maritime councils to promote participation in grassroots activity through the AFL-CIO's legislative postcard and telephone call-in campaigns.

Inflation in the cost of health care services has far out-paced the economy as a whole, and the combination of a federal budget crisis and economic recession means that fewer and fewer Americans will be able to afford adequate health care. The MTD has voiced its opposition to federal health program cutbacks, while calling for full funding of Medicare, Medicaid and public hospitals. Additionally, we need the enactment of federal health care reform legislation to assure access to quality, affordable health care for all Americans, including those suffering from long-term and chronic health conditions. Further, the insurance industry, which is reaping a windfall from so-called "medigap" policies, should be subject to the same prohibitions against anti-competitive practices that govern most other businesses.

The MTD has promoted guaranteed unpaid maternity leave during the first weeks of a child's life, so that the United States no longer stands as odd man out in the industrialized world. Yet even though a bill establishing family and medical leave standards passed the last Congress, it was vetoed by President Bush. The MTD also supported the inclusion in the 1990 budget reconciliation bill of \$2.5 billion in block grants to states to help provide child care to poor and working families. Finally, the MTD renewed its call for a comprehensive national health-care program. With insurance rates and deductibles skyrocketing, there are indications that Congress will seriously address the health care crisis in the near future.

The Reagan-packed Supreme Court has achieved a working right-wing majority that over the last decade has reversed a number of gains won by the Civil Rights movement. Because the court decisions do not square with congressional intent, Congress passed by substantial margins the Civil Rights Act of 1990. This major MTD-backed bill sought to restore basic workplace rights to minority and women workers. President Bush vetoed the bill, raising quotas, which are not covered in the legislation, as a straw man, even after it was substantially changed to meet certain White House objections, and the veto was sustained by a single vote. Because of the slim margin, it is possible that a renewed effort in the current Congress will succeed.

The much-publicized budget summit last September produced an agreement featuring regressive taxes and huge cuts in unemployment compensation and Medicare. A fairer package, devised with the help of organized labor, was included in an amendment to the Omnibus Reconciliation bill. The final enacted budget package contains most of its provisions, which the Department supported.

Safe, affordable housing should be considered a basic right of every working American. For this reason, the MTD lauded the Housing and Community Development Act of 1990. This important bill re-authorizes and improves many existing housing programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Farmers Home Administration, and includes new construction programs.

A democracy only works if its people are actively involved in the political process. While most registered voters actually vote, 39 percent of those eligible still are not registered. Linking voter registration with driver license applications, targeting low-income citizens who are less likely to be registered and permitting registration by mail were all features of the National Voter Registration Act considered by the last Congress. The MTD-supported bill passed the House but unfortunately died in the Senate.

Affiliate Support

The MTD uses its region ally located port maritime councils to provide localized support for its affiliated unions. This extensive network has proven itself invaluable in helping the Department's professional staff to represent its members on the national level, with federal agencies and members of Congress.

Affiliate and Executive Board Member Changes

In January 1990, the Air Line Pilots disaffiliated from the MTD.

In March 1990, Charles W. Jones, president of the Boilermakers, replaced retiring Vice President Page Groton.

In October 1990, Kenneth L. Coss, president of the Rubber Workers, replaced Milan Stone on the MTD board.

In January 1991, the United Mine Workers of America affiliated with the MTD.

In May 1991, Robert W. Baynes, administrative assistant to the president of the Plumbers and Pipefitters, replaced retiring Dominic Carnevale on the MTD board.

In June 1991, board member Larry R. Jackson was elected president of the Grain Millers.

In June 1991, President Robert J. Holton of the Plasterers and Cement Masons retired and was replaced on the board by newly elected President Vincent J. Panepinto.

On July 15, 1991, Frank Pecquex was appointed administrator of the MTD.

In August 1991, President Richard L. Trumka of the United Mine Workers of America replaced retired Secretary-Treasurer John J. Banovic.

In August 1991, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union disaffiliated from the MTD.

In September 1991, Ande Abbott, director of the Boilermakers' Shipbuilding and Marine Division replaced President Charles W. Jones on the MTD Executive Board.

MTD Projects and Other Activities

Port Maritime Councils. In January 1990, the MTD chartered its 28th port maritime council — the Greater South Florida Maritime Trades Council. The new port maritime council is headed by Raymond T. McKay, president, and Waymon Stewart, secretary-treasurer.

The MTD's network of port maritime councils fulfill a critical need in bringing together the diverse elements of local port communities to add strength to the pursuit of common objectives. Working at both the state and local levels and made up of various councils, districts, locals and lodges of both the MTD-affiliated and non-affiliated unions, the port maritime councils are an essential link between their constituencies and other unions, central federation bodies and the national AFL-CIO. They provide important programs in political action, education, legislation and community involvement.

MTD Scouting Program. For five years, MTD port maritime councils have participated in a unique program to reward deserving Boy and Girl Scouts who have achieved the highest merit by sponsoring them on a two-week expense-paid program at the Seafarers Harry Lundeberg School of Seamanship. With each one representing a different port maritime council, the scouts undergo a broadening experience of visits with their respective congressmen, meetings at AFL-CIO headquarters with department and federation officials and exposure to educational and cultural attractions. Additionally, they have full use of the recreational facilities of the Lundeberg School.

Newsletter. The MTD publishes *Maritime Newsletter*, a monthly chronicle of issues and activities within the scope of the department and its affiliates. Distribution includes labor, management, associations, federal agencies and all members of Congress.

Conclusion

Operation Desert Shield/Storm has focused more national attention on the maritime industry than it has experienced for a long time. The opportunities may never be better to aggressively pursue our legislative agenda. The MTD stands ready to work closely with its affiliates and the officers and staff of the AFL-CIO and all of its constitutional departments to keep the welfare of America's working men and women at the top of the national agenda.

Metal Trades Department

The Metal Trades Department, with jurisdiction covering private and federal shipyard workers, a range of energy production and nuclear facilities, certain mining operations, and chemical and industrial plants throughout the United States, maintains responsibility for collective bargaining, representation, health and safety and legislative concerns for 21 affiliated unions whose members work in these operations. The collective membership of these 21 affiliates exceeds 5 million workers.

Originally chartered in 1908, the department holds collective bargaining responsibility for 500,000 workers in private and public sector enterprises, including shipbuilding and repair yards, chemical and petroleum refineries, non-ferrous metal mines and mills, nuclear plants of the Department of Energy and other industrial plants employing the skills of trades and crafts personnel in operation and maintenance work.

The department's 10-member Executive Council meets quarterly to review comprehensive reports and initiate action on matters submitted by the president.

The department publishes a four-page monthly newsletter, "Metaletter," as the keystone of departmental communications to affiliates and represented members. The format of the "Metaletter" is adaptable to wide circulation, posting on bulletin boards and for use in campaigns and activities of local Metal Trades Councils.

In the period since September 1989, the jurisdictional policy and procedures of the department were utilized by affiliated international unions in 25 cases, of which five were resolved to the satisfaction of the parties involved and seven were referred to arbitration. The remaining 13 cases are pending final disposition.

The research and education director and the general representative of the Metal Trades Department serve councils and affiliated local unions throughout each regional jurisdiction. Both operate out of the national office. The general representative assists in departmental operations.

Metal Trades Councils

Metal Trades Councils are chartered at the request of three or more affiliated international unions which desire to establish a coordinated program of organization and collective bargaining in an area. Approximately 60 local Metal Trades Councils are functioning throughout the nation and the Panama Canal Commission area. Within the federal sector, there are 40 labor-management agreements in effect, covering approximately 60,000 workers in federal installations in the United States.

Representation of Union Workers

The East Coast District Federal Employee Councils are composed of local councils and affiliated local unions representing workers in various government installations. A large majority of the agreements covering federal units are governed by the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978. The department's exclusive bargaining rights for trades and labor units include all naval shipyards and various other naval facilities, several Army, NASA, Coast Guard, Bureau of Standards, National Institutes of Health, other federal agency establishments and the Panama Canal.

The Pacific Coast Metal Trades District Council serves as the coordinating organization for local councils and their affiliated local unions along the Pacific Coast, representing members employed in shipbuilding and repair.

Since the last convention, the department has chartered three new regional councils.

Merchant and Naval Shipbuilding and Repair

The United States' experience in the Persian Gulf underscores the importance of an effective Ready Reserve Fleet of merchant vessels. More than 85 percent of all dry military cargo required for Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm was transported by sea. Unfortunately, because the U.S. shipbuilding industry has been mortally wounded by 15 years of unfair foreign competition, coupled with a series of White House decisions favoring foreign shipyards over the domestic industry, the military sealift was not as effective and more expensive than it should have been.

As the department has pointed out in communication with various congressional committees, military requirements for added merchant vessels in the very near future will require substantially higher appropriations than those proposed by the Bush White House. Despite the bitter experience of operation Desert Storm, when Pentagon planners found that they were unable to provide sufficient transport capacity with vessels from the Ready Reserve Fleet, the Bush administration persists in opposing congressional efforts to at least level the playing field between our domestic shipbuilding industry and foreign competitors.

The department is supporting bipartisan congressional initiatives to counteract foreign subsidy practices with economic sanctions against ship operators who purchase ships from subsidized yards. The only alternative to that option would be for the U.S. to resume subsidies to American shipyards in proportions roughly equal to those enjoyed by foreign competitors. Both labor and management in the shipbuilding industry would prefer the former course.

However, addressing the disparities between U.S. and foreign shipyard subsidy conditions is merely one of many steps which must be taken to help this vital industry begin to recover completely. The raw outlook of the industry's

economic circumstances are outlined starkly in the current economic outlook on Shipbuilding and Repair, published by the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Once the number one shipbuilding nation in the world, the United States has permitted itself to sink to 30th, behind such nations as South Korea and Japan. Even troubled Yugoslavia, which produces a mere 5.3 percent of the worlds output of merchant vessels, is in third place, well ahead of the U.S.

In 1981, the Reagan administration began a program of systematically dismantling the industry, with the repeal of construction differential subsidies, exacerbating competitive problems which already existed in the industry. The Reagan administration's bias against "Buy American" programs (which continues under President Bush) decimated the shipbuilding industry in the U.S. to the point of near death. If not for naval construction and repair work, the industry would become extinct.

The cost in terms of lost infrastructure has been staggering. Virtually half the industry's production workers lost their jobs. The number of active shipyards dwindled from 110 to 67. Related industries — producing anchor chain, marine engines and other maritime related products — fared even worse.

By 1990, there were a mere 17 commercial shipyards in operation, three having gone out of business the previous year. Some 41 shipyards closed during the Reagan era alone.

The job loss that resulted from the reversals of the shipbuilding industry cannot be accurately assessed. Estimates of the number of jobs lost in the industry during the past decade range as high as 60,000, or one-half of the total industry work force.

Assuming that policies to rebuild the industry may one day succeed, the department remains concerned that the industry's potential work force pool will be unwilling to commit to apprenticeships and training in the industry.

The final report of the National Commission on Merchant Marine and Defense proposed a series of steps for recovery of the industry, many of them based on recommendations of a series of National Shipbuilding Conferences sponsored by the department since 1978. The Commission's basic recommendations have been proposed as legislation by Rep. William Bennett (D-Fla.) and are under consideration in Congress. The department supports the major thrusts of this legislation even though we have been critical of some of its elements. These initiatives have not been given much priority by either legislative leaders or the Executive Branch.

The department has voiced its support for initiatives which would require the use of double hull craft to transport oil. This effort dates back to the mid-1970s when the Coast Guard and other institutions concerned with environmental hazards issued warnings that the more fragile single hull craft still in use today carry the potential for environmental disasters.

The downturn of the shipping industry has also taken a toll in shipyard health and safety. Declining profit margins have tempted some yards to ignore aspects of health and safety programs. The department is addressing that issue in an ongoing fashion.

The department has also urged congressional leaders to make certain that any proposed shipbuilding legislation includes steps to assess craft skills and industry needs, programs to recruit young workers and strengthening of Department of Labor apprenticeship commitments.

The department has also lobbied heavily to maintain congressional initiatives to require the Department of Defense and the Maritime Administration to acquire U.S.-built specialized vessels (roll on-roll off, or RO-ROs) rather than purchasing subsidized foreign equivalents some of which are up to 20 years old and whose price would be roughly twice their current book value. Even representatives of the military disagree with the notion of purchasing these foreign vessels, primarily because they do not meet the speed or carrying capacities required by the military.

Apprenticeship and Vocational Training

The department plays an active role in the Joint Apprenticeship Committee, a mutual effort of the Metal Trades and the Building and Construction Trades Departments and affiliated international unions. The committee provides advice on apprenticeship, its promotion and the protection and advancement of trade union principles in apprenticeship programs and policies.

The committee considers the appropriate role of government in apprenticeship to be critical in the successful development of such programs. However, the committee feels that the government's role should be limited to the promotion of the concept. Administration of apprenticeship should remain the joint responsibility of labor and management as equal partners.

The department conducts and coordinates leadership training seminars for council officers, chief stewards, stewards and officers from affiliated locals. Instructors for these programs, who assist the department's education director, are from affiliated national unions.

One-day training sessions are conducted by the department for federal council representatives who prepare wage data collections for pay surveys under the Federal Wage System, Public Law 92-392.

Legislative Activity

Legislative initiatives are pursued through the active involvement of the department's president, staff, legislative committee and legislative consultant. The focal point of the department's legislative program embraces any and all legislation which would affect the availability and viability of employment and economic security of the workers in our jurisdiction. Those initiatives include monitoring and supporting appropriations for agencies which employ federal sector and government-related programs in shipbuilding, mining, manufactur-

ing, nuclear and other energy-related industries. The department also concentrates on employment-related legislation affecting working conditions, including health and safety issues and those which enhance government commitments to apprenticeship and training and to the general welfare of any and all industries in which Metal Trades affiliated union members work.

Departmental initiatives include lobbying for proposals to enhance conditions for the shipbuilding industry, nuclear worker health and safety, federal sector employment and appropriations, Buy American legislation and issues of general concern to the American labor movement.

The department cooperates and assists the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation on issues of concern to organized labor.

Health and Safety for Nuclear Workers

After 40 years of inattention by the Department of Energy, initiatives to establish viable industrial safety and health programs within the nuclear industry have been undertaken in a program jointly developed by the department and the Industrial Union Department. These initiatives include the establishment of a tripartite committee of Department of Energy management, labor and contractors to address the most burning health and safety issues endemic to nuclear facilities for the past generation. These problems include but are not limited to:

- An assessment of the extent of injuries and illnesses to current and former workers in such facilities and the development of treatment programs for them.
- Pursuit of legislation to establish clear authority and procedures for OSHA to assume the administration and enforcement of health and safety programs in the industry.
- The development of educational materials and training for specialized safety programs for workers in the industry.
- Securing appropriations and grants to further research into these specialized health and safety areas.
- Participation in litigation to secure restitution for workers who have been victimized by complicity between contractors and the Department of Energy in historic failures to address critical health and safety needs.

Relationship with Other Departments

The department maintains formal and programmatic relationships with several other trade departments of the AFL-CIO, especially with the Building and Construction Trade Department (apprenticeship and nuclear safety), the Industrial Union Department (nuclear safety) and the Public Employees Depart-

ment and the Human Resources Development Institute (cosponsoring regional forums to prepare for base closings and employment and retraining).

In addition, the department maintains a close working relationship the Maritime Trades, the Union Label and Service Trades, the Food and Allied Service Trades and the Public Employee Departments. It is a continuing policy of the Metal Trades Department to work with all components of the federation in areas of mutual concern.

Department for Professional Employees

The Department's seventh Biennial Convention took place two years ago in Washington, D.C. amid signs that the growth of professional, technical and administrative support occupations — the primary concern of the department — was continuing and will continue in both absolute and relative terms into the next century. The number of workers employed in these white-collar fields is projected to grow by more than 7 million before the year 2000. By comparison, the number of production and craft workers, laborers, operators and fabricators is expected to increase by less than 2 million and the number of agricultural and related workers will actually decline.

The need for unions to reach out and identify with the concerns of these workers, and organize them is obvious. Happily, the 1989 DPE convention gave every sign that the 28 AFL-CIO unions affiliated to the department are facing up to the challenge.

DPE Convention

The convention's theme, "Meeting the Challenges of Change," was addressed at the convention not only in the remarks of the speakers, but in the actions of the 167 delegates who voted to revise the DPE constitution and streamline the structure of the organization in many important ways.

Under the new provisions, an Executive Committee was created. Elected to serve on the 11-member committee were Service Employees President John J. Sweeney; Musicians President J. Martin Emerson; Teachers Secretary-Treasurer Robert Porter; UAW Vice President Stan Marshall; Food and Commercial Workers Vice President Beth Shulman; Actors' Equity Executive Secretary Alan Eisenberg; Electronic Workers Executive Board member Gloria Johnson; AFT President Albert Shanker, who also was elected chairman of the 56-member DPE Executive Board; Jack Golodner, who was elected President of the Department and who will chair the newly formed Executive Committee;

SCME Secretary-Treasurer William Lucy, who was elected general vice president of the DPE; and Office and Professional Employees Secretary-Treasurer Gilles Beauregard, who was elected treasurer of the department.

The convention received greetings from Lech Walesa brought by Andrzej Celinski, a member of the Polish Senate and secretary of the Executive Board of Solidarnosc, and heard remarks by Pal Forgacs, a leading figure in Hungary's democratic movement and founder of the country's first independent free trade union, a union which represents scientific workers. Both noted that the DPE convention was the first meeting of free trade unionists to afford them a platform as elected representatives from newly democratic unions.

Twenty-five resolutions were adopted and forwarded to the AFL-CIO convention which convened the week following. All were subsequently approved at the AFL-CIO's 18th Constitutional Convention.

More than 200 delegates and guests attended a luncheon honoring AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue and the Executive Council. They heard an address by Andrea Mitchell, NBC's chief congressional correspondent and a member of the Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA), a DPE affiliate.

In the afternoon of the one-day convention, the DPE sponsored a symposium for delegates and guests which explored the theme of the convention. The conference, presented in cooperation with the School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, brought together four representatives from DPE's affiliates and from academia to discuss the demographic changes in the American labor force, new forms of union organization and the impact of technological innovation on organizing and servicing technical, office and professional employees. Participants were Steelworkers President Lynn R. Williams, Professor Vernon Briggs of Cornell University, Service Employees President John J. Sweeney, Professor Richard Hurd of the University of New Hampshire, Transportation • Communications Union Vice President Jack Otero, Assistant Professor Charles Heckscher of Harvard Business School and Sandy Wiesmann, executive assistant to the Teachers' Organizing Director.

Committee Activities

An important aspect of the DPE's activities is the meetings of the various committees that help guide the department's work. Each of these committees meets at least four times a year prior to Executive Committee meetings and provides opportunities for those representing the various affiliates to exchange ideas and advise the Executive Committee and Board of the department. These committees are the:

- Committee on Health Service Occupations which has 17 members and is chaired by DPE President Golodner.

- Committee on the Arts, Entertainment and Media Industry which comprises the representatives of 14 affiliates. It is chaired by Ken Orsatti, executive secretary of the Screen Actors Guild.
- Committee on Salaried and Professional Women which brings together the representatives of 20 affiliated unions. It is chaired by Gloria Johnson, director of the Electronic Workers' Department of Social Action and an International Executive Board member.
- Committee on Information and Communications (ICOM) which oversees the department's publications and public relations activities. Beth Shulman, a Food and Commercial Workers vice president, chairs the 19-member committee.
- Committee on Organizing Support Activities (COSA) which involves the representatives of 18 affiliates. Last year, the functions of the committee on Scientific, Technical and Engineering Personnel (STEP) were given to this committee and the STEP committee was dissolved.

Meetings and Workshops

The Committee on Health Service Occupations became the focal point for determining both department and AFL-CIO policy with regard to the amendment and implementation of the Immigration Nurses Relief Act. Enacted in 1989 with the strong support of the department, the Act imposes new and important restrictions on the ability of employers in the health care industry to import non-immigrant "guest worker" nurses for employment in the nation's hospitals, nursing homes and elsewhere. In 1990, again with DPE involvement, amendments were adopted that enable nurses already in the country and qualified, to extend their stay and change their status to "permanent immigrant." Many of the nurses benefitting from this provision are members of affiliated unions. As these laws are implemented, the committee continues to monitor Department of Labor and Immigration Service policies and practices.

In addition, this committee originated a major project to involve and educate the affiliates' members concerning the current debate on national health care policy. Patterned after the successful "study circle" method for member education used for a half century by Scandinavian unions, the DPE study group project provides pre-tested materials exploring the health care issues and assists the affiliates in training study group leaders. Groups of six to 20 participants are formed by the affiliates and they use the printed materials to begin discussions that will continue through five or more sessions. The groups then encourage others to join the project and group members will participate in labor's campaign for health care reform.

The Committee on the Arts, Entertainment and Media Industry, like the Health Services Occupations Committee, has been deeply involved in advising the department with regard to the development of major immigration law reforms. In addition, the committee advises the department and the AFL-CIO

on activities aimed at thwarting attempts by conservative members of Congress and others to undermine federal programs that support the arts and the humanities.

Because this industry has become greatly affected by overseas competition, the committee's attention increasingly has been drawn to international matters that have involved the department in "brokering" pilot programs involving foreign producers, department affiliates and their union counterparts abroad that are aimed at governing the entry of alien workers into the U.S. to work in this industry. In addition, the department has become an active player in encouraging greater cooperation among several International Trade Union Secretariats functioning in the arts, entertainment and mass media arena. These include organizations of performers, audio/visual craft and technical people, journalists, writers and graphics workers.

In order to assist several of the AEMI unions in their international efforts, the department is administering funds from the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), the African American Labor Center and the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) to support union-to-union programs in South America, Egypt and Eastern Europe.

Monitoring and influencing legislation regulating the nation's electronic media and affecting the rights of the affiliates' members under copyright law are also continuing activities of this committee.

The Committee on Salaried and Professional Women, when this was being written, was preparing for a major conference scheduled for Sept. 5-7, 1991 in Washington, D.C. The conference, which will include union representatives from other countries as well as the United States, will address the various issues confronting professional and white-collar women as they move up the career ladders in business, government and unions.

At its meetings, the committee regularly features speakers who participate in discussions on a range of issues. Among the subjects discussed by visiting speakers during recent meetings were coalition building among women in the international trade union movement and in community-based organizations; health hazards facing office workers; and changes in the American family that have implications for social and union policy.

The Information and Communications Committee (ICOM) has explored various subjects which could be the basis for future action. Topics discussed included communicating the union message to college students — tomorrow's professional and white-collar work force and the labor movement's future members; union use of the electronic media and coverage of unions and their members by the media; and recent attitudinal surveys of college students. In addition, the committee continues to review department publications and methods for communicating with white-collar employees.

The Committee on Organizing Support Activity (COSA) followed up on a successful 1989 workshop on organizing in the banking and finance sector with a similar workshop on engineers and scientists. The purpose of these workshops is to explore available information on sectors of professional and white-collar employment that are still largely unorganized. Presentations included discus

sions of several recent campaigns by affiliates as well as the activities of science and engineering professional societies. Participants recommended more contacts be made with the members of these associations and accordingly, DPE arranged for a "hospitality suite" during the national meeting of the American Chemical Society held in mid-1990 in Washington, D.C. The DPE will continue to explore opportunities for communicating the union message to such societies and associations.

Public Policy

In large part, because of the efforts of the DPE and the AFL-CIO Legislative and Legal Departments, the Congress, for the first time, addressed in some detail the effect of immigration law on the condition of the American professional, technical, white-collar work force.

The unmanageable, iniquitous "H-1" provision (allowing entrance as "guest workers" for people of so-called distinguished merit and ability) was totally revamped; procedures for importing nurses as temporary workers were constructively reformed; consultation in the visa granting process with bargaining representatives or appropriate unions was made mandatory in many cases; and in practically all significant situations the relationship between the utilization of immigrant and non-immigrant workers in the professions to the state of the work force in the country has been emphasized.

The department assumed an important leadership position with regard to reauthorization of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities (NFAH) last winter when this \$300-million-plus program was placed in jeopardy by strong right-wing attacks led by Senator Jesse Helms and his allies in the House of Representatives. These attacks transformed the effort from one of protecting a 25-year-old "new frontier" program to a defense against conservative attempts to limit all government grant programs in a manner that threatened basic rights of free speech and expression.

The department coordinated lobbying and letter-writing efforts involving not only its own affiliates, but also State AFL-CIO's. The DPE was instrumental in forming a new coalition of 15 major national membership organizations (including several AFL-CIO unions) which lobbied on behalf of the NFAH and against free speech restrictions. The department's leadership efforts were lauded in the press and in letters from various concerned organizations and paid off in legislation that continues the NFAH for three years with increased funding and no crippling First Amendment restrictions.

These successes, which were achieved in the closing days of the Congress, bring with them many new opportunities and responsibilities for unions. In large part, because of presentations made by the DPE, the Congress has given unions important roles to play in the immigration process by requiring, in many instances, that the Attorney General consult with the appropriate unions before granting visas to non-immigrant guest workers. In addition, the new law opens

the process by giving unions an opportunity to review and, if necessary, challenge the granting of visas to alien immigrants and non-immigrants who enter the U.S.

International Relations

The growing competitive situation in world trade, the realignment of east and west trade union groupings and many other factors have given rise to greater interest and concern on the part of the affiliates with events abroad especially as they relate to trade union relationships. As noted above, the department has responded in part by becoming a coordinating body between various AFL-CIO-supported international institutes (such as AIFLD, AALC, FTUT) and several of its affiliates; and by providing information on events overseas that are bound to affect the U.S. economy, its work force and, of course, our affiliates. An example of the latter was a "briefing" conducted by the DPE for all Board members and staff in the spring of 1990. Those who attended heard reports from AFL-CIO staff on the implications of the European Common Market which becomes fully operative the end of this year, and the effect on international trade union structures resulting from the break up of communist regimes.

In addition, with the cooperation of Government Employees, Teachers, Electronic Workers, AFSCME and the Communications Workers, the department hosted a tour of the northeastern United States by a delegation of union leaders representing the leading union of professionals in Israel; assisted Electrical Workers in hosting a delegation of broadcast unionists from five South American countries and planned and administered a major conference in Brazil for North American and South American union leaders active in the arts, entertainment and media industry. In December 1991, the department, with the assistance of AIFLD, will host the founding Congress of a new Inter-American organization of unions in the arts, entertainment and media industry.

Publications

In the past two years the Department has issued the following publications:

Meeting the Challenges of Change — A collection of talks and papers delivered at a DPE conference held in November 1989 in conjunction with its convention. Academia and labor leaders presented their views on future changes in the U.S. population and work force and the implications for organizing and servicing the growing numbers of professional, technical and other white collar employees.

Salaried and Professional Women: Relevant Statistics — A revised and expanded edition of DPE's annual survey of data on women workers and their presence in unions.

Current Statistics on Professional Employees — This, too, as the latest in a series of annual reports, has been revised and expanded. Information on the composition of the work force, union membership, salary trends, etc.

National Health Care Reform — A series of papers for union discussion groups.

INTERFACE — The Department's newsletter continues to publish every three months.

Public Employee Department

Public Employee Committees (PEC's) continue to grow in stature and number. Many are arranging and coordinating cooperative activity among state public sector affiliates and are playing active roles within AFL-CIO state federations.

In recognition of this generous work, PEC's in 26 states were invited for the first time to send one delegate with one vote to our recent PED convention, a practice that will continue.

The battle against privatization/contracting-out continues as a growing number of federal, state and local jurisdictions attempt to balance their budgets by dismantling government and transferring the responsibilities of governing to the lowest bidder. But an even larger number of public managers and citizens are learning from painful experience that, while the rhetoric associated with privatization may sound reasonable and rational, the reality is not. When profit becomes the primary reason for doing business, people, workers and programs get hurt while private providers get rich.

PED's Privatization Committee, following its publication of the very successful "America...Not For Sale," has turned to an examination of the structure and functions of government, with emphasis on improving efficiency, service delivery and quality.

Improving the effectiveness of our public programs is a key element in any strategy to fight privatization. The PED's October 1991 convention focused on these themes, highlighting model labor-management cooperative efforts and other union initiatives which improve public programs and empower public workers on the job.

Quality public programs require adequate funding. The U.S. trails its competitors in public investments and the size of its public sector. The PED continued to work for federal budget priorities which invest in American workers, families, and communities, financed by a truly progressive tax system. PED reports, one on the 1990 federal budget agreement and one published by

the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) and released at the PED convention on the failures of fend-for-yourself federalism, documented the need to increase federal investments in education, job training, housing, health care, transportation, public works and other essential public programs with financing from a strengthened progressive federal tax system.

With states, cities, and counties facing severe fiscal distress, the PED focused much of its policy activity on state tax and budget issues. A decade of federal retreat, coupled with weak and unfair tax systems, left states and especially localities particularly vulnerable to the recession. Two-thirds of the states and many localities struggled with large budget deficits this past year.

The PED, working with Citizens for Tax Justice (CTJ), which it financially supports, helped shift the debate in the states away from budget cutting and toward tax reform to raise revenue. Echoing themes CTJ and the labor movement raised in the 1990 federal budget debate, CTJ's report on tax fairness in the 50 states (*A Far Cry From Fair: CTJ's Guide to State Tax Reform*) made it clear that the wealthy are not paying their fair share and that there is indeed revenue to be tapped through progressive taxes which can close state budget gaps.

Going hand in hand with effective tax policies for the states are thoughtful, well-planned economic development strategies which benefit people and their communities. To promote these issues, the PED financially supports the Corporation for Enterprise Development (CFED). Through the annual "Report Card of the States" and other publications, CFED shows that states investing resources in a wide range of public services have a greater per capita income, create more jobs, a more dynamic economy and are best prepared to rebound once the recession ends. CFED's work with the PED and the AFL-CIO in Montana is now expanding to develop a labor agenda for state economic development in all the states.

The second phase of PED's cooperative project in Montana with the AFL-CIO and CFED came to a close with the passage by the Montana legislature of a bill creating an Economic Partnership Council. It created a tripartite commission of business, labor and government to address issues associated with economic development. Unfortunately, the Republican Governor vetoed the legislation saying that, while he agreed with its substance, structurally, it posed a threat to his administrative prerogatives. Not all was lost, however. In a special letter of explanation to the Montana AFL-CIO, he said that the Montana Department of Commerce would spearhead economic development activity (consistent with many of CFED's recommendations) and invited AFL-CIO participation.

We learned in Montana that AFL-CIO state federations and PEC's have both the opportunity and capacity to use economic development issues in positive, pro-active ways. As a direct result of this experience, the national AFL-CIO and the PED this spring jointly commissioned the CFED to draft a program designed to help all state federations and labor leaders become more effective participants in the economic development debate. It is now completed and available for trade union leaders.

Eight-hundred billion dollars attracts attention, especially when 80 percent of that amount is concentrated in just 50 public employee pension funds. How the money should be invested (influencing corporate policy, deficit reduction, economically targeted investing, foreign investing, balancing budgets, financing contract settlements, etc.) has become the subject of a major national debate. We will be devoting considerable time to this topic as PED and our affiliates seek to clear the air in an effort to have these assets administered prudently, responsibly and creatively in the interests of the members of the pension systems.

PED legislative activities in the first session of the 102nd Congress have dealt with a wide variety of issues, including Hatch Act reform, the federal budget and its impact on federal/postal pay and benefits, assistance to employees displaced by military base closures, family and medical leave, federal health benefits, and federal contracting-out. An override of the President's veto of Hatch Act reform in the 101st Congress failed by a mere two votes in the Senate. This legislation, which would allow federal and postal employees to participate in political activities, has been re-introduced in the 102nd Congress. The PED and its federal/ postal affiliates have been working to gain the 67 Senate votes needed to override the President's veto and look forward to Senate consideration of the bill.

Eighty-six military bases are slated to close between 1991 and 1995. A newly constituted Base Closure and Realignment Commission is currently finalizing a list of additional base closures to be implemented between 1992 and 1997, with congressional approval of that list expected in September 1991. Defense spending cuts and base closures in the coming years are expected to result in over one million job losses in both the public and private defense industry sector. PED has taken a number of steps in responding to military base closures.

PED's report, "Military Base Closures: Federal Programs to Assist Civilian Employees and Their Communities," continues to be a popular resource for union representatives, DOD personnel, congressional offices, and communities facing base closures. In addition, PED joined the AFL-CIO, the Human Resources Development Institute (HRDI), the Metal Trades Department, and the Department of Labor (DOL) in co-sponsoring three regional conferences in January 1990 that focused on dislocated worker and job placement issues. As co-sponsor of the conference, PED developed and presented a series of four workshops on military base closures at each of the three conferences. With base closures a reality for at least the coming decade, PED will continue to present these workshops. Currently, we are working with HRDI on planning regional conferences in January 1992.

The PED serves as a member on several federal government committees focusing on federal/postal employee issues. PED serves on a newly created Pay-for-Performance Labor-Management Committee established by Congress last year. This Office of Personnel Management (OPM) committee, which is charged with setting-up a pay-for-performance system for federal, white-collar employees, must report its findings to Congress by November 5, 1991.

PED also serves on DOL's Federal Employee Compensation Act (FECA) Advisory Committee, which focuses its attention on the federal employee disability compensation program, and on DOL's Federal Advisory Council on Occupational Safety and Health (FACOSH), which monitors the federal government's safety and health programs.

In 1988, PED established a Work and Family Advisory Committee. In 1989, with the AFL-CIO, we developed and circulated to 2,800 Washington, D.C.-based union staff a Work and Family survey which looked at child and adult care needs within their families. In 1990, the AFL-CIO Working Family Committee, under the chairmanship of Gerald McEntee, took a leadership role in the development of our Working Family Project by signing a letter to AFL-CIO affiliated organizations in an effort to raise money for the Family Services Revolving Fund, a mechanism by which projects will be funded through loans to be paid back when centers are operational. The response was tremendous. Thirty-nine affiliated organizations have committed \$160,000 to the project. A Steering Committee composed of representatives from each contributing organization guides our activities. We expect to fund child care centers on the Meany Center campus and in downtown Washington. The target date for opening the Meany Center site is late, 1991. Jane Perkins of the PED staff services this project.

The PED has continued to monitor the impact of welfare reform in the states. In the fall of 1990, the PED convened a workshop for union leaders with membership in welfare and employment service agencies to discuss effective programs. A PED publication, "Making Government Work: Employee Involvement, Union Leadership," reports on quality programs implemented with union involvement.

The PED publishes three newsletters as well as numerous reports on public sector issues. Additionally, it distributes the publications of several well respected, independent research organizations, Citizens for Tax Justice (CTJ), the Corporation for Enterprise Development (CFED), and the Economic Policy Institute (EPI), on tax issues, economic development, and economic policy.

More than 3,500 public sector union leaders, public officials, academics, and interested organizations and individuals receive PED material each month.

PED Forum is a quarterly newsletter that takes an in-depth look at public sector issues. Feature articles have examined federal-state-local relations, military base closings, public employee pension funds, public employee collective bargaining, and controlling public sector health care costs.

Privatization Update is a quarterly publication that reports specifically on news and trends in contracting-out in the public sector. The newsletter keeps tabs on the largest public sector contractors, tracks national, state and local legislation, and keeps abreast of union efforts to keep the public sector public and accountable.

Issues & Answers is published eight times a year and takes a quick look at the issues, news, and trends in the public sector. It is always accompanied by a report or study by the PED or one of the organizations with whom we work.

The PED produced the following reports over the last two years:

- **Military Base Closures: Federal Programs to Assist Civilian Employees and Their Communities**
- **Strategies to Help the Working Poor: The Union Solution**
- **Not Far Enough: The Budget Act of 1990**
- **Making Government Work: Employee Involvement, Union Leadership**
- **One Country, Two Different Worlds: The State of Public Sector Collective Bargaining Laws**
- **Controlling Public Employee Health Care Costs Through Labor-Management Committees**

The PED distributed the following publications produced by other organizations:

- **The 1990 Executive Summary of the Development Report Card**
- **Playing By New Rules**
- **A Far Cry From Fair: CTJ's Guide to State Tax Reform**
- **Labor-Management Committees: An Option for Improved Services**, by Jack Miller and Myron Olstein of KPMG/Peat Marwick in the newsletter of the National Public Employer Labor Relations Association.

Transportation Trades Department

The Transportation Trades Department (TTD), founded by unanimous vote of delegates at the AFL-CIO 1989 Convention, opened its doors April 2, 1991. The TTD was formed to represent the diverse interests of workers in air, auto, rail, transit, trucking and related industries. At the TTD's inaugural convention, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland stated, "The idea to form TTD has always been a good one. The hopes and aspirations of workers across all modes of transportation are compatible and not conflicting."

Kirkland's words are extremely relevant today, as transportation unions face uphill battles against management belligerence, such as that demonstrated by Eastern Airlines' Frank Lorenzo; industry consolidation and integration; and the devastating effects of deregulation.

The past decade has been a difficult one for the several million men and women who work in transportation and related industries. Deregulation, which took hold of virtually all the modes beginning with airlines in the late 1970s, has destroyed companies, devastated communities, and wiped out more than 100,000 jobs.

Targeting one mode at a time, the Executive Branch breached its responsibility to protect the public interest. Instead, it disinvested in the transportation infrastructure and laid waste the decades of progress that produced a system of transportation that was second to none.

Today, the reward for these irresponsible policies is eroding highways, crumbling bridges, overcrowded skies and airports, compromised safety standards, inadequate federal funding for local transportation needs, thousands of abandoned cities and lost jobs, and overall, a transportation crisis of monumental proportion. The current administration talks about the wonderful things this nation can do with our transportation system, but it says that someone else, the states, will have to pick up the tab.

At the TTD's founding convention, transportation labor declared that government apathy would no longer go unchecked, and that it was time for working people to offer a unified voice of reason at a time when leadership in the White House is virtually nonexistent.

Today, the TTD has 25 affiliated organizations. The Executive Committee comprises one representative, who holds the office of TTD vice president, from each of the affiliated unions, as well as the TTD president and secretary-treasurer. James J. Kennedy resigned, effective Sept. 1, 1991, as executive director and Edward Wytkind, formerly assistant executive director, was appointed to succeed him. Wytkind and Carol A. Genovese, administrator, oversee the TTD's daily operations.

The TTD's founding organizational meeting was held in February 1990 in Bal Harbour, Fla., where representatives of transportation labor elected interim officers and adopted an interim constitution. Richard I. Kilroy and Walter J. Shea were elected to serve as interim officers until the inaugural convention was held that fall.

Founding Convention

On Oct. 2-3, 1990, the TTD's founding convention was held in Washington, D.C. Richard I. Kilroy and Walter J. Shea were elected to serve five-year terms as the department's founding president and secretary-treasurer, respectively. Members of TTD's Executive Committee also were installed.

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue, master of ceremony during the installation of officers, declared "a new level of cooperation, a new level of unity" for transportation labor.

Rep. James L. Oberstar (D-Minn.) was awarded the TTD Congressional Award for his commitment to advancing the rights of transportation workers. Former ICC Commissioner Paul Lamboley was named TTD Mover of the Year in recognition of his leadership and support for workers' rights in surface transportation regulatory matters. Sen. Brock Adams (D-Wash.), former Transportation Secretary under President Jimmy Carter, called on transportation labor to prepare for a massive integration of transportation modes. Other speakers included Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole; Secretary of Transportation Samuel K. Skinner; Professor Paul Dempsey, University of Denver; and Major General Patrick J. Kelly, Director of Civil Works, U.S. Army Corp. of Engineers.

Delegates adopted resolutions committing the department to:

- Push for striker replacement legislation.
- Improve hazardous materials identification and response training.
- Act to correct disaster of airline deregulation.
- Support the IBT's USAir Organizing Campaign and changes in representation election procedures for that campaign.
- Seek passage of health care reform legislation.
- Improve commercial drivers licensing education.
- Conduct a "TTD Rating" of members of Congress on key transportation and labor votes.
- Reestablish pricing sanity in the trucking industry.
- Push for improved worker safety laws & regulations.
- Gain passage of highway worker safety legislation.
- Press for greater investment in public infrastructure.
- Support increased federal commitment to public mass transit.

Political and Legislative Arena

A driving force behind the TTD's formation was recognition that a unified transportation labor movement would be a formidable force in the political and legislative arena.

The first "TTD Rating" a rating system for assessing the voting performances of senators and representatives was released Oct. 29, 1990, as a result of Resolution 8 at the founding convention. The congressional votes selected covered issues ranging from the Eastern Airlines strike and Amtrak funding to the Davis-Bacon and Hatch Acts, clean air, shipbuilding jobs and campaign finance reform. The TTD Rating, compiled by the department's Legislative Committee, will be released at the conclusion of every Congress with an eye toward key transportation and labor congressional votes.

To better coordinate transportation labor's legislative concerns and priorities, TTD Executive Director James J. Kennedy was named chairman of the Legislative Committee, which meets at least once a month (when Congress is in session) and more often if needed. Wytkind took over those duties upon Kennedy's resignation. At the Feb. 12, 1991, meeting of TTD's Executive Committee, the officers adopted an official list of legislative priorities for the 102nd Congress which included the following topics: domestic and foreign aviation issues, highway/transit reauthorization, flight attendant duty time limitations, health care reform and worker safety, hazardous materials, Federal Aviation Administration fire crash standards, Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards, drug and alcohol testing, and regulatory reform in all the modes.

During the first session of the 102nd Congress, TTD submitted testimony and letters to Congress in support of affiliates' positions on the state of the airline industry, CAFE standards, highway/transit reauthorization, duty time limitation for flight attendants, longshoremen immigration regulations, and other matters.

Regulatory Reform

A resounding theme at TTD's founding convention was the troubled state of all the modes as a result of deregulation of transportation beginning with the airline industry in 1978. To deal with the loss of tens of thousands of jobs, abandonment of hundreds of communities, and bankruptcy of thousands of companies, the TTD has embarked upon a long-term project to study the effects of deregulation and devise a strategy to correct the problem.

The TTD's initial focus was in the airline industry, recognizing the grave financial state of all but four or five air carriers. The problem is simple: airline deregulation was supposed to lower prices, increase productivity, and produce unprecedented competition. Instead it produced unprecedented concentration, with some 50 mergers and 150 bankruptcies; megacarriers that hold effective monopolies at most of the major hub airports; compromised safety standards; and highly discriminatory pricing. Meanwhile, several thousand jobs were decimated.

While this crisis unfolded, the Departments of Transportation and Justice responsible for ensuring the fitness of airlines and protecting against anti-trust activities stood by, watched airline companies collapse, and allowed the surviving megacarriers to engage in predatory pricing at the expense of travelers, businesses and workers. It is clear that this abdication of duty and responsibility must be challenged on all fronts.

The TTD is embarking on an information and education campaign to expose the devastating effects of airline deregulation as well as the federal government's refusal to fulfill its statutory responsibilities. The TTD's long-term goal is to produce legislative remedies that reinvigorate competition and bring about long-term stability to the airline work force.

TTD efforts are also moving into the other modes, where many of the same problems have surfaced including severe economic downturn, the effect of which has been depressed local economies, abandoned services and lost jobs.

Prior to the massive deregulation of transportation, the federal government took an active interest in the stability of America's system of transportation. Deregulation has not produced the competitive utopia promised by pro-deregulation forces. In fact, more than a decade of evidence is proof that serious corrective action is needed.

The TTD's Regulatory Reform Research Committee advises the department on this project and in general, on all regulatory matters. Ann Tonjes of the Association of Flight Attendants is chair; Robert Molofsky of Amalgamated Transit Union is vice-chair.

Intermodal Surface Transportation

An emerging trend in transportation is the growth of intermodal or "multi-modal" transportation ports and other hub centers. Most analyses predict con-

tinued growth for intermodalism, particularly with the anticipated trade boom resulting from the integration of Europe.

In recognition of intermodalism as potential fertile ground for new jobs, the TTD created the Intermodal Surface Transportation Committee, chaired by Secretary-Treasurer Walter J. Shea. Administrator Genovese assists Secretary-Treasurer Shea in tracking this growing trend. To date, the committee has engaged in research of intermodal ports and has held several meetings including one at the Port of Los Angeles/Long Beach, the highest volume containerization operation in the country.

The committee's responsibility is to compile data and information on the major intermodal operations and to aid those affiliates wishing to pursue any activities in this area. Since many industry trade organizations devote vast resources to this field, it was recognized that transportation labor must also be prepared to deal with this major growth sector in transportation. Moreover, it is clear that the large transportation companies, many of which have blurred modal lines, are preparing to seize the ample opportunities offered by intermodalism. Transportation labor must be prepared to do the same.

Communications

The TTD formed a Communications Committee to coordinate internal and external communications among the affiliates. Diane Curry of the TCU is chair; Jim Conley of the Machinists is vice-chair. The Committee will play a vital role in enlisting the support of rank-and-file members as the TTD moves forward on various legislative and regulatory campaigns.

The TTD publishes two official publications: "Inside Transportation," a four-page, quarterly newsletter providing industry, labor and affiliate news and analysis; and "News Update," a brief two-page newsletter providing up-to-date news in all the modes. In addition, the TTD intends to publish a series of policy perspectives, and industry/labor trends and economics pieces.

The department has reached out aggressively to the news media to offer comments and observations on major transportation stories. Further, the TTD has been published in newspapers and magazines addressing critical transportation policy matters. The goal is to increase transportation labor's visibility at a time when policy makers struggle to deal with pressing transportation concerns. So far, TTD's efforts have not gone unnoticed by the news media.

High Speed Rail

With America's changing transportation needs, high speed rail has emerged as a true alternative means of transportation in many regions of the country. The prospect of 250-mile-per-hour trains offers great opportunity both for travelers and workers in transportation, construction and related industries.

Already, several states and clusters of states are considering high speed rail surface transportation projects, all of which face uphill battles to obtain adequate levels of federal funding. The TTD wants to ensure labor's voice is heard during the planning stage.

The TTD formed the High Speed Rail Committee, chaired by Executive Director Wytkind, to track this industry trend and provide affiliates with up to date information on congressional action as well as progress reports on proposed high speed rail surface transportation systems. In the 102nd Congress, the highway/transit reauthorization bill contains a mechanism for advancement of high speed rail projects, which offer opportunity for thousands of new jobs in transportation and construction.

International Affairs

The department has also participated in international activities with the AFL-CIO. The TTD worked with the African American Labor Center to receive a delegation of South African transportation labor leaders. Martin Sebakwane, general secretary of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU), and other officers visited the United States to become better acquainted with the American labor movement.

The TTD arranged a series of meetings with SARHWU leaders. Several affiliates participated in a half-day round-table discussion to exchange points of view on transportation and labor issues. The TTD pledged to assist SARHWU and their sister organizations in preparation for the democratization of South Africa, which will include moves to privatize transportation and the implementation of new constitutional protections.

The department also forwarded to SARHWU a package of research and education information, assembled from materials provided by several TTD affiliates, to assist the union at its June Wage Conferences. The TTD will continue to support SARHWU and other transportation labor organizations overseas.

Worker Injury Compensation

Since three very different types of worker injury compensation system apply to the transportation industry, the Executive Committee established a TTD Research Fund to study the disparities in workers' rights to obtain fair compensation when they sustain on-the-job injuries. This project will examine the existing systems, their effects on all transportation workers, and possible alternative approaches that might better suit the needs of employees.

Organized labor has long sought to draw attention to the inadequacies of state workers' compensation systems. In 1972, the congressionally establishe

National Commission on Workmen's Compensation made 84 recommendations, 19 of which were described as "essential" to the future of state compensation systems. Almost 20 years later, the states' record in dealing with these recommendations has been poor at best. Today, the workers compensation system is in a state of crisis, forcing many states to provide grossly inadequate compensation to injured workers.

Another issue is the comparison between tort liability (as provided under the Federal Employers' Liability Act) and no-fault compensation. While the railroad industry pushes for repeal of FELA, which covers only injured rail employees, workers compensation systems face financial crisis due to skyrocketing insurance rates and medical costs, administrative overload, and escalating law suits.

Therefore, it is timely that the TTD lead an effort to investigate the extent to which the different systems of compensation affect competition among the transportation modes, and to consider the best ways of correcting any imbalances that may exist. Furthermore, this project will provide essential information on the strengths and weaknesses of each system from the standpoint of working people.

Union Label and Service Trades Department

The mission of the Union Label and Service Trades Department, since its inception in 1909, has been to create an awareness and demand for the products and services produced by union brothers and sisters and companies signatory to a union contract.

There are currently 70 international unions affiliated with the department, 17 of which are directly involved with departmental activity via a representative board member.

New board members since the last convention include Jake West, president of the Iron Workers and Graydon E. Tetrick, secretary-treasurer of the Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers, who became the 15th and 16th vice presidents respectively.

Commitment to working men and women prompts the department to pursue a number of programs to get the Buy Union, Buy American message across to the nation's union members and the general public.

The Union-Industries Show heads the list of those programs. Held in a different city each year since the first show in 1938, it is the only showcase of its kind exhibiting exclusively union-made American products and services. "Keep America Beautiful" was adopted as the theme for the 1990 Cincinnati Show and the 1991 Minneapolis Show. The convention halls were ablaze with

our red, white and blue colors that re-emphasized one simple message: buying American/union-made products and services will "Keep America Beautiful."

Both the Cincinnati and Twin Cities shows were outstanding examples of how the entire labor movement can enthusiastically say in a single voice, "look for the union label."

Exhibitors and visitors alike marveled at the many new displays that have insured the show's original one-of-a-kind status.

The positive cooperation generated through the union-employer involvement is only equaled by the unique union pride and dignity building qualities of the show.

Portland, Oregon, will be the site for the 1992 AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show, scheduled for May 15-18.

On the crest of a wave of U.S. job losses in the past decade, primarily in the rust belt, the dust belt and the lint belt, the department has experienced a profusion of activity in its label awareness programs. The need for speakers from the department for conventions, conferences and regional events has increased dramatically. Requests for workshops on how to promote union products and services has been on the rise. There has been increased demand for giveaway material for fair booths and the monetary outlay for our union label booth subsidy program has expanded.

The department has more than 450 chartered union label councils throughout the country that attempt to reach consumers on a grass roots level. An event in which many of them participate is establishing booths at local and state fairs. As an incentive we have a contest offering cash prizes and extensive publicity to the winner of the most aesthetic fair booth. We also offer a subsidy program allowing councils to offset a portion of the incurred expenses for the project.

A survey of the more than 35,000 recipients of the bi-monthly Label Letter revealed that the publication is widely read. However, readers requested more detailed information and updates on boycotts as well as more "Do Buy" items. The survey also disclosed that readers liked the brief, newsy items. To accommodate these findings, the Label Letter was expanded from six to eight pages. The publication also contains union label council activity reports and the AFL-CIO "Don't Buy" list.

Boycotts can be one of the most viable means of gaining recognition or a contract. The department has assisted affiliated unions with running consistent, effective boycotts. The department has persisted in getting updated boycott activity reports included in the Label Letter. As a result the number of companies on the list has decreased. The number has been reduced from 30 in November 1989 to 19 today.

Boycott List

As of this writing the following companies appear on the boycott list:

Ace Drill Corporation

Brown Corporation

Brown & Sharpe Mfg. Co.
Bruce Church, Inc.
California Table Grapes
Garment Corp. of America
Greyhound Lines, Inc.
Guild Wineries & Distilleries
Holly Farms
International Paper Company
Kawasaki Rolling Stock, USA
Krueger International Inc.
Louisiana-Pacific Corp.
Mohawk Liqueur Corp.
R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.
Rome Cable Corporation
Shell Oil Company
Silo, Incorporated
United States Playing Card Co.

Removed from the list in the past two years were:

Aeromexico Airlines
BASF A.G. Corporation
Blue Cross Blue Shield of Memphis, TN
Burwood Products
Clark Grave Vault Company
Colt Firearms
Continental Airlines
Eastern Airlines
Fort Howard Paper Company
Holiday Paper Cups
John Portman Companies
John Morrell & Company
La Mode du Golf Company of L.A.
Napa Valley Co-op
New York Daily News
Plymouth Rubber
Seattle First National Bank
Sterling Radiator

The demand for our bi-monthly press packet containing clip art, feature stories and editorials has increased. This material is reproduced in many labor publications.

The councils use Union Label Week packets with an editorial, suggested activities, radio copy and sample proclamation language to be adopted by mayors or other city officials proclaiming Union Label Week. Favorable responses have been reported in the respective communities as consumers make a more conscientious effort to seek more USA made and home state products.

A new service developed by the department, with the cooperation of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union, is a Union Hotel Guide. It is the most complete directory of union hotels, motels, resorts and travel lodging throughout the United States.

In recognition of the commitment to the collective bargaining process, and for offering quality, competitive, union products in an increasingly difficult market, the department offers its Labor Management Award. Cited in 1990 was the Kellogg Company, organized by the American Federation of Grain Millers. General Vision Services of New York, which has collective bargaining agreements with the Office and Professional Employees International Union and the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers, was the recipient of the honor in 1991.

AFL-CIO Maritime Committee

The AFL-CIO Maritime Committee is beginning its 54th year as an advocate for seamen's rights and for an American-flag merchant marine.

The President of the Committee is Shannon J. Wall, and Talmage E. Simpkins is the Executive Director. We are located at 444 North Capitol Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20001.

Membership includes: District 1 — MEBA/NMU; American Radio Association, MMP; District No. 28, United Steelworkers of America; and Radio-Electronics Officers' Union, District 3.

There is currently no united industry effort on the part of labor, management and government to restore our U.S.-flag merchant marine. The last united effort by the companies collapsed even to the extent of dissolving their committee, the United Shipowners of America, which was established to develop a united program.

The government, in the form of the Maritime Administration and Department of Transportation, is presenting only negatives dominated by free trade theories and budget restraints. And, unfortunately, it is not possible for maritime labor, because of the destructive elements running amok, to pull together all of the diverse groups within labor and the rest of the industry.

In the meantime, Congress either waits or procrastinates, depending upon the meaning put to, "When you bring us a united position that is backed by everyone, we will act."

When all elements of the industry have joined together to present one view, such as in the successful effort to keep maritime out of the United States-Canada Free-Trade Agreement, positive things happen.

The U.S.-flag maritime industry's performance in Operation Desert Shield/Storm was outstanding and it received much praise, but no lasting benefits.

Meanwhile, our U.S.-flag fleet continues to carry approximately 3 percent of our waterborne imports and exports and 2 percent of our passenger ship trade. The number of oceangoing seaboard jobs continues below 15,000.

The report of the President's Commission on Merchant Marine and Defense, which we reported on at the last convention, has been forgotten. It was this report that found a "clear and growing danger to the national security in the deteriorating condition of America's maritime industry."

So has the "plan of action" that the Commission proposed to restore the American-flag fleet.

Several legislative and administrative efforts aside from the all-encompassing rebuilding of the U.S.-flag fleet — cargo preference, tonnage tax extension, trade agreements and oil spill legislation — have kept us from losing more ground. Other efforts are also underway to level the playing field so that American-flag ships can better compete.

Tonnage Taxes

We were successful during the Budget Reconciliation Act hearings of the last Congress in having language adopted that extended payment of tonnage taxes to the foreign-flag shuttle tankers engaged in our trades, and at the same time excluded American-flag tankers from the tax.

This trade is the movement of oil from the supertankers anchored just outside our territorial waters to shore. Because the foreign-flag supertankers did not come into port, they did not pay this tonnage tax. And since the shuttle tankers did not come from a foreign port or place, neither did they pay the tax; so, therefore, the amendment.

There is ample justification for excluding American-flag ships from the tax; they employ American citizens and pay all U.S. taxes. American-flag shuttle tankers were run out of this business because of the economic disadvantage created by this loophole.

In 1989, the last year figures were available, foreign-flag shuttle tankers carried 75 million tons of this cargo as compared to 1.5 million tons on U.S.-flag tankers. Involved in this trade were 188 tankers — 164 foreign and 24 were U.S. flag.

Our second proposal was not accepted: "a discriminating duty of 10 percent of value is imposed on all goods, wares and merchandise imported into the U.S. on vessels regularly engaged in the foreign trade of the United States if such vessel is owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by a United States corpo-

ration, by United States citizens or by persons residing in the United States. U.S.-flag vessels are exempt."

The adoption of this proposed tax would help to narrow an existing economic advantage enjoyed by the runaway flags of Panama and Liberia.

Oil Spill Legislation

During consideration of the Oil Pollution Act of 1990, we were successful in having language added that increased the number of seamen on most tankers. This was accomplished by restricting the number of hours a seaman could be required to work in a 24 and 72-hour period and by expanding factors the Coast Guard must take into consideration when setting minimum manning.

We were also successful in having a more reasonable phase-in time for building and retrofitting tankers with double bottoms.

Extension of U.S. Labor Laws to Foreign-Flag Ships

There are several basic reasons why we are continuing to support legislation (H.R. 1126) to extend U.S. labor laws to certain foreign-flag ships that do all or a majority of their business from the states.

U.S.-flag ships are currently carrying approximately 3 percent of our waterborne imports and exports, as compared to 40-45 percent by the American-owned "runaway-flag" operators. In the passenger trade, much of which should be declared Jones Act-type trade, U.S.-flag passenger ships carry only 2 percent.

At the end of 1990, there were 151 U.S.-flag cargo ships weighing 1,000 gross tons and more that were engaged in the foreign trades, as contrasted with 678 American-owned "runaways" at the end of 1989. Two American-flag passenger ships operate from U.S. ports as compared to over 100 foreign-flag passenger ships, many of which operate exclusively from our ports.

If there is ever to be a U.S.-flag merchant marine, we believe it will be necessary to impose some degree of order on the "runaway-flag" operators who are doing all or a majority of their business here.

The following types of vessels would be affected by H.R. 1126:

- Foreign vessels regularly engaged in transporting passengers from and to United States ports;
- Foreign cargo vessels regularly engaged in the foreign trade of the United States, where said vessels are owned or controlled by United States entities;
- Foreign vessels regularly engaged in the production or processing of goods for sale or distribution in the United States and transporting such goods to the United States; and
- Foreign vessels regularly engaged in transporting cargo between a vessel in international waters and a vessel, port, or place in the United States.

H.R. 1126 would extend the U.S. minimum wage law and the National Labor Relations Act (which, among other things, gives workers the right of collective action) to these foreign-flag ships if they do a substantial amount of their business from the states.

A majority of the seamen on these ships are from Southeast Asia and many work for less than the ILO minimum of \$386 per month. As a matter of fact, many of the seamen on these "runaways," particularly the passenger ships, work in excess of 70 hours per week for \$300 per month. This is assuming they are not cheated out of that amount.

The exploitation of these seamen is unbelievable. When this is coupled with the fact that the "runaways" pay practically no taxes, it is understandable why American-flag operators find it impossible to compete.

H.R. 1126 would establish a minimum wage. Seamen working 70 hours per week, for example, would earn more than \$1,200 per month, as compared to the \$300 they now earn.

The abuse and mistreatment inflicted upon these third-world seamen would be addressed through the application of the National Labor Relations Act.

This legislation does not address all of the ills of our industry. It does, however, focus on some of the major problems that have contributed to the declining U.S.-flag fleet and it would contribute immeasurably to leveling the playing field so they can compete.

Hearings were held in 1990 and the legislation was passed by the Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee. It was also passed by the Subcommittee on Labor Standards where additional hearings will be held this 102nd session of Congress. Currently, there are in excess of 50 cosponsors to this legislation.

President Bush has been reminded that this legislation is consistent with the Bush/Quayle National Maritime Policy he supported so strongly during the 1988 campaign. As of this writing, the president has not responded to our reminder.

Passenger Ships

Foreign-flag passenger ships continue to dominate the U.S. passenger trade market — the most lucrative in the world. Only two U.S.-flag passenger ships operate in the protected trade in Hawaii. This is contrasted with the 100 plus foreign-flag passenger ships operating out of most of the U.S. ports.

There are several major advantages which foreign-flag operators have over U.S.-flag operations that relate directly to lower costs or higher revenues. For example:

- U.S. safety standards, which are the strictest in the world, do not apply;
- Prohibition against gambling is not applicable;
- U.S. or international minimum wage laws do not apply; and,
- Most U.S. taxes are not applicable.

Several attempts have been made to apply U.S. safety standards to these vessels without success. The effort to extend U.S. labor laws is ongoing, and legislation to equate the application of U.S. gambling laws is also being considered.

Cargo Preference

A requirement that at least 75 percent of U.S. cash aid had to be used to purchase U.S. goods/commodities/services and that half of these purchases had to be shipped on U.S.-flag was added to the foreign aid authorization bill before it was sent to the president in mid-September.

President C. E. (Gene) DeFries, District 1 — MEBA/NMU, and a member of the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee, the major proponent in this effort, declared that the "'Cash transfer' reform and its 'Buy and Ship American' provision is one of maritime labor's most important pieces of legislation to be passed by Congress in more than a decade."

Alaskan Oil

Of major concern to the Committee's members is the Senate energy bill (S. 1220) which contains a provision that would authorize oil exploration and development of Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). A provision to restrict the export of any oil discovered, as in the Senate bill, will be pushed.

GATT

The Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is continuing, and our efforts to keep maritime out of these negotiations are ongoing. The U.S. Trade Representative, in response, has committed to our request.

Kuwaiti Tankers

We reported to the last convention that we had initiated court action to have the U.S. Fair Labor Standards Act enforced on the American-flag Kuwaiti tankers.

The final decision handed down by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit (Philadelphia) stated that Philippine labor laws applied because the seamen had signed individual employment contracts with a Philippines Overseas Employment Agency.

This was an unbelievable ruling based on the fact that these ships were not engaged in the "U.S. trade."

To insure that this type of situation does not occur again, we are proposing an amendment to the FLSA to make it clear that American-flag ships are covered at all times, regardless of the trade in which they may be employed.

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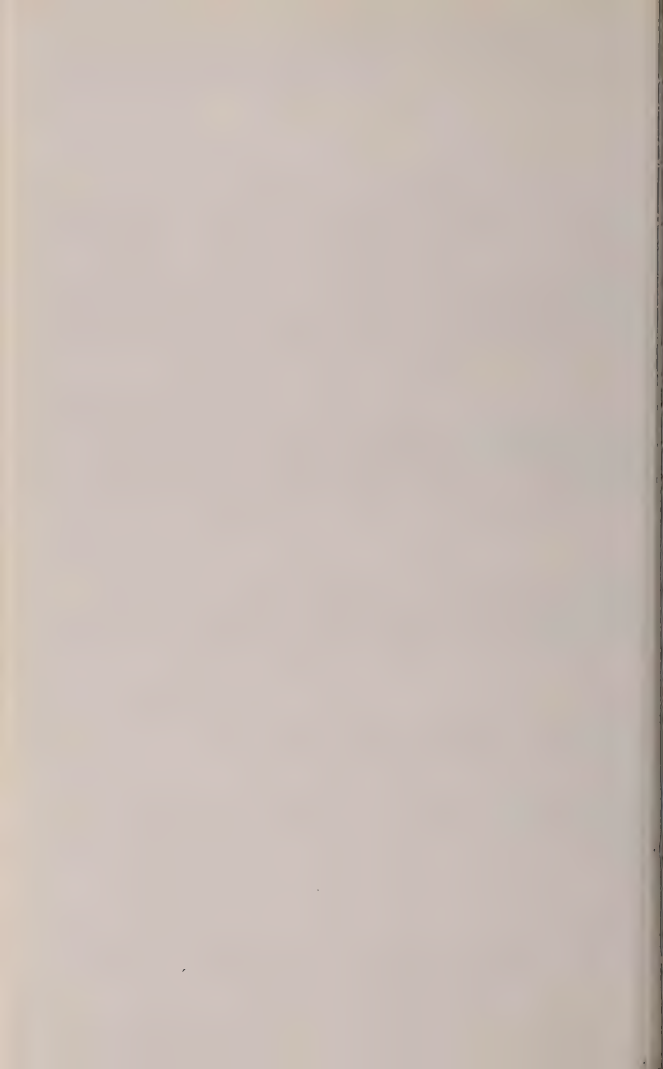
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Jack Sheinkman
William J. McCarthy
John N. Sturdivant
James J. Norton

Edward T. Hanley
John DeConcini
John J. Sweeney
Gerald W. McEntee
Owen Bieber
Morton Bahr
Jay Mazur
John J. Barry
Moe Biller
Richard L. Trumka
Joaquin F. Otero

Angelo Fosco
Wayne E. Glenn
James E. Hatfield
William H. Bywater
John T. Joyce
Robert A. Georgine
Lenore Miller
Sigurd Lucassen
George J. Kourpias
Frank Hanley
Michael J. Sacco

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

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PROCEEDINGS

19th Biennial Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

FIRST DAY — MORNING SESSION Monday, November 11, 1991

Pursuant to law, the 19th Biennial Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations convened in the Renaissance Ballroom, Renaissance Center, Detroit, Michigan, at 10:10 a.m., Edgar Scribner, President of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO, presiding as temporary chairman.

While the delegates and guests were assembling, they were entertained with musical selections by Dan Pliskow and his musicians.

SCRIBNER: My name is Ed Scribner. I'm the President of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO. I want to wish you a good morning, brothers and sisters, ladies and gentlemen, to President Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer Tom Donahue, and this most distinguished dais. Let me say that on behalf of this great Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO, our officers, our members, our affiliates, let me welcome you to Detroit, the premier union town, and call this great AFL-CIO convention to order.

I stand here privileged to speak for a central labor body that is unfortunately still unique in our great AFL-CIO, unique because we represent all labor and justly proud that we count among our supporters the UAW and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters that are strong in supporting members. To those of you who say that all of labor cannot come together in representing all of the problems of the labor community, I say come to Detroit. We highly recommend it.

While we are justly proud of our efforts in Detroit, and that includes a progressive labor agenda, an enlarging community coalition network, the strengthening of a financial base that will allow us the proper leverage to properly represent all of our members' interests in all arenas, we stand squarely on the mark with our brothers and sisters in the Building Trades in Detroit. And yet at the same time, we're sorely troubled that this nation and this city are in near economic chaos, that the national and in the state of Michigan, Republican administrations are nearly bereft of morality; that children are starving; that millions are unemployed or underemployed; that millions more homeless are barely existing in squalor; and that millions more, men and women, young and old, suffer because of inadequate medical care. It is, therefore, fortunate indeed that this great labor movement comes together to help establish and set a progressive national agenda that includes a proper quality of life for all working men and women.

And lastly, I want to say that with all of our problems, thank God for this great labor movement. As we look around, nobody else of our size and our strength speaks out against what's wrong in this country. It's labor who stands on the front line with those oppressed by corporate greed and tyranny. And those front lines today are in Ravenswood, West Virginia. The front lines are in every city where people are turned away from housing, food, a chance for employment and decent medical care.

It is this labor movement, each in our own way, that stands strong for all workers. Let me ask us all to be about our business and say to you lastly, welcome to Detroit. If there is anything that this Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO can do to assist you while you're here, we stand ready to do that. And in addition, may the Good Lord take a liking to you. Thank you. (Applause)

The unions on behalf of the AFL-CIO represent people who virtually work in every profession and trade, including the arts. We are pleased and honored to have with us to sing the National Anthem, an artist who is not only a talented concert and opera performer, but a member of the executive board of the American Guild of Musical Artists, AFL-CIO. Won't you please give a warm welcome to Ms. Gale Limansky. (Applause)

LIMANSKY: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It's a real pleasure to be in Detroit with you.

...Gale Limansky sang the national anthem of the United States.

SCRIBNER: Thank you very much, Gale. It's now a pleasure to introduce and welcome for the invocation a man with whom working people enjoy a warm, mutual friendship. In the fields of the San Joaquin Valley, to the garment factories of South Texas, to the shipyards of Gdansk, Poland, George Higgins has marched and struggled with working men and women everywhere, everywhere there's been a fight for justice, dignity and union. (Standing ovation)

President Kirkland says it is not his first day on the job. You have shown that, and that is most welcome. Let me finish and say that he's been there with good counsel, good prayers and good practical advice to strengthen the flagging spirits of all workers when they seemed lost, and he stayed to cheer with them when they have at last tasted victory. Truly a brother in labor, Monsignor George Higgins. (Applause)

INVOCATION

MONSIGNOR GEORGE G. HIGGINS

Sit down, please. Save the pressure on your hip. With Lane's permission, let me make two introductory remarks. My surgeon asked me what I thought caused the problem with my hip; and I said, "I know exactly what caused it, it came from looking over my shoulder too often at Tom Donahue as he was timing my invocations." It was a strain on the hip. (Laughter)

The doctor said, "You're going out to another convention, you may be in the hospital again next week."

Second point I'd like to make is that in checking my files, I find that I'm repeating myself at these conventions with my prayers. That's more or less inevitable, I think, but I don't feel too badly about it when I recall that having attended dozens of your own conventions, I recall hearing the same speeches given here by the same people, too. (Laughter and applause)

And I expect the same will happen this time. If John Sweeney and Tom will forgive me, I could almost give John Sweeney's talk right now, the one that he's going to use to introduce Tom. There will be some mention of the SEIU in it, I'm sure. (Laughter)

The last point is that the one advantage — the only advantage I can think of — from being out of circulation with health problems for several months is that it gives you time to think and to look back on your misspent life. I addressed myself as I was convalescing whether or not I had used my 50 years in the priesthood well or not. It's a rather

disturbing sort of examination to go through, because most of it had been spent outside the normal ministry of a priest. A large part of it had been spent working to my great benefit with the labor movement.

And I decided in the end, if I had to do it all over again, I'd do it exactly the same. (Applause) And now let us pray.

O God, our Father, we ask You to guide our deliberations during this convention, which is being held at a most critical moment in the history of the American labor movement. Our movement is beset with massive problems, but we are in no way daunted by them. In the familiar words of our best-known freedom ballad, we know that we shall overcome because our cause is right and just.

You have instructed us through the prophet Isaiah in Holy Scripture to deliver our bread to the hungry. In this spirit, help our nation at long last to be sensitive to the plight of the unemployed, ever growing in numbers, and to look behind the cold statistics of unemployment to see what they mean in terms of human suffering for millions of men, women and children, and particularly today for women and children.

And tell our government at long last to move decisively, even radically, to eliminate the scourge of massive unemployment, or at the very least in the short run, to do something about unemployment benefits.

We pray especially for the constantly growing number of young men and women in the army of the unemployed who seek only the opportunity to work and to spend themselves for the good of their families and for the good of the nation as a whole.

We pray for the coming of a better day when organized labor, fully organized down to the last person in every trade and occupation, will be entitled to sit down with management as an equal partner to plan intelligently for full employment, for universal health care and for the general welfare of our economy.

To this we are dedicated as a federation of workers and will settle for no less.

God, our Father, You have revealed in Holy Scripture that those who work for peace will be called your sons and daughters. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.

We pray especially for peace in Yugoslavia, in the Middle East, in Cambodia.

Break the spell that makes the nations drunk with the lust for battle and draw them on as willing or unwilling tools of death. Strengthen our sense of justice in our regard for the equal worth of other people and races and their right to freedom and self-determination. Grant to the rulers of nations, starting with our own, faith in the possibility of peace through justice and grant to the common people of the world, to all of us, a new and sterner enthusiasm for the cause of peace.

Bless our soldiers and sailors for their swift obedience and their willingness, if necessary, as was the case in the Gulf War, to answer the call of duty; but inspire them, nonetheless, with a deep and abiding hatred of war. Teach our generation more noble methods of matching our strength against that of other nations and more effective and constructive ways of giving their life for the flag.

God of power and mercy, will You destroy war and put down earthly pride? Banish violence and terrorism from our midst that we may all deserve to be called Your sons and daughters. Our faith is in Your saving help. Protect us from violence and keep us safe from the weapons of hatred and destruction.

We ask these favors and these blessings in the name of our Lord who taught us the perfect prayer. I would ask you to join with me.

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory. Amen.

And when Tom Donahue gives you his annual report, he will tell you exactly how long that took. Thank you very much. (Laughter and applause)

SCRIBNER: Now, I would like to call your attention to another significant event that also is being celebrated today. Today is Veterans Day; and in a singular honor to those who have gone before us, stood for us, fought for us in the Armed Forces of this country in order to make this a better country, a better society, a better world, let me ask that we stand for a moment of silence for those who have given their lives so that this country may be better.

...A moment of silence was observed by the delegates.

SCRIBNER: Now it is a singular pleasure and honor that I introduce to this great convention a man who has pioneered the labor cause here in our area, in Detroit, and surrounding Detroit. When he was a member of the UAW, he fought on the street. He pioneered in the efforts of labor unions in this great labor movement.

In addition to that, he stood at the forefront for fair and equal treatment for his black brothers, both inside and outside of the trade union movement. Because he was recognized for all that he stood for and with the talent that he added to that, this man was elected state senator and represented the city of Detroit; and because of the extraordinary efforts on behalf of that representation, in 1973 this great trade unionist was elected mayor of the city of Detroit, and he continues his fine work in this city.

Let me say to you as we bring him out here for your warm welcome that this mayor of the city of Detroit has never forgotten his trade union roots. Won't you please give a warm welcome to the mayor of the city of Detroit, Coleman Young. (Standing ovation)

THE HONORABLE COLEMAN YOUNG

Mayor, City of Detroit

Thank you very much, Brother Scribner. Ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters, it is my honor as mayor to welcome you to the great city of Detroit. If there is such a thing as a labor town or a labor city in the United States, certainly Detroit is that city.

It is very important that the great AFL-CIO meet here this week. We face economic conditions in this city, state and nation which can find no parallel in my own mind until you go back to the great depression of the 1930s when the CIO was born, the industrial union movement.

At that time we had massive unemployment. Today we have that. Economists say that when 25 percent of the work force of any society is unemployed that work force or that society is in a state of depression, not recession. The adjusted unemployment figures for the city of Detroit, the last ones I saw, were 24.9. So brothers and sisters, we are there.

But there is a big difference from the 1930s. Then we had an administration in Washington that understood the responsibility of the federal government to those who are unemployed, those who are hungry, to those who are homeless. A great deal of the responsibility

for the fact that in Detroit today you find increasing numbers of people who are homeless, whole families are homeless, people who are hungry, people who are without hope.

I know that you have a number of very important items to take up here. You will be listening to a number of candidates for president. It is my profound hope that before you leave here in Detroit this week you will have listened to the next president of the United States. (Applause)

These are urgent times that require urgent measures. Once again, labor must stand in the vanguard of progress and change in this nation. I can think of no better hands for our future to be in than the hands of the leadership of the AFL-CIO. Again, welcome to Detroit. (Applause)

SCRIBNER: Thank you, Mayor Young. Now, if I can ask your kind attention to the video screens around this great hall, I think we'll have something that you'll probably take particular pleasure in.

...A video presentation entitled "Solidarity Works" was shown to the delegation. (Applause)...The ILGWU Chorus led the convention delegates in singing "Solidarity Forever."

SCRIBNER: As you all know, there is only one ILGWU Chorus, and Solidarity Day '91 would not have been complete without these dedicated trade unionists and their music. After the warm reception they received in Washington, D.C., last August and at the last convention, we did not think an opening day would be complete without them.

On behalf of the delegates, we would like to thank every member of this great chorus and their great President, Jay Mazur, and by all means, their talented and tireless musical director, the one and only Malcolm Dodds. (Applause)

...The ILGWU Chorus led the convention delegates in singing "Look for the Union Label." (Standing ovation)

SCRIBNER: That has livened this convention up, and aren't we fortunate to have such a magnificent group of working men and women representing us all.

It is now my pleasure to bring to this podium a little man who does a great, great job for us here in the state of Michigan. He is a long and trusted and valued member of this Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO. He represents 650,000 union brothers and sisters in this state. We are more

pleased than we can say that he leads the way for us in this time of trouble and problem.

Let me ask you to bring to this podium with a warm welcome, a little man in stature but a giant in labor, the President of the Michigan AFL-CIO, Frank Garrison. (Applause)

FRANK GARRISON
President, Michigan State AFL-CIO

Thank you, Eddie. You didn't really have to point out how short I am. I think they can see that. (Laughter)

Eddie, you've done a great job of chairing so far. President Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer Donahue, distinguished members of the Executive Council, brother and sister delegates and guests, welcome. Welcome to Detroit and this great state of Michigan. I bring you greetings from over 650,000 members of the Michigan State AFL-CIO. I am the fourth person to be president of this Michigan AFL-CIO since its inception in 1958.

Our first president was the late great Gus Scholle. I know that he would have loved to have hosted this convention in our state. Our second president, President Emeritus Bill Marshall, who is with us here today in the hall, likewise would have been so proud to have hosted this convention during his tenure.

Our third president, my predecessor, the late Sam Fishman, had this convention been held in Michigan during his presidency, would have considered it his highest accomplishment.

So, it is, indeed, a great honor and a privilege for me to be here today as president of this State Federation at the first convention of the national AFL-CIO ever to be held in Detroit and in Michigan. Welcome to our great state, a solid labor state. I know your visit will be a great and memorable experience.

Certainly the AFL-CIO Convention two years ago in Washington, D.C., was a memorable experience. I don't think anyone there will ever forget the electricity and excitement at that convention when Lech Walesa entered that hall. It was a very emotional and very inspiring experience. For making that wonderful experience possible, we can thank our President, Lane Kirkland. (Applause)

Lech Walesa was there two years ago to show his appreciation for the steadfast support of the Solidarnosc by the AFL-CIO in general,

but by Lane in particular. Lane, as all of you know, was first elected President in November of 1979. One year later Ronald Reagan, that midnight cowboy, got elected to the Presidency of the United States. And Lane, that was clearly not one of your highest accomplishments. (Laughter)

Lane has had the toughest stewardship of any American labor leader in our history. He's been trying to hold this labor movement together under continuing assaults from the Reagan and now Bush administrations. And he's been doing a magnificent job in strengthening the basic principle which binds us all together, solidarity.

Under Lane Kirkland, the American labor movement is more unified than any time in our history. We have witnessed the UAW, Teamsters, the Mine Workers and many other unions join their fellow brothers and sisters under the umbrella of the AFL-CIO during Lane's tenure.

Since 1979, we have also witnessed the power of international solidarity. This labor movement stood with Lech Walesa and Solidarnosc when no one else would, and what a miracle we have seen. The fall of Communist governments in Poland and throughout Eastern Europe, the reunification of Germany, and something I believe none of us ever thought would happen in our lifetimes, the birth of democracy in the Soviet Union. And we continue to stand with our brothers and sisters around the world wherever they may be for the quest of freedom and democracy.

But when you talk about solidarity and about Lane Kirkland, two of the most significant labor rallies in our history come to mind. You just witnessed a video on the last one, Solidarity Day One, and Solidarity Day Two. At the first Solidarity Day, we told Ronald Reagan that we would not let him crush the aspirations of working people, and just this past summer at Solidarity Day 1991, we told George Bush it was the American people who elected him, not the people of the world; that we must emphasize family affairs, not foreign affairs; and that we must focus on within and on those without.

George Bush keeps whining about all the so-called garbage that Congress keeps sending him, and that he has to veto. George Bush says that extending unemployment benefits is garbage. He says that the family leave bill is garbage. He says that striker replacement is garbage. Well, the biggest heap of garbage is sitting in the White House. (Applause)

And, Lane, your next crowning achievement will be taking out the garbage. (Applause)

Brothers and sisters, please welcome with me the chair of this convention and our great president, Brother Lane Kirkland. (Standing ovation)

LANE KIRKLAND

President, AFL-CIO

Brothers and sisters, we have come to Detroit, where so much of labor's modern history was forged in struggle and sacrifice, to reaffirm the goals so forcefully demanded ten weeks ago, on Solidarity Day, by those we serve.

They are the working men and women of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations — the largest and most cohesive body of free and democratic trade unions in the world.

No other body of citizens has a greater stake in the state of the nation. None stands to suffer more when its progress stalls. And no institution in our society takes more seriously its responsibility to see that real people have a voice in how their country is run. (Applause)

We embrace that role because, unlike some of America's political patriots and flag-huggers, we really do believe in the values expressed in those words of the Pledge of Allegiance: "liberty and justice for all."

Now we know the bitter consequences of the degradation of those values over the past decade: the export of jobs, the devastation of our cities and our communities, and a deep recession that has brought soaring poverty and unemployment.

We are not consoled by the knowledge that we did not stand neutral and passive while the Reagan revolutionaries sacked the public treasury, dismantled the benign functions of government and erected a culture of greed and glamour on a platform of smoke and mirrors.

We did our best to stem that tide and to alert the public to its dangers. But to say that it was not our fault does not acquit us of our duties. We must persevere, for the challenge stands.

Nor should we fall for the proposition that the excesses of the 1980s were in any way part of a natural cycle or some mystical spirit of the age that will run its course in time, to be followed without effort by a new and more humane sensibility.

This was no random turn of history, but a well-planned assault by Corporate America and its allies in the White House — the New Nomenklatura of privilege and immunity — upon the rights and standards of Americans who work for a living and who give this country its flesh and blood.

Your task at this convention is to design and launch a new and stronger counter-attack, demanding action now by our government on the issues of concern that our members share with working people everywhere.

They are many, and I don't propose to cover each in detail in these remarks. But you know what they are.

While this recession plunges millions of American families into the depths of despair, the Bush administration holds hostage their trust funds and cheats them of the meager compensation benefits our system has historically allowed, for which they have paid, and to which they are rightly entitled.

A shambles of a health care system forces them, and a growing proportion of Americans who are still working, to the very edge of safety — where only the luck of the draw in the lottery of accidents and diseases stands between them and enlistment in the ranks of the street people.

Clearly, the country needs, and the country demands, national health care reform. (Applause)

And it cries out for a new direction in the trade policies of an administration that strips American workers and communities of their jobs to serve the avarice of flagless, soulless corporations who run out on this country and the minimum conditions, standards and protections of a decent society.

And for workers who have the audacity to stand up against the debasement of their jobs and their communities, the New Nomenklatura have devised a new weapon — forcing unions into striking and then “permanently replacing” their members with scabs from the ranks of the jobless.

The highest court in the land has held that while the right to strike exists, it is secondary to the employer's freedom to fire anyone who exercises that right. No commentary improves upon that of the character in a Dickens novel who said: “If the law supposes that, the law is a ass, a idiot!” (Applause)

How odd it is that we should have to explain to the highly-educated a very simple, self-evident proposition — that trade unions do not exist in order to strike, but to achieve agreements, fair and acceptable to both sides of the bargaining table. We rejoice at such agreements, not at strikes.

In a free society, the freedom of property must be balanced by the freedom of labor, and there can be no such freedom without the right to strike. (Applause) In fighting for the Workplace Fairness Act, we are fighting to secure “liberty and justice for all.” (Applause)

To continue to build, through fair agreements, a better America in which to work and live, we shall not rest until the principles embodied in H.R.5 and S.55 are solidly on the statute books. (Applause)

A ban on the permanent replacement of strikers, genuine health care reform, trade policies that reinforce rather than undermine fair labor standards, action to address the plight of the unemployed and revive the economy from the ground up — these are our gut issues today.

This is the acid test with which to cut through the blather, evasions and smoke screens of candidates for national office. (Applause) This is our line in the sand, by which we can tell whether they are on our side or the other side. (Applause)

There are, to be sure, many other matters that are of vital concern to us — family issues, civil rights, court “packing” and all the rest, and we shall deal with them here. But experience teaches us that those who are right on the lead issues will tend to be right on all the rest, no matter how complex and controversial they may seem to some. Complexities fall away to reveal the clear daylight of truth when candidates bring themselves to answer that first question: “Which side are you on?” (Applause)

Then, indeed, the “native hue of resolution” will no longer be “sicklied o’er by the pale cast of thought.”

We must, of course, continue to be wary of the practitioner of an old American political formula: “Be the poor man’s candidate and the rich man’s friend.” Not just words, but the record is our best defense against that.

Today, among the analysts and soothsayers of the press, the black-birds on the telephone wire have found a new line to land on together.

Incumbents are bad. Challengers are good. The universal cure-all: Term limitations.

To fall for this nonsense would be to betray a rule of political action that has weathered the test of time: Elect your friends and defeat your enemies. (Applause) It would defeat both friends and enemies and start again from scratch with a roll of the dice on a crap table rigged by the right. (Applause)

The simple, obvious common-sense truth is that some, but not all, incumbents are bad, and some, but not all, challengers are good, and the people can be trusted to tell the difference. (Applause) Any measure that strips from the people their right to vote for whomever they please, for as long as they please, is a mindless assault on democracy itself, and we won't buy it. (Applause)

We have plenty of experience with term limitations in the Executive Branch, where all but civil servants serve at the pleasure of the President and eight years is the maximum, and we have seen its results.

It has turned that branch into a charm school for foreign agents and corporate fixers, and a revolving door into the service of the sheiks and shoguns to promote the rule of a secret government.

That is bad enough. Do we really want to extend the sway of those forces to the legislative branch, whose members and staffs would use their transitory offices to feather their future nests, to a degree far beyond what may now be the case?

Reduced to plain language, term limitations means: "Throw the rascals in!" We don't buy that proposition, and we will fight it wherever it rears its head. (Applause)

The results of last week's elections underscore our point. They were not the product of the kind of wholesale anti-incumbency fever that some are selling. They prove that the American people still know what they are doing, that they have real problems, that they want something for their money besides excuses, and they want action.

Harris Wofford's victory in Pennsylvania has sounded a reveille in Washington. (Applause) Some Republican senators heard it and lo, they produced a health plan — one that can more accurately be described as what to do instead of a health plan. It seems to follow the same bankrupt, trickling approach that has brought the country to its present state — more "incentives" for the interests who preside over the health care industry, inflate costs and throttle access today. It calls to mind the cogent query of another campaign: "Where's the beef?"

Fiorello LaGuardia had a simple response, many years ago, to such maneuvers, when he said: "It's politics! Do you get it? Can you believe it? It's politics!"

We'll hear what Senator Wofford has to say about that when he joins us on Wednesday. We shall welcome him as a real proven comrade-in-arms, for he began his campaign when he marched and stuck and stayed with us throughout the grueling heat of Solidarity Day.

In 1988, George Bush asked the country for a thousand points of light. On Solidarity Day 1991, we brought 325,000 burning points of light to his doorstep in Washington (Applause) — which turned out to be much more than he bargained for.

Those points of light brought a message. That message has been repeated and amplified in Pennsylvania and it will roll and grow across this nation until we have a President and a Congress that will respond to it.

There was another thing that George Bush said in that speech in 1988 that we do not intend to let him forget. He made a solemn pledge to create 30 million new jobs in his time in office. Remember?

Well, I have been keeping track, and we are getting royally stiffed. Giving him full credit for a small growth in jobs before his recession began to destroy them, he now owes us about 29,750,000. (Applause) He has only a year left to come across, and the jobs he proposes to create in Mexico with his Free Trade Agreement, and in the prisons of his most favored nation, Red China, do not count. (Applause)

There are those who criticize President Bush for spending too much time overseas and not enough on domestic affairs. I do not agree with that criticism.

After all, we once had, and are entitled to have, presidents who can walk and chew gum at the same time. (Laughter and applause)

The real question is not where he goes, but where he stands. (Applause)

In the light of the positions that his administration has taken on a host of domestic issues that concern us, perhaps he should stay abroad and leave his underlings here to fumble the ball.

Perhaps if he stayed abroad longer and looked around a little more, he might learn a few useful things that the stuffed shirts on his international Rolodex won't tell him.

He might notice the higher occupational safety and health protections of Western Europe. He might observe that every other industrial nation guarantees its citizens access to health care. He might even discover the fact that America's most successful competitors in world trade are far more generous with family leave and unemployment compensation, and that the "permanent replacement" of strikers is virtually unheard-of outside the United States. (Applause)

He might then come back a better president and we could all say that the trip was worth the price.

While the working people of America have been paying a heavy price for all the sins committed and permitted in the name of "competitiveness," the New Nomenklatura has been doing all right. From 1981 to 1989, the combined wages of those who make less than \$50,000 a year increased an average of just two percent a year. During the same period, the combined salaries of all who make more than a million dollars a year increased 2,184 percent.

But nothing that has happened over the past decade has been as destructive as erosion of the bonds of trust between the American people and their government. From the courts to the agencies charged with protecting their interests, working people no longer have faith that their rights are respected.

The laws and administrative procedures designed to protect the right of workers to organize trade unions serve instead to delay and frustrate its exercise.

The amiable notion that all are equal before the law is a mockery when the business decision of compliance or non-compliance becomes nothing other than a line-item on the corporate profit-and-loss statement and not a moral issue. Breaking the law and incurring, at most, the penalty of reinstatement and back pay for the aggrieved, is simply another modest cost of doing business, utterly inconsequential when compared with the enormous costs and risks that management has come to routinely accept — like the service of junk-bond debt or the cost of cleaning up an oil spill.

I ask you, what would be the impact upon the occurrence of crime in the streets if the only penalty one had to pay for mugging someone was to return the stolen money if caught? Surely that would be regarded as a license fee rather than a deterrent.

Yet this is only the beginning of the long list of misdeeds committed by corporate un-America in the name of "competitiveness." What does that catchword really mean, and how does it serve this country?

I give you the recent words of the president of NCR Corporation: "American competitiveness? I don't think about it at all. We at NCR think of ourselves as a globally competitive company that happens to be headquartered in the United States."

Perhaps it is time to resurrect the congressional un-American activities committees (laughter) — only this time there should be hauled before them the real subverters of the nation's security, the privileged betrayers of American interests who roam the world in search of the cheapest and most oppressed labor, while reserving for themselves the right to live under American standards and protections.

And while we're at it, we can bring in the saving and loan bandits, the dirty-laundrymen who hustle for crooked international banks, the junk bond junkies who leveraged away our productive capacity, the revolving-door turncoats and foreign agents, the American companies that made money supplying Saddam Hussein in the months before he invaded Kuwait, and the corporate overseers who, in the name of "competitiveness," condemn their employees to occupational death and disease.

The recent tragedy at Hamlet, North Carolina, is only one chapter among volumes and volumes of evidence refuting the assertion that modern laws adequately protect workers, that unions have done their job and are no longer needed. We all know that on too many occasions, employers will ignore and break those laws unless they know someone is watching, and even then if the cost is not too high.

From safety to sexual harassment, the absence of the cop on the beat means that this responsibility continues to fall squarely into the lap of trade union movement.

Where both are absent, both law enforcement and trade unionism, as in that North Carolina chicken plant and in too many other worksites across the country, the echoes of the universal torturer of history ring faintly above the hum of production: "No one can see you here. No one can hear you. I can do whatever I want to you. I can even kill you. And no one will ever bring me to trial."

On this Veterans Day — and on the eve of the 50th anniversary of America's entry into World War II — we see everywhere reminders that history does not end and that battles are never finally won.

As we speak, neo-Naziism is reaching for a beach-head in the state of Louisiana.

The corporate arms of the empire of the rising sun are gaining power where its military arms could not.

In Hong Kong, the sickening spectacle of the authorities forcing thousands of Vietnamese refugees back to the merciless arms of tyranny shows that, no matter what one's views on that war at the time, there were human values at stake and it is too bad they failed.

In the Middle East, the valor of our troops, and the titanic effort that supplied them, was magnificent and we share the pride of all Americans in that extraordinary effort to which our members fully contributed. But because we braked in the name of stability for the Butcher of Baghdad, Saddam Hussein remains in power and the cause of democracy in the region, as opposed to the mere control of oil riches and territory, has not advanced an inch so far.

As matters now stand, the lines of an old English poem about the Battle of Blenheim come to mind:

And everybody praised the Duke,

Who this great fight did win.

But what good came of it at last?

Quoth little Peterkin:

"Why that I cannot tell," said he.

"But 'twas a famous victory." (Applause)

Today, from the right and from the left, we are again hearing the siren call for a new isolationism.

The American trade union movement cannot and will not join that chorus. If we wanted to, the world would not let us. We fully understand that we cannot safely appease or make a separate peace with the forces that afflict labor anywhere in the world.

We are and must be leading players in the new democratic movement that is shaking the world and reaching all its corners.

From the shipyards of Gdansk to the factories of Santiago — from Pretoria to Tirana — and now in the streets of Moscow, Kiev and cities throughout the republics of the former Soviet Union — ordinary working people, pursuing their natural aspirations to breathe free and gain

control of their lives, are the essential source of peaceful democratic revolutions that are driving tyrants from their thrones.

We have every right to be proud that the AFL-CIO has been their most steadfast resource.

Though the Cold War with communism seems to be nearing its end, the struggle for humanity goes on. Judging from current events, the next long worldwide confrontation — the next cold war, if you please — may well be on the barricades between those who stand for human rights and popular democracy, and those who serve communism's mirror image: the New Nomenklatura, the forces of flagless capital, in league with their handmaidens, the finance ministers and the ideologues and high priests of free market idolatry.

I have no doubt that at home and abroad, the men and women of the American trade union movement will not be found wanting in that struggle. We shall not be moved.

Though I've heard the old timers bemoan the alleged absence of trade union spirit in our younger members, and complain that today's trade unionists are just coasting on the sacrifices of those who went before — and I've heard that for more than 50 years — I am here to tell you otherwise. (Applause)

We are emerging from one of the most difficult periods in our history as a movement. We are doing so with our membership level as high as it has ever been, with our solidarity intact, and with sturdy resolve.

And this generation of trade unionists has earned its stripes like no other in our history. (Applause)

Anyone inclined to dispute that should listen to the thousands of Machinists, Pilots and Flight Attendants who battled Frank Lorenzo to a standstill. (Applause)

They should take note of the brutal struggles at Ravenswood, Greyhound, International Paper, the New York Daily News — and at scores of other worksites around the country where ruthless employers have booted working men and women off their property for standing up in solidarity for their trade union rights.

From the coal miners at Pittston and Decker, to the communications and electrical workers at NYNEX — and across the south at textile mills and catfish plants — all the many places where people have come under the worst kinds of assaults for daring to stand on their feet

instead of on their knees — a new generation of rugged trade unionists is here. And those who carry the labor movement through the 21st Century will be richer for their courage and spirit. (Applause)

You can look far and wide in the industrialized world, and yes, it's true that you won't find very many countries with unionization rates lower than in the United States. But with the laws and the market jungle we have in this country, to stick your neck out for a trade union is an act of affirmation that has fostered an unmatched level of vigor and commitment within our ranks.

No one, but no one, in the world beats the unions of the AFL-CIO in the dedication and commitment of their members.

There are no better trade unionists anywhere beneath the sun, and it's quality that counts.

This generation has indeed paid its dues. As its tribunes, I salute you. And I summon you now to stay the course.

Full ahead; steady as she goes. (Standing ovation)

Let's get to work. The chair recognizes Vice President Joyce Miller for a report of the Credentials Committee.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

MILLER: Thank you, Brother Kirkland. Mr. President, officers of the Executive Council, and delegates to this 19th Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Your committee on credentials in accordance with our laws was appointed by the Executive Council as your Credentials Committee for this convention and herewith submits the following report:

We have examined the credentials of a total of 755 delegates representing 81 National and International Unions, 9 Departments, 46 State Bodies, 161 Central Labor Bodies, 1 Directly Affiliated Local Union, and 2 Fraternal Organizations.

We recommend that the delegates indicated in this report be seated. The names of the delegates the committee recommends be seated and their organizations are appended to the report and will appear in the printed record of this convention.

Respectfully submitted, Joyce Miller, Chair; Jerry Willburn, Edward Dubroski, and Weidon L. Mathis.

The following is a complete list of the delegates to the 19th Constitutional Convention and their organizations, including those mentioned in all supplemental reports of the committee on credentials.

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Theodore Bikel, Reed Farrell, Sanford I. Wolff, Alan Eisenberg, Barry Gordon, A. Kendall Orsatti, John T. McGuire. **98,984** votes.

Air Line Pilots Association—Randolph Babbitt, Jerome Mugerditchian, John Donnelly, Robert D. Shelton, F.C. Dubinsky. **31,432** votes.

Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers International Union—Ernie LaBaff, Harvey G. Martin, Roy Lukens, John J. Murphy, Roy L. Brown. **42,247** votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—William G. Bernard, James A. Grogan, Harvey Hartsook, Vincent V. Eby. **12,000** votes.

Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, International Union of—Owen Bieber, Bill Casstevens, Thomas Fricano, Bob King, Bob Lent, Stan Marshall, Bill Stewart, Bobby Lee Thompson, Robert Vicars, Phil Wheeler, Roy Wyse, Stephen Yokich, Richard Shoemaker, Frank Musick, Gerald Lazarowitz, Ernest Lofton, Gary Bryner. **845,067** votes.

Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union—John DeConcini, Frank Hurt, Patrick D'Angelo, Gene McDonald, David Durkee, Wesley Reedy, Gary Mounkes. **100,881** votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Charles W. Jones, Jerry Willburn, Lawrence McManamon, Ande Edward Rokuski. **66,435** votes.

Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, International Union Of—John T. Joyce, Louis Weir, Chester Latty, James McNeilly, John J. Flynn, Thomas Uzzalino, Joseph Lozich. **84,000** votes.

Broadcast Employees and Technicians, National Association of—James P. Nolan, Kenneth E. Moffett **5,000** votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Sigurd Lucassen, Dean Sooter, Paschal McGuinness, James T. Patterson, James Bledsoe, Salvatore Pelliccio, William J. Michalowski, Doug Banes, William Nipper, Eugene Judge, Fred E. Carter, H. Paul Johnson, Armando Vergara. **497,142** votes.

Chemical Workers Union, International—Frank D. Martino, Charles Chapman, Robert Meade, Robert Marlow, Leonard Perryman. **39,837** votes.

Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Amalgamated—Jack Sheinkman, Arthur Loevy, Noel Beasley, Clayola Brown, John Fox, Arthur Hoover, James Johnson, Carmen Papale, Thomas Rumore. **153,894** votes.

Communications Workers of America—Morton Bahr, M.E. Nichols, Barbara Easterling, T.O. Parsons, Walter Maulis, George MacDonald, William J. Boarman, James E. Irvine, T.O. Moses, Loretta Bowen, John B. Kulstad, Donald H. Lindemier, Dina G. Beaumont. **492,473** votes.

Distillery, Wine and Allied Workers International Union—George J. Orlando, Elvira L. Catalli, Vernon R. Frakes. **10,055** votes.

Electronic, Electrical, Technical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers, International Union of—William H. Bywater, Joan M. Man, Peter S. diCicco, Michael Bindas, Donald Boerman, George Clark, Willie Rudd, Gloria Johnson. **160,376** votes.

Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of—John J. Barry, Jack F. Moore, James P. Conway, Michael P. Blanchard, Solomon R. Martin, Howard E. Schier, Jr., Gilbert Solano, Jeremiah F. Comer, Edward J. MacDonald, C.L. Tucker, Diana Kamen, L. Keith Querry, Jack McNally, Dennis McSpedon, Michael G. Deleso, Nick F. Burkard. **730,064** votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Everett A. Treadway, John N. Russell, Jerome A. Mullett, Michael E. Mullett, Jr. **22,269** votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—Frank Hanley, Budd Coutts, Art Viat, William C. Waggoner, Lionel J. Gindorf, Patrick

E. Campbell, Vergil L. Belfi, Thomas J. Stapleton, Vincent Giblin, Fred P. Dereschuk, Gerald Ellis. **330,000** votes.

Farm Workers of America, United—Cesar E. Chavez, Arturo Rodriquez, David Martinez, Irv Hershenbaum. **15,067** votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Alfred K. Whitehead, Vincent J. Bollon, Harold A. Schaitberger, Robert E. Palmer, Charles L. Buss, Gerald O. Holland, Lawrence McColl, Mark Lafferty. **150,625** votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—James L. Walker, Michael A. Matz, John Code, George J. Francisco, Jr. **24,968** votes.

Flight Attendants, Association of—Dee Maki, Sharon E. Madigan, R. Frederick Casey. **24,343** votes.

Food and Commercial Workers International Union, United—William H. Wynn, Jerry Menapace, Jay Foreman, William Olwell, Douglas H. Dority, Thomas M. Hussow, Jack L. Loveall, Robert A. Gary A. Duckett, Leo Cinaglia, Joseph C. Talarico, John C. Sperry, Patrick Finn, Ricardo Icaza, David T. Barry, Patricia Scarcelli, Willie L. Baker Jr., Frank R. Diningier, Robert B. Novicoff. **997,242** votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—Dave Johnson, Timothy J. Fitzpatrick, Calvina S. Little, Hattie Scruggs. **21,083** votes.

Garment Workers Union, International Ladies'—Jay Mazur, Nicholas Bonanno, Susan Cowell, Lillian Kolwyck, William Lee. Edgar Romney, Irwin Solomon, Katie Quan. **142,500** votes.

Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union—James E. Hatfield, Frank W. Carter, Joseph C. Cordery, Bonnie Hartnagel, Michael Golovich, Carol Landfried Jim Gaines. **80,000** votes.

Glass Workers Union, American Flint—Lawrence Bankowski, Ivar T. Uncapher, Jack Handling, Ronald E. Shatraw. **21,518** votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—John N. Sturdivant, Bobby L. Harnage, Joan C. Welsh, Robert C. Nelsor Dorothy James, Savannah S. Jackson, Oscar Williams, Jir Campana. **151,665** votes.

Grain Millers, American Federation of—Larry R. Jackson, Howard W. Roe, Larry D. Barber. **27,383** votes.

Graphic Communications International Union—James J. Norton, Guy DeVito, Leonard E. Adams, Gerald H. Deneau, Charles G. Ellington, Joseph O'Connor. **113,102** votes.

Horseshoers of U.S. and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Jeff Cotton. **250** votes.

Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union—Edward T. Hanley, Vincent J. Sirabella, John N. O'Gara, Florence J. Farr, Herbert Schiffman, Ron Richardson, Ted T. Hansen, James J. Stamos, Carol Carlson, Anthony Amodeo. **269,147** votes.

Industrial Workers of America, International Union, Allied—Nick Serraglio, Keith Kirchner, Fred Norris, Donald Wagner, Bill Lang, Fred Praxel. **52,894** votes.

Iron Workers, International Association of Bridge Structural and Ornamental—Jake West, LeRoy Worley, James Cole, Raymond Robertson, Martin Byrne, John Ruel, Harold Cooper. **100,548** votes.

Laborers' International Union of North America—Angelo Fosco, Arthur E. Coia, Ledger Diamond, Mason M. Warren, R. P. Vinall, John Serpico, Herbert Lobdell, Louie Bravo, Vere O. Haynes, Samuel J. Caivano James J. Norwood Enrico Mancinelli. **405,843** votes.

Laundry and Dry Cleaning International Union—Sam Begler, Russell R. Crowell. **13,552** votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Vincent R. Sombrotto, Richard P. O'Connell, Walter Belt, Al Ferranto, Jack Grab, James E. Graham, Jr., Anita Guzik, Allen Stuart, James C. Taylor. **210,000** votes.

Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of—Edward Dubroski. **20,410** votes.

Longshoremen's Association AFL-CIO, International—John Bowers, Lane Kirkland, Thomas W. Gleason, Sr., Timothy Brown, Benny Holland, Albert Cernadas. **60,145** votes.

Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International—David Arian, Brian McWilliams, Leon Harris, Burrill Hatch, Eddie Lapa. **44,567** votes.

Machinists and Aerospace Workers, International Association of—George J. Kourpias, Tom Ducey, Edgar M. House, Roe Spencer, John Peterpaul, Justin Ostro, Merle Pryor, George Poulin, Donald E. Wharton, Larry Downing, Michael Day, Michael Calendo, Dorothy Ellsworth, John Scarfi. **534,310** votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—Mac A. Fleming, W. E. LaRue. **42,255** votes.

Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, National—C.E. DeFries, Ted Kedzierski, Thomas Harper, Raymond T. McKay, Fred Schamann, John Conley. **52,891** votes.

Mechanics Educational Society of America—Roy Wentworth. **3,341** votes.

Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Allied Workers International Union—Glen L. Holt. **4,105** votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—Richard L. Trumka, Cecil E. Roberts, Jerry D. Jones, Dan Kane, James Smith, Howard Green. **82,292** votes.

Musicians of the U.S. and Canada, American Federation of—Mark Tully Massagli, Stephen R. Sprague, Michael Isabella, Florence Nelson, Shorty Vest, R. J. Watkins. **50,506** votes.

Newspaper Guild, The—Charles Dale, John C. Edgington, Peter McLaughlin, Luther Jackson. **25,009** votes.

Novelty and Production Workers, International Union of Allied—Julius Isaacson, Randy Lang. **23,466** votes.

Office and Professional Employees International Union—John Kelly, Gilles Beauregard, Michael Goodwin, Michael Walker, Carolyn Combs, Gwen Newton. **88,599** votes.

Painters and Allied Trades of the U.S. and Canada, International Brotherhood of—William A. Duval, A. L. Monroe, Joseph Shatro, Joseph DeMaio, William Sauerwald, M. R. Cook. **124,000** votes.

Paperworkers International Union, United—Wayne E. Glenn, James H. Dunn, Vincent Dinardo, Mario Scarselletta, Donald Langham, Gerald Johnston, Edward Windorff, Gordon Brehm. **202,163** votes.

Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association of the U.S. and Canada, Operative—Vincent J. Panepinto, Dominic A. Martell, Orlando J. Balotta, Ron Thelin, Dick Howard. **38,500** votes.

Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the U.S. and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the—Marvin J. Boede, Charles J. Habig, Eddie Moore, Donald F. McNamara, Francis X. McCartin, Thomas J. Hunter, Martin J. Maddaloni, John Lindstrom, Patrick Perno. **219,800** votes.

Police Associations, International Union of—Robert B. Kliesmet, Sam A. Cabral. **17,720** votes.

Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO, American—Moe Biller, William Burrus, Douglas C. Holbrook, Patrick J. Nilan, Sidney L. Brooks, Roy Braunstein, Joyce B. Robinson, Kenneth D. Wilson, Donald A. Ross. **228,355** votes.

Professional Athletes, Federation of—Eugene Upshaw. **483** votes.

Professional and Technical Engineers, International Federation of—James E. Sommerhauser, Gregory J. Junemann, Michael T. Waske. **21,000** votes.

Radio Association, American—William R. Steinberg. **272** votes.

Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union—Lenore Miller, Guy Dickinson, Paul Domeny, Emanuel Laub, Joseph Pascarella, Donald E. Strack, Charlie N. Hall Sr., Henry Jenkins. **130,373** votes.

Roofers, Waterproofers and Allied Workers, United Union of—Alex Bodnariuk, Daniel D'Elia, Salvatore Ponzio. **21,386** votes.

Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, United—Kenneth L. Coss, J. Michael Stanley, Glenn Ellison, Kenneth A. Bodak, Nat Brown, Dorothy L. Harper, John W. Yost. **88,561** votes.

School Administrators, American Federation of—Dr. Joe L. Greene. **9,371** votes.

Seafarers International Union of North America—Michael Sacco, John Fay, Joseph Sacco, Roman Gralewicz, Steve Edney, Henry Disley, Gunnar Lundeborg. **80,250** votes.

Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO—John J. Sweeney, Thomas R. Donahue, Richard W. Cordtz, Gus Bevana, Jerome Brown, Louis Duval, Marc Earls, Kenneth Lyons, Ophelia McFadden, Eugene P. Moats, Paul Policicchio, S.E. Roscoe, Yolanda H. Solari, William Stodghill, Rosemary Trump, Paul Varacalli, Robert W. Welsh, Fay Childs. **880,822** votes.

Sheet Metal Workers International Association—Edward J. Carlough, Irwin W. Bodansky, Gerald Baumgartner, Thomas J. Cole, Robert Custer, Jimmy Hinkle, Ralph Willham. **108,000** votes.

Signalmen, Brotherhood of Railroad—V. M. Speakman Jr., R. R. Foley, C. A. McGraw. **9,703** votes.

Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the U.S. and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—Alfred W. DiTolla, James J. Riley, Edward C. Powell, Carmine A. Palazzo, Stephen R. Flint, Nancy M. Bues. **50,167** votes.

State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—Gerald McEntee, William Lucy, Dominic Badolato, Albert Diop, Joseph Bolt, Robert Brindza, Jack Merkel, Joseph Bonavita, Joseph McDernott, Russell Okata, James Glass, Ronald Alexander, George Popyack, Danny Donohue, Marilyn LeClaire, Donald McKee, Garland Webb, George Boncoraglio, Stanley Hill, Gary Moore, Henry Nicholas, Joseph Rugola. **1,191,230** votes.

Steelworkers of America, United—Lynn R. Williams, Edgar L. Ball, George Becker, Leon Lynch, Frank Vickers, Harry Lester, Frank Valenta, Obert J. Vattendahl, Anthony Rainaldi, Dave Foster, Harry Guenther, John Reck. **459,123** votes.

Stove, Furnace and Allied Appliance Workers International Union of North America—Thomas B. Kemme, Gary L. Meyer. **4,616** votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Albert Shanker, Robert G. Porter, Sandra Feldman, Antonia Cortese, Thomas Y. Hobart, Jr.

Jacqueline Vaughn, Herbert Magidson, Edward McElroy, Nathaniel LaCour, Pat Tornillo, Paul Devlin, Lorretta Johnson, Albert Fondy. **573,209** votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America—William J. McCarthy, John F. Murphy, Edward M. Lawson, Arnie Weinmeister, Walter J. Shea, Don L. West, Robert T. Simpson Jr., Francis W. Hackett, R. V. Durham, Mitchell Ledet, Ben Leal, Robert Derusha, Harold J. Yates, Louis Lacroix, James M. Moar, F.C. Duke Zeller, Jim Conway, Al Barlow, Ernest R. Tusino, David Laughton, Charles J. Piscitello, Donald Sawochka, David Sweeney, Marvin Griswold, Charles Thibault. **1,378,756** votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Ernest L. Milewski, Norman Boehm, Jr. **18,474** votes.

Train Dispatchers Association, American—Robert J. Irvin. **2,094** votes.

Transit Union, Amalgamated—James LaSala, Oliver W. Green, Vito J. Forlenza, Larry L. Klos, Daniel T. Linville, Ralph J. Oliveri, Anthony B. Romano. **97,747** votes.

Transport Workers Union of America—George Leitz, Sonny Hall, John J. Kerrigan, Frank McCann, George Roberts, Jon Madish, James Jorgensen, Jr. **85,000** votes.

Transportation Communications International Union—R. A. Scardelletti, J.F.Otero, William Fairchild, Joseph Condo, Joel Parker. **73,120** votes.

Transportation Union, United—G. Thomas DuBose, K.R. Moore, J.M. Brunkenhoefer, W. G. Croonquist, L. J. Wotaszak, L. W. Swert. **63,517** votes.

Utility Workers Union of America—Marshall M. Hicks, John M. Walsh Jr., Francis R. Owens, Donald E. Wightman, John T. Goodman, George G. Manoogian. **54,567** votes.

Writers Guild of America, East, Inc.—Michael Winship. **2,933** votes.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

British Trades Union Congress

Ada Maddocks, Former member TUC General Council

Canadian Labour Congress

Leo Gerard, National Director, United Steelworkers of America

TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS

Building and Construction Trades—Robert A. Georgine—1 vote.

Food and Allied Service Trades—Robert F. Harbrant—1 vote.

Industrial Union—Howard D. Samuel—1 vote.

Maritime Trades—Jean F. Ingrao—1 vote.

Metal Trades—Paul J. Burnsky—1 vote.

Professional Employees—Jack Golodner—1 vote.

Public Employees—Al Bilik—1 vote.

Transportation Trades—Walter J. Shea—1 vote.

Union Label and Service Trades—Richard J. Perry—1 vote.

STATE AFL-CIOs

Alabama—A. G. Trammell—1 vote.

Alaska—Patrick Smutz—1 vote.

Arkansas—J. Bill Becker—1 vote.

Arizona—Charles R. Huggins—1 vote.

California—John F. Henning—1 vote.

Colorado—Eldon W. Cooper—1 vote.

Connecticut—John W. Olsen—1 vote.

Florida—Daniel J. Miller—1 vote.

Georgia—Herbert H. Mabry—1 vote.

Hawaii—Gary W. Rodrigues—1 vote.

Idaho—James E. Kerns—1 vote.

Illinois—Richard J. Walsh—1 vote.

Indiana—Charles C. Deppert—1 vote.

Iowa—James J. Wengert—1 vote.

Kentucky—Ronald R. Cyrus—1 vote.

Maryland and District of Columbia—Edward A. Mohler—1 vote.
Massachusetts—Joseph Faherty—1 vote.
Michigan—Frank D. Garrison—1 vote.
Minnesota—Bernard L. Brommer—1 vote.
Mississippi—Neal Fowler—1 vote.
Missouri—Daniel J. McVey—1 vote.
Montana—Donald R. Judge—1 vote.
Nebraska—Gordon L. McDonald—1 vote.
Nevada—Claude Evans—1 vote.
New Hampshire—Mark S. MacKenzie—1 vote.
New Jersey—Charles H. Marciante—1 vote.
New Mexico—George E. Gilliland—1 vote.
New York—Edward J. Cleary—1 vote.
North Carolina—Christopher L. Scott—1 vote.
North Dakota—David L. Kemnitz—1 vote.
Ohio—John R. Hodges—1 vote.
Oklahoma—Ross J. Williams—1 vote.
Oregon—Irvin H. Fletcher—1 vote.
Pennsylvania—William M. George—1 vote.
Rhode Island—George H. Nee—1 vote.
South Carolina—G.O. Smoak—1 vote.
South Dakota—Jack E. Dudley—1 vote.
Tennessee—James G. Neeley—1 vote.
Texas—Jackie W. St. Clair—1 vote.
Utah—Ed Mayne—1 vote.
Virginia—Daniel G. LeBlanc—1 vote.
Washington—Karen Keiser—1 vote.
West Virginia—Joseph W. Powell—1 vote.
Wisconsin—Jack B. Reihl—1 vote.
Wyoming—John M. Faunce—1 vote.
Puerto Rico—Valentin Hernandez—1 vote.

LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

Akron/Medina County Labor Council, Ohio—Patricia A. Tutoki—1 vote.

Albany County Federation of Labor, New York—Steven J. Zahurak—1 vote.

Albert Lea Trades and Labor Assembly, Minnesota—David K. Roe—1 vote.

Allegheny County Central Labor Council, Pennsylvania—Bruno Dellana—1 vote.

Alameda County Central Labor Council, California—Owen A. Marron—1 vote.

Anchorage Central Labor Council, Alaska—Diane Cottle—1 vote.

Ashland County Central Labor Council, Ohio—Michael S. Roller, Sr.—1 vote.

Atlanta Labor Council, Georgia—Stewart Acuff—1 vote.

Auburn Area Labor Council, New York—Peter Killian—1 vote.

Augusta Federation of Trades, Georgia—Richard Dyson—1 vote.

Austin Central Labor Union, Minnesota—William R. Peterson—1 vote.

Barberton Labor Council, Ohio—Kent Darr—1 vote.

Bay County Labor Council, Michigan—James E. Davison—1 vote.

Bemidji Central Labor Body, Minnesota—Lucille Olson—1 vote.

Blair-Bedford Central Labor Council, Pennsylvania—Roy Wise—1 vote.

Bucks County Council, Pennsylvania—Edward Keller—1 vote.

Buffalo AFL-CIO Council, New York—George L. Wessel—1 vote.

Butler County Labor Council, Pennsylvania—Judy Buxton—1 vote.

Butler-Warren-Clinton Counties Central Labor Council, Ohio—G. Mark Johnston—1 vote.

Camden Central Labor Union, New Jersey—George E. Norcross—1 vote.

Canton AFL-CIO Council, Greater, Ohio—Daniel F. Sciury—1 vote.

Carlton County Central Labor Body, Minnesota—Patricia H. Kiminski—1 vote.

Central Indiana Labor Council—Michael Mezo—1 vote.

Central Maryland Council—Primo R. Padeletti—1 vote.

Chester County Council, Pennsylvania—Germaine Moran—1 vote.

Chicago Federation of Labor and Industrial Union Council—Robert M. Healey—1 vote.

Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council—V. Daniel Radford—1 vote.

Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor—Richard D. Acton—1 vote.

Colorado Springs Area Labor Council—Robert E. Greene—1 vote.

Columbiana County Labor Council, Upper, Ohio—Chester Makoski—1 vote.

Columbus Franklin County AFL-CIO, Ohio—William R. Rittenhouse—1 vote.

Contra Costa County Central Labor Council, California—Margaret Shelleda—1 vote.

Crawford County Labor Union Council, Pennsylvania—John Vento—1 vote.

Danville Central Labor Council, Kentucky—Martha Bottom—1 vote.

Del-Mar-Va Peninsula Central Labor Council,
Maryland—Margareta, A. Crampton—1 vote.

Denver Area Labor Federation—William C. Himmelmann—1 vote.

Detroit AFL-CIO, Metropolitan,—Edgar A. Scribner—1 vote.

Dickinson-Iron Labor Council, Michigan—Tim Hughes—1 vote.

Dubuque Federation of Labor, Iowa—Mike Lux—1 vote.

Duluth AFL-CIO Central Labor Body, Minnesota—Jackie M. Docauer—1 vote.

Eastern Upper Peninsula Central Labor Council, Michigan—Hugh Wolfenbarger—1 vote.

Eau Claire Labor Council, Wisconsin—Jerry LaPoint—1 vote.

Erie County Central Labor Union, Pennsylvania—Angelo Criscione—1 vote.

Flint Central Labor Council, Greater, Michigan—Mark Alexander—1 vote.

Frankfort Area Central Labor Council, Kentucky—Chris Dyke—1 vote.

Glens Falls Central Labor Council, Greater, New York—Judy Conley—1 vote.

Grand River Valley Labor Council, Michigan—William M. Tuiustra—1 vote.

Guernsey County AFL-CIO, Ohio—Donald K. Day—1 vote.

Harrisburg Region Central Labor Council, Pennsylvania—Robert C. Settle—1 vote.

Hartford Labor Council, Greater, Connecticut—Kip Lockhart—1 vote.

Heart of America AFL-CIO, Missouri—Michael Fisher—1 vote.

Indiana Central Labor Council, Pennsylvania—Roy T. Albert—1 vote.

Iron Range Labor Assembly, Minnesota—Ellen M. Poderzay—1 vote.

Jackson-Hillsdale Central Labor Council, Michigan—Gerald Emmons—1 vote.

Jefferson City Central Labor Council, Missouri—T. D. Darnell—1 vote.

Jefferson County Trades and Labor Assembly, Ohio—Larry M. Mitchell—1 vote.

Jefferson County Central Labor Council, Wisconsin—Gary L. Cluver—1 vote.

Kanawha Valley Labor Council, AFL-CIO, West Virginia—Bobby B. Thompson—1 vote.

King County Labor Council of Washington—Rick S. Bender—1 vote.

Knox County Labor Council, Ohio—Robert Y. Farrington—1 vote.

Knoxville-Oak Ridge Area Central Labor Council,
Tennessee—Harold Woods—1 vote.

Lake County Council, Illinois—Patrick J. Murray—1 vote.

Lakes Regional Labor Council, Wisconsin—Charles Handl—1 vote.

Lansing Labor Council, Greater, Michigan—Glenn H. Freeman—
1 vote.

Lima Regional Council, Ohio—Tom Bell, Jr.—1 vote.

Linn-Benton-Lincoln Labor Council, Oregon—Sherri Sweet—1 vote.

Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, California—William R.
Robertson—1 vote.

McKean and Potter Counties, Pennsylvania—James M. Weaver—
1 vote.

Manistee County Labor Federation, Michigan—Carl Rutske—1 vote.

Mankato Central Labor Union, Minnesota—Faye D. Krohn—1 vote.

Marinette-Menominee Labor Council, Wisconsin—Charles
Scott—1 vote.

Marion-Polk-Yamhill Labor Council, Oregon—Mary Botkin—1 vote.

Marquette County Labor Council, Michigan—Timothy Nichols—
1 vote.

Massillon Trades and Labor Council, Ohio—William A. Burga—
1 vote.

Meriden Labor Council, Greater, Connecticut—Albert Casale—
1 vote.

Metropolitan Baltimore Council, Maryland—Ernest R. Grecco—
1 vote.

Metropolitan Washington Council, AFL-CIO, D. C.—Joslyn N.
Williams—1 vote.

- Middlesex County Labor Council, New Jersey—Raymond A. Peterson—1 vote.
- Midland County Labor Council, Michigan—Karen Krygier—1 vote.
- Mid-Michigan Labor Council,—Bernard L. Gray—1 vote.
- Monongahela Valley Central Labor Council, Pennsylvania—Judith M. Heh—1 vote.
- Monroe/Lenawee County Labor Council, Michigan—Gerald Hesson—1 vote.
- Monroe-Pike Central Labor Council, Pennsylvania—Richard Bloomingdale—1 vote.
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- Newark Area Council, Ohio—Rick D. Vermillion—1 vote.
- New Haven Central Labor Council, Greater, Connecticut—Warren J. Gould—1 vote.
- New London Central Labor Council, Connecticut—Leo Canty—1 vote.
- New York City Central Labor Council—Thomas Van Arsdale—1 vote.
- N.I.A.D. Labor Council, Iowa—James T. Shannon—1 vote.
- Niagara-Orleans Central Labor Council, New York—Roger L. Chenez—1 vote.
- North Central Indiana Central Labor Council—Don Vanett—1 vote.
- North Central Washington Central Labor Council—Alfred Brisbois—1 vote.
- Northeast Central Labor Council, New York—Thomas P. Kennedy III—1 vote.
- North Shore Labor Council, Massachusetts—John O'Conner—1 vote.
- Northeast Three Rivers Central Labor Council, Indiana—Thomas Lewandowski—1 vote.
- Northeastern Connecticut Central Labor Council—Tamar H. MacFadyen—1 vote.
- Northeastern Oklahoma Labor Council—Dennis L. Burchette—1 vote.
- Northern Kentucky Labor Council—Robert E. Richardson—1 vote.

- Northern LaSalle, Bureau and Putnam County, Illinois—Oscar Sanchez—1 vote.
- Northern Valley Labor Council, North Dakota—John D. Williams—1 vote.
- Northern Westmoreland United Labor Council, Pennsylvania—C. Jim DeBoard—1 vote.
- Northwest Indiana Federation of Labor—Sal Aguilar—1 vote.
- Northwest Oregon Labor Council—Ron Fortune—1 vote.
- Northwest Upper Peninsula Labor Council, Michigan—Katherine Billie—1 vote.
- Orange County Central Labor Council, California—William Fogarty—1 vote.
- Parkersburg Area Labor Council, West Virginia—Jack R. McComas—1 vote.
- Pioneer Valley Central Labor Council, Massachusetts—Edward W. Collins, Jr.—1 vote.
- Providence Central Labor Council, Rhode Island—Paul A. MacDonald—1 vote.
- Quad City Federation of Labor, Illinois—Louise DeFrieze—1 vote.
- Raleigh Central Labor Body, North Carolina—James Andrews—1 vote.
- Reading and Berks County, Pennsylvania—Marsha Zakowski—1 vote.
- Red Wing Area Labor Council, Minnesota—Ronald G. Cohen—1 vote.
- Rockford United Labor, Illinois—Amedeo Giorgi—1 vote.
- Rockland County Central Labor Union, New York—Denis M. Hughes—1 vote.
- Sabine Area Central Labor Council, Texas—Ray Andrus—1 vote.

- St. Clair County Labor Council, Michigan—Richard W. Cummings—1 vote.
- St. Louis Labor Council, Greater, Missouri—Robert J. Kelley—1 vote.
- Saginaw County Labor Council, Michigan—Gerald W. Neumann—1 vote.
- San Antonio Council, Texas—Gilbert Kissling—1 vote.
- San Diego-Imperial Counties, California—Joseph S. Francis—1 vote.
- San Francisco Labor Council, California—Walter J. Johnson—1 vote.
- San Mateo County Central Labor Council, California—Art Pulaski—1 vote.
- Santa Clara and San Benito Counties, California—Richard F. Sawyer—1 vote.
- Santa Cruz Central Labor Council, California—Timothy J. McCormick—1 vote.
- Saratoga County Central Labor Council, New York—Suzy Ballantyne—1 vote.
- Schenectady Area Labor Council, New York—Colleen C. Gardner—1 vote.
- Shenandoah Valley Central Labor Council, Virginia—James R. Leaman—1 vote.
- Somerset County Central Labor Council, New Jersey—Helen S. Verhage—1 vote.
- Somerset County Central Labor Council, Pennsylvania—Lois Hartel—1 vote.
- Sonoma, Mendocino and Lake Counties, California—Albin Gruhn—1 vote.
- South Central Iowa Federation—Perry J. Chapin—1 vote.
- South Florida AFL-CIO—Marty Urra—1 vote.
- South Central Federation of Labor, Wisconsin—Michael Murphy—1 vote.
- South Central Michigan Labor Council—Richard Frantz—1 vote.
- Southeast Central Labor Union, Minnesota—Bob Larson—1 vote.

- Southeast Wyoming Central Union,—Kim A. Floyd—1 vote.
- Southern Dakota County Labor Council, Minnesota—Ray Waldron—1 vote.
- Southern Indiana Central Labor Council—Roy Mabrey—1 vote.
- Southwest Louisiana Central Trades—Frank Roth—1 vote.
- Southwestern Illinois Central Labor Council—Harold A. Wright—1 vote.
- Southwestern Michigan Labor Council—John Olexa—1 vote.
- Spokane Labor Council, Washington—John H. Leinen—1 vote.
- Springfield and Central Illinois Trades and Labor Council—Dan Cosgrove—1 vote.
- Tarrant County Central Labor Council, Texas—Donald R. Looney—1 vote.
- Toledo Area AFL-CIO Council, Ohio—Ronald E. Coughenour—1 vote.
- Traverse Bay Area Central Labor Council, Michigan—Donald F. Weathers—1 vote.
- Thumb Area Labor Council, Michigan—Thomas Turner—1 vote.
- Thunder Bay Central Labor Council, Michigan—Paul Seldenwright—1 vote.
- Tuscarawas County Council, Ohio—Charlie Mix—1 vote.
- Union County Council, New Jersey—Edward Zarnock—1 vote.
- Venango County Labor Council, Pennsylvania—Edward L. Scurry—1 vote.
- Wabash County Central Labor Council, Indiana—Annalee Benedict—1 vote.
- Walworth County Labor Council, Wisconsin—Donna Gaethke—1 vote.

Waukesha County Labor Council, Wisconsin—Joseph Kreuser—
1 vote.

Wayne-Holmes Labor Council, Ohio—Dave Frambes—1 vote.

West Central Illinois Labor Council—Donald Johnson—1 vote.

West Central Wisconsin Labor Council—Cal Christianson—1 vote.

Westchester-Putnam Counties, New York—Peter Puglia—1 vote.

West Michigan Central Labor Council—Carl Simpson—1 vote.

Western Trades and Labor Assembly, Illinois—Robert Gibson—
1 vote.

Winnebago County, Wisconsin—Donel H. Wyman—1 vote.

York-Adams County Central Labor Council, Pennsylvania—Richard
L. Boyd—1 vote.

DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS

No. 19806, Paul C. Blackman—1,904 votes

KIRKLAND: The motion is to adopt the report of the Credentials Committee. Are you ready for the question? All in favor, say aye. Opposed, nay. It's approved.

The chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Donahue for the committee appointments.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

SECRETARY-TREASURER DONAHUE: Mr. President and delegates, the appointments to all convention committees are printed in Resolutions Book 2, which is on the tables in front of you. The appointments are at pages 49 to 54, and I would direct your attention there so that I might be relieved of reading them and you might be relieved of hearing them.

And I move that all of those appointments be accepted, Mr. Chairman.

...The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

...The following is a list of committee appointments:

COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION

Chairman: John DeConcini, Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers

Secretary: John T. Joyce, Bricklayers

Tom Ducey, Machinists; Arthur R. Loevy, Clothing and Textile Workers; Frank Hanley, Operating Engineers; M.E. Nichols, Communications Workers; Jake West, Iron Workers; Guy Dickinson, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store; Ed Ball, Steelworkers; James J. Norton, Graphic Communications; George Leitz, Transport Workers; John J. Barry, Electrical Workers; R.V. Durham, Teamsters.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Chairman: Joyce Miller, Clothing and Textile Workers

Jerry Willburn, Boilermakers; Edward Dubroski, Locomotive Engineers; Weldon L. Mathis, Teamsters.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Chairman: Marvin J. Boede, Plumbers

Secretary: William H. Bywater, Electronic Workers

Paul J. Burnsky, Metal Trades Department; Charles B. Dale, Newspaper Guild; Richard W. Cordtz, Service Employees; M.E. Nichols, Communications Workers; William Lucy, AFSCME; Patricia Scarcelli, Food and Commercial Workers; Irwin Solomon, Ladies' Garment Workers; Jack Golodner, Department for Professional Employees; Mason Warren, Laborers; Frank W. Carter, Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics; David Arian, Longshoremen and Warehousemen; Cecil Roberts, Mine Workers; Walter J. Shea, Teamsters.

COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Chairman: Owen Bieber, UAW

Secretary: Frank D. Martino, Chemical Workers

Edward L. Fire, Electronic Workers; Jean F. Ingrao, Maritime Trades Department; Arthur A. Coia, Laborers; Howard D. Samuel, Industrial Union Department; Robert F. Harbrant, Food and Allied Service Trades Department; C.E. DeFries, Marine Engineers; Cesar E.

Chavez, Farm Workers; Dee Maki, Flight Attendants; James Bledsoe, Carpenters; Jimmy L. Walker, Firemen and Oilers; William Fairchild, Transportation Communications; Carmen Papale, Clothing and Textile Workers; John Leyden, Public Employee Department; W.J. Hubbell, Woodworkers; Francis W. Hackett, Teamsters.

COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Chairman: James E. Hatfield, Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics

Secretary: Richard J. Perry, Union Label and Service Trades Department

David Johnson, United Garment Workers; Frank Hurt, Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco; James Dunn, Paperworkers; Guy DeVito Graphic Communications; Tom Rumore, Clothing and Textile Workers; Susan Cowell, Ladies' Garment Workers; Lawrence Bankowski, Flint Glass Workers; James J. Riley, Theatrical Stage Employees; Jack F. Moore, Electrical Workers; William Olwell, Food and Commercial Workers; Larry R. Jackson, Grain Millers.

COMMITTEE ON LATE RESOLUTIONS

Chairman: Thomas R. Donahue

Joyce D. Miller, Clothing and Textile Workers; Morton Bahr, Communications Workers.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Chairman: William H. Wynn, Food and Commercial Workers

Secretary: Lynn R. Williams, Steelworkers

Albert Shanker, Teachers; Edward T. Hanley, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees; Angelo Fosco, Laborers; John J. Barry, Electrical Workers; John N. Sturdivant, Government Employees; George J. Kourpias, Machinists; John DeConcini, Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco; Wayne E. Glenn, Paperworkers; Joyce D. Miller, Clothing and Textile Workers; John J. Sweeney, Service Employees; James E. Hatfield, Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics; Richard I. Kilroy, Transportation Communications; Vincent R. Sombrotto, Letter Carriers; Gerald W. McEntee, AFSCME; William H. Bywater, Electronic Workers; Marvin J. Boede, Plumbers; Sigurd Lucassen, Carpenters;

Owen Bieber, UAW; John T. Joyce, Bricklayers; Morton Bahr, Communications Workers; Frank Hanley, Operating Engineers; Robert A. Georgine, Building and Construction Trades Department; Milan Stone, Rubber Workers; Gene Upshaw, Professional Athletes; Jay Mazur, Ladies' Garment Workers; Lenore Miller, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store; Jack Sheinkman, Clothing and Textile Workers; William J. McCarthy, Teamsters; Vincent J. Panepinto, Plasterers; Charles W. Jones, Boilermakers; John F. Henning, California Labor Federation; John Kelly, Office and Professional Employees; Edward J. Carlough, Sheet Metal Workers; Moe Biller, Postal Workers; John M. Bowers, Longshoremen; Alfred W. DiTolla, Theatrical Stage Employees; J. Randolph Babbitt, Air Line Pilots; Frank Garrison, Michigan Federation; James LaSala, Amalgamated Transit Union; Nick Serraglio, Allied Industrial Workers; Edward J. Cleary, New York Federation; Michael Sacco, Seafarers; Richard L. Trumka, Mine Workers; Susan Bianchi-Sand, Flight Attendants; Al Bilik, Public Employee Department.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Chairman: Richard I. Kilroy, Transportation Communications Union

Secretary: Lenore Miller, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union

Jay Foreman, Food and Commercial Workers; Sam Begler, Laundry and Dry Cleaning; James E. Sommerhauser, Professional and Technical Engineers; Marshall M. Hicks, Utility Workers; Mark Tully Massagli, Musicians; Arthur Hoover, Clothing and Textile Workers; M.A. Fleming, Maintenance of Way Employees; Alfred K. Whitehead, Fire Fighters; Louis LaCroix, Teamsters.

COMMITTEE ON STATE AND LOCAL BODIES

Chairman: Wayne E. Glenn, Paperworkers

Secretary: John J. Sweeney, Service Employees

A.G. Trammell, Alabama State; John Hodges, Ohio State; Jack B. Reihl, Wisconsin State; J. Bill Becker, Arkansas State; Daniel J. McVey, Missouri State; Robert J. Kelley, St. Louis Labor Council; Helen Verhage, Somerset County, New Jersey Central Labor Council;

Ed Ball, Steelworkers; Bernard L. Brommer, Minnesota State; James T. Patterson, Carpenters; William M. George, Pennsylvania State; Richard J. Walsh, Illinois State; Lawrence J. Cassidy, Sheet Metal Workers; Edward J. McElroy Jr., Rhode Island State; Lawrence Kenney, Washington State; William R. Robertson, Los Angeles County Federation; George E. "Jeep" Gilliland, New Mexico State; Daniel J. Miller, Florida State; G. Thomas DuBose, United Transportation Union; Jerry Jones, Mine Workers; Kenneth Coss, Rubber Workers; Robert A. Scardelletti, Transportation Communications Union; Donald Sawochka, Teamsters.

DONAHUE: There's one late resolution for which the Late Resolutions Committee asked the unanimous support of the convention to accept. That resolution is in support of rail negotiations, Resolution No. 201 from the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

I move, Mr. Chairman, acceptance of Resolution No. 201 for the consideration of the convention.

...The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

KIRKLAND: The chair recognizes Vice President Kilroy, chairman of the committee on Rules and Order of Business. Vice President Kilroy.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES COMMITTEE AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

KILROY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. We have the report of the committee on Rules and Order of Business. Pursuant to Article IV, Section 9 of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, the Committee on Rules and Order of Business has met, and it's prepared to make recommendations to this body for the conduct of business, in addition to the requirements in the constitution and as provided and called for in Robert's Rules of Order.

For the purpose of presenting to you the recommendation to the committee, I would like now to call upon the secretary of the committee, Lenore Miller, president of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store union. Sister Miller.

MILLER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You'll find a copy of the proposed rules in the back of Resolutions Book No. 2 which is on your table. The rules appear on page 55 and 56. These are the proposed rules for governing the convention.

Mr. Chairman, I urge the adoption of the rules as recommended by the committee and printed in Resolutions Book 2.

...The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

CONVENTION RULES

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 10:00 a.m. on the first day and 9:30 a.m. on all subsequent days, and shall remain in session until the conclusion of the morning's agenda, reconvening at approximately 2:00 p.m. and remaining in session until the conclusion of that day's agenda or approximately 5:00 p.m.

Rule 2. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, the delegate shall, at the request of the chair, take his or her seat until the question or order is decided.

Rule 3. No delegate shall speak more than once on the same question until all who desire to speak on that question shall have been heard, nor more than twice on the same question, except by consent of the majority.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. When a motion to table is made, the motion shall not be put until the introducer of the original motion is given an opportunity to speak on the question.

Rule 6. No delegate shall interrupt another in his or her remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 7. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 8. A motion to lay to the table shall not be debatable except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order. When such a motion is made, and amendments are pending to the original motion before the convention, the motion to table shall apply to the amendment or amendments, and it shall require a new motion to table the original motion.

Rule 9. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority on the original question, and shall require a majority vote.

Rule 10. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had an opportunity to speak upon it if he or she desires.

Rule 11. A roll call on any question before the convention shall be called upon the request of 30 percent of the delegates present.

Rule 12. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 13. When a roll call has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 14. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and title of the organization he or she represents and shall be submitted in triplicate form.

Rule 15. The reports of the committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 16. When a question is pending before the convention, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn; to refer, for the previous question; to postpone indefinitely; to postpone for a certain time; to divide or amend; which motions shall have preference in the order named.

Rule 17. The convention shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order on all matters not herein provided for.

Rule 18. Unless otherwise constitutionally provided, the regular order of business of the Nineteenth Convention of the AFL-CIO shall be as follows:

1. Report on credentials submitted by the Committee on Credentials.
2. Approval of rules and order of business submitted by the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.
3. Report of convention committees.
4. Nomination of officers.
5. Election of officers.
6. Adjournment.

KIRKLAND: The chair recognizes Vice President Owen Bieber, chair of the Executive Council Report Committee for a report. Vice President Bieber.

COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

BIEBER: Thank you, Mr. President. On behalf of myself, Frank T. Martino, the secretary, and the entire committee, I present the following report:

The American worker is beset by problems created by misguided U.S. economic and social policies, and the unions of the AFL-CIO will continue vigorous and creative efforts to spur national action to turn the tide.

The Executive Council Report to the convention reviews both the challenges ahead and labor's response to them. Worker buying power continues to erode and widening income disparity threatens to turn the country into a low-wage economy. Human needs go unmet as sluggish economic growth and Reagan/Bush tax cuts for the wealthy rob the government of needed resource for adequate investment in the nation's future. A rush to so-called "free trade" promises to add to the mounting trade deficits, costing more millions of jobs.

The federal, state unemployment system is so afraid that two out of every three jobless people get no benefits of any kind. Through all of this, the AFL-CIO unions have remained remarkably resilient, bargaining ever improving contracts for their members, adopting new strategies to organize new members, and working relentlessly for political and legislative changes to benefit working families.

Unionized workers were drawing 36 percent more than non-union workers in pay and benefits in 1991. Thanks to improvements, one at the bargaining table, with the companies that chose to work with their unionized workers rather than against them. At NYNEX, for example, where the company two years ago chose a confrontational stance that led to a bitter strike, the Communications Workers and the Electrical Workers agreed nearly a year before contract expiration on a four-year contract that provides pay increases of 16 percent, pension improvements and a new managed health care plan. Unions that bargain pattern agreements, including the UAW, the Rubber Workers and the Clothing and Textile Workers, manage to maintain health benefits while providing for joint union-company measures to control costs and to support national health care reform. Coordinated bargaining paid off for the

members of 14 unions at General Electric and Westinghouse and for some 560,000 employees of the U.S. Postal Service, who are members of the Postal Workers and Letter Carriers.

Cooperative programs for organizing also are underway in Texas, California, Arkansas, Florida, Indiana, Kentucky, and Illinois as the AFL-CIO seeks to develop a culture of organizing throughout the entire labor movement. The new AFL-CIO Organizing Institute is recruiting and training new organizers and assisting affiliates in organizing campaigns. Associate membership programs, such as the California Immigrant Workers Association, continue to develop organizing leads as they introduce unionism to non-members. Many unions are finding that benefits provided through the Union Privilege program are useful in organizing campaigns, even as they further enhance the advantage for union workers. Union organizing in the service sector, including hospitals, government and college campuses, are finding a rich field for new membership. Growth among these unions contribute greatly to the increase in AFL-CIO membership during the past two years from 13,556,000 to 13,933,000.

But further growth for unions may depend upon our ability to forge political and policy change, to make U.S. law responsive to workers' desires to organize and their right to strike. That is why the AFL-CIO will continue its determined campaign to win passage of the Workplace Fairness bill which would ban the use of permanent replacement for striking workers. And that is why this convention will start the process of informing union members in the positions, on labor issues, of major Democratic candidates for president, the first step in our presidential preference process.

Our leaders must be convinced of the importance of workplace fairness, of health care reform, of free trade and public investment, of stronger workplace safety and added discrimination laws and legislation that assist working families.

On Solidarity Day 1991 more than 325,000 trade unionists and their allies from around the world marched to demonstrate the strength of labor's commitment to those goals. We must go from here recommitted to the spirit of that solidarity as we work to achieve a new national direction that advances the cause of working people. The Executive Council's comprehensive report on the two years since the last convention makes the record of labor's achievement and provides a valuable reference.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the committee, I move this report be accepted by this convention.

...The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

INTRODUCTION OF FRATERNAL AND CANADIAN DELEGATES

KIRKLAND: I would now like to introduce our fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Labour Congress. Would you please recognize the delegate from the TUC, sister Ada Maddocks, the former chair of the TUC General Council and TUC representative on the Economic and Social Committee of the European Community. Sister Maddocks will be speaking to you later in the convention. Where is sister Maddocks? Welcome to the AFL-CIO. (Applause)

I would also like to introduce brother Leo Gerard, vice president of the Canadian Labour Congress. Brother Gerard, because of trade union business, can only be with us until tomorrow; and for that reason, I propose to call on him to speak to you today. He is currently the United Steelworkers National Director for Canada, having previously served for some seven years as the union's director for Ontario. He has been deeply involved in a number of collective bargaining agreements and legislative accomplishments in Canada in a wide range of areas, including pensions, pay equity, occupational safety and health, and efforts to save jobs through worker buyouts of their companies.

Please welcome brother Leo Gerard. (Applause)

LEO GERARD

Vice President, Canadian Labour Congress.

Thank you very much, President Kirkland. Fellow delegates, officers, sisters and brothers, in particular, Canadians and their delegation, but even more particularly, sisters and brothers from my own union and my president, brother Lynn Williams, from the United Steelworkers of America: I thank you very much for the opportunity to address you and I thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to do so this morning.

I want to bring you greetings and greetings and solidarity, also greetings of hope, from the more than two million sisters and brothers

in the Canadian Labour Congress. Before I bring any greetings, I want to say to all of you from all of us in Canada, congratulations for the tremendous victory in Pennsylvania, the tremendous victory of Harris Wofford (Applause)

His victory shows that American people also don't believe that you can be free unless you have health care, it shows that health care should be a right of citizenship, and it shows that any free society should take care of its citizens in their time of illness and their time of need. And I congratulate you for that.

I want to say to you that I had the unfortunate privilege of seeing some of the TV ads in that campaign, some of the ads run by the Republican candidate, Richard Thornburgh, and I couldn't come before this robust delegation and not say clearly, unequivocally, his ads were full of shit in Steelworker terms. (Laughter and applause)

We don't stand in line for health care. We don't stand in line for our health care. But I want to say clearly that every one of our citizens gets the same health care. It doesn't matter whether you're rich; it doesn't matter whether you're poor. It doesn't matter whether you've had the same illness once, twice or twenty times. You're entitled to that health care as a right of citizenship, and you are now on the move to get that right of citizenship in your country, and I congratulate you for that. (Applause)

But there are a lot of similarities between our two countries. We live on the same continent. We speak the same language. Quite often we see the same movies. Quite often we read the same books. Quite often we watch the same television program. But the similarity that was the most unpleasant is currently we're governed federally by federal governments, prime ministers and presidents who share the same ideology. It's an ideology that believes that if you take care of the rich and you reward them well, somehow that will be good for the masses.

It reminds me of a story I heard from an economist one time who said that that ideology is akin to a farmer believing that if he gets his donkey and he overfeeds his donkey and gives it all the oats and barley that the donkey can eat, almost to the point of getting sick, and he keeps stuffing that donkey and making that donkey fat, that whatever comes out the other end will be enough to feed the sparrows. Well, that's not good enough for us. That's not good enough for working people in either country. (Applause)

We also have to share the same slogans. Our Prime Minister said at the time of his election, which was almost at the time of the election of your President, that "You give me 20 years in office, and you won't recognize this country." Well, we've given him 36 months; and we don't recognize the country now. So maybe he ought to leave.

He said, "Give me the time and I'll create more jobs than you'll ever see." Well, the only job he's created so far is a con job; and people are on to him and he's going to go. (Applause)

The other similarity we have is that with any luck, we'll both be facing an election for Prime Minister and President in '92.

I would love to come back to some AFL-CIO convention after that and get the chance to say, "Now the only new similarity is that we now have both kicked the right wingers out of office. We now both have governments in office who are sympathetic to the values that we share as working people."

The winds of change, sisters and brothers, are blowing. The winds of change are blowing across the world; but they're also blowing right here at home in North America. They're blowing in the U.S., and they're blowing in Canada. In the last year and a half in Canada we've managed to turn out conservative right-wing governments in three of our provinces.

What that means, brothers and sisters, is now more than 52 percent of Canadians are governed by provincial governments who share the same kind of values as we in the labor movement. Our New Democratic governments provincially have been swept into office, while throwing out the right-wingers and the conservatives and the ideologues, those that want to keep stuffing those donkeys that I talked about.

I want to talk just briefly about one important part of that country which is just across the river, not more than half a mile from here. We elected a New Democratic Party government a little more than a year ago. It was elected, and it represents the aspirations of working people. We have fought for that victory for more than 50 years.

Now, let me remind you that the premier of that province is a former Steelworker labor lawyer who worked for us in the national office. The current Minister of Labour in that province would be akin to your Secretary of Labor. He is a former Steelworker staff rep. I want to tell you that makes it a lot easier to talk to the government than it used to be. Those kinds of victories we cherish. (Applause)

The message of hope that I want to bring is that the winds of change are blowing; and just across the river in the last year we've had a government that has introduced a wage protection bill that says regardless of what reason the company closes, workers' wages are protected to a minimum, not a maximum, but to a minimum of \$5,000, and that employer has to be liable for that; and if he can't pay it, the government will pay it. Then they'll go after the employer, and they'll go after the directors, and they'll go after the leaders of that company to reimburse the government. That's the way it ought to be.

This government has now passed legislation that gives joint control to labor-management committees of in excess of \$60 million on Occupational Health and Safety to train workers so that they can become certified members; and once they're certified, they have the unilateral right to shut down unsafe facilities and to stop unsafe acts. That's the best way to clean up the workplaces, give the power to the workers who have to work with the hazards. We have the intelligence and we have the courage to stop those unsafe acts.

We've passed pay equity legislation. The government believes that women ought to be treated equally. They passed legislation that says women will get equal pay for work of equal value, and it's time that we stop exploiting the majority of our workers. (Applause)

They're now in the process of developing legislation on child care to increase the number of available child care spaces for working families. They've passed maternity and paternity leave so that families can have up to 35 weeks off to take care of their newborn children or adopted children. Those are the kinds of values that help make a competitive society; but most importantly — certainly most importantly for us in the labor movement, we're now in the process — last Thursday the government introduced a discussion paper on Labor Relations Act reform, or as you call it in the United States, labor law reform.

I want you to know that just across the river, half a mile from here, by this time next year we will have labor law reform that says if you sign a card to join a union, once 50 percent plus one member of certified have joined that union, you're automatically certified. No votes, no hanky-panky. You're certified. (Applause)

They're passing laws that say that if an employer is going to engage in a major shutdown or a major technological change that's going to have a substantial effect on the workplace, the employer has a manda-

tory duty to bargain in good faith during the life of the agreement on the effects of that change and the effects of that closure. That will be law.

But the most important law that it's going to pass — the most important law that it's going to pass is not striker replacement. It's going to pass a law banning striker replacement. There will be no scabs in the province of Ontario by this time next year. (Applause)

I bring that message because I believe fundamentally, as I said, the winds of change are blowing around the world but, in particular, in North America. It's time that we understand and that our conservative right-wing leaders understand that you can't have a free society unless you have a strong and free labor movement. You can't have a strong economy unless you've got a strong labor movement.

All they need to do, as President Kirkland said, is look around the world. Look at those economies that are strong. Look at those economies that are healthy. It's not the economies that repress trade unions and repress trade union rights. It's those economies that expand trade unions and expand trade union rights.

So, sisters and brothers, as I said, the winds of change are blowing. We, the Canadian Labour Congress, want to share in our solidarity with you. We want to turn these winds of change into a whirlwind; and that whirlwind will blow the garbage that was referred to out of each other's back yards and blow it onto the street where it ought to be unemployed, like most of us that have been.

To make sure of that and to make sure that our federal governments are defeated next year, we want to extend our solidarity and complete solidarity with working people in North America and congratulate you on your victories and share in your hopes and aspirations for greater victories and in particular, the victories next year for both of our countries. Thank you very much for the privilege of addressing you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Thank you very much, Brother Gerard, for that fine address. Now, please accept this token of appreciation from your brothers and sisters of the AFL-CIO. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes Vice President Wynn, Chair of the Resolutions Committee, for announcements.

WYNN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The Resolutions Committee has been meeting since last Wednesday and is dealing with 201 reso-

lutions submitted to the committee. Anyone desiring to appear on any resolution, please contact me or Rudy Oswald of the AFL-CIO staff.

The next meeting of the full Resolutions Committee will be at 8:00 a.m., Tuesday, in the Riverfront Ballroom.

KIRKLAND: Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Donahue for announcements.

DONAHUE: I am informed that Resolutions Book 2 has not yet been distributed, and I apologize for that. There is a Resolutions Book 2. It will be distributed at lunchtime and will be on your tables when you come back. It contains the rules and the committee assignments; and if there's any questions about them, we can deal with them this afternoon.

The daily summary of each day's convention proceedings will be printed in the convention newspaper and distributed to you each morning during the convention. Copies of the daily verbatim proceedings will be available on the morning of the following day in the office of the Secretary-Treasurer in the Ontario Exhibit Hall, which is on Level 3, in case anyone wishes to examine the proceedings.

"Solidarity Works TV," produced by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs, appears on Channel 15 of your television each morning and evening. There is a convention television guide which has been distributed, and if you haven't received one, they're available at the registration desk.

...Secretary-Treasurer Donahue made announcements concerning various committee meeting sites.

DONAHUE: This afternoon we will hear presentations from our distinguished speakers; and the Escort Committees for those speakers are as follows:

The Escort Committee for President Vytautas Landsbergis will be made up of Vice Presidents Barry, Bywater, Kourpias and Sombrotto.

The Escort Committee for Lena Guerrero of the Texas Railroad Commission: Vice Presidents Morty Bahr, Susan Bianchi-Sand and Marvin Boede, along with delegates Jackie St. Clair and Jack Otero.

The Escort Committee for Representative Bill Ford: Vice Presidents Moe Biller and Bill Wynn; delegates Stan Marshall, Jim Glass and Ed Scribner.

The Escort Committee for Senator Howard Metzenbaum: Vice Presidents Frank Hanley, Sig Lucassen, Jay Mazur and Lynn Williams; delegates Barbara Easterling and John Hodges.

Those are the only announcements.

KIRKLAND: As the convention recesses, we'll give you some music from Solidarity Day. I will now recess the convention until 2:15. Convention stands in recess until 2:15.

(The Convention was recessed at 12:07 p.m., to reconvene at 2:15 p.m.)



FIRST DAY – AFTERNOON SESSION

Monday, November 11, 1991

The convention was called to order at 2:25 p.m., President Lane Kirkland presiding.

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Donahue.

DONAHUE: Resolutions Book 2 has now been hopefully distributed and is on your table. Yes? Good deal. Let me then direct your attention to pages 49 through 56 of that book. That contains the list of the convention committees, chairs, secretaries and members. It contains at page 55 the rules of the convention.

Mr. Chairman, I would move that the convention approve the list of committees and the rules of the convention.

KIRKLAND: You've heard the motion. Ready for the question? All in favor, say aye. Opposed, nay. It's approved.

Will the Escort Committee bring President Landsbergis to the platform, please. (Standing Ovation).

Two years ago when Vytautas Landsbergis first visited the AFL-CIO in Washington, he was then the leader of the pro-independence Sajudis movement, a broad-based coalition of trade unions, political organizations, and community groups that was engineering Lithuania's quest for statehood.

Today we are delighted and we are honored to received him as the democratically-elected president of his newly-liberated nation. (Applause)

There is no other word but "solidarity" to describe the seamless unity of the Lithuanian people in their struggle for independence. Their victory is yet another stunning example that solidarity truly is the instrument of history and the lever that moves the world.

The men and women of the AFL-CIO have every right to be proud of the aid and support they have given to the cause of a free Lithuania. And the trade union movement there can continue to count on us as a resource in their struggle to create a new society where working people have a voice in their own future.

Brothers and sisters, the President of Lithuania, home of the brave and now land of the free, Vytautas Landsbergis. (Standing ovation)

VYTAUTAS LANDSBERGIS

President, Lithuania

Mr. President, dear friends, ladies and gentlemen. After receiving Mr. Lane Kirkland's invitation to visit your convention, I immediately recalled the constant attention which you showed my country during the years of its difficult struggle for independence. And I have come to you, America's workers, because it was impossible for me not to come. I am here to say, "Aciu", which in my country means thank you. (Applause)

By expressing my gratitude to the AFL-CIO, I thank all of working America, all the people of America who defended the strong spirit of liberty and understood our goals.

I know that you will present an award to my fellow political compatriot Kazimieras Uoka, who was a worker, a bulldozer operator, a founder of the Lithuanian Workers' Union and a parliamentarian, and now directs the Budget Control Department of the Republic of Lithuania.

Even in his present post, he has not forgotten the concerns of workers and the creation of true labor unions in Lithuania. The ties that he established with workers' organizations in the United States and the Soviet Union were very important to us during Lithuania's days of hardship. For Lithuania was a testing ground for re-establishing democracy. Our example was followed by Democratic forces in the Soviet Union. In some way, the true democratic labor unions of Russia and Ukraine learned from our experience. As before that, everyone, including ourselves, learned from Poland's "Solidarity."

Kazimieras Uoka's story is a classically American one. He rose to an important government post from working class roots and defended the State from corruption, thievery and bribery. Last month, our backward-looking parliamentary opposition attempted to fire him.

This is not surprising to someone who has observed Lithuania for the past three years and seen how hard it has been for the true workers' movement to pick its path. First, for one pretext and then another — for example, economic reform — activists from the Workers Union and its subdivisions would find themselves out of work and in court fighting with factory administrators. Various methods of persecution and restriction were reminiscent of the experiences of 19th century U.S. labor unions.

We want now to create a dynamic, open, free and productive economic society. Within it, the private businessman and labor unions would represent the interests of different and not absolutely conflicting, but rather complimentary societal groups, in a way that benefitted the state and society. In the first, or transitional stage, the responsibility of a social conscience and controlling eye falls upon the Lithuanian Workers Union. At the same time, one can see attempts to lead this union down a narrower path, perhaps even to compromise it.

One must not forget that the idea of a dysfunctional centrally planned economy was not the only thing planted through coercive methods. Throughout that half century, Soviet structures pushed the memory of free life and a normal-paying job from people's minds. Even the word labor union lost its meaning because labor unions were the tools of the government. Their old bureaucrats now want to keep those former union structures and use their wealth and people for who knows what kind of purpose.

It is a peculiar phenomenon, not only in Lithuania, that the former Communist bureaucrats and even officials of repressive Soviet structures have quickly gone into private business. Their purpose may not be only business, but economic power, as well as the control of information aimed toward future political rule.

In Lithuania, especially in the countryside, an old wedding tradition has survived. When the wedding party, with the bride and groom, return from the church, they find a wedding party with a different bride and groom already sitting at the wedding table. Usually, the imposters are children who rejoice at being able to take part in such a spectacle. Arguments and discussions take place as to who the real bride and groom are. Finally, the table is bought in exchange for candy.

Something similar is taking place today in Lithuania when newly established private businessmen of free initiative and genuine labor unions find their place is occupied by the former ruling class and must argue for them. Candy will not suffice to buy these places. Greater conflicts may take place, and that is why it becomes the task of the government to prevent political destabilization.

We cannot put a price on assistance from abroad, especially from U.S. labor unions, in our struggles between old and new. I speak not of material assistance, though this winter we will surely experience shortages of many things.

No less important is the assistance that your experience can provide in organizing the fight of workers for their rightful interests. What is most important in Lithuania is to not forget its national interests as well, for Lithuania is still in danger. You are aware that a foreign army

is still in Lithuania raising additional political and social hardships. You must also know that new acts of terrorism, seemingly associated with an armed underground created by the KGB, have once again started. In a situation such as this, where the economic problems of the soviets may result in greater levels of unemployment, even in Lithuania, the government can be broken by unachievable demands on the part of workers. That is how the old would triumph again over the new. And that is why new labor unions must be an intelligent force which would not allow the manipulation of people for evil purposes and would guarantee social protection by repeatedly, sometimes patiently, reminding the government that it is for people and not people for government.

That is why I want to stress the importance of Lithuanian and U.S. labor union cooperation. I want to stress the importance of meetings, exchanges of delegations, and the organization of joint seminars. It is necessary that people see what they can reach.

Secondly, it is necessary that they see what methods must be used so that they can perform the act of reaching. The education of labor unions would guarantee that dark forces not use the concerns of people and turn them into a cunningly controlled mob. In addition, during these difficult times, if our country alone cannot guarantee social equilibrium, it could feel the supportive shoulder of a friend. Perhaps your attention, your influence in U.S. politics, would defend us from violent or artificial calamities during the coming period of economic reform and would hasten a successful economic transformation which will be led by a rise in the standard of living, and in this way create the best guarantees for democracy.

We believe that real labor unions are one of the essential supports on which a state rests while traveling the road to prosperity. We reestablished independence of Lithuania so that a person would feel like a master in one's land and reap the fruits of wholesome labor. We will always defend this inalienable and fundamental human right. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Mr. President, would you please accept this gift as a token of our appreciation for your visit here today.

LANDSBERGIS: An American eagle.

KIRKLAND: Right. I have one other item for you. In the dark days of January when Soviet tanks rolled in the streets of Vilnius and in other cities and towns of your country, the AFL-CIO raised the Lithuania tri-color over its headquarters in Washington, and there it proudly waved in tribute to the courage and the steadfastness of your people, right until the day that Lithuania gained its independence.

I would now like to present a Lithuanian flag to you symbolic of that one that flew over our headquarters. (Standing ovation)

Will the Escort Committee kindly bring Lena Guerrero to the platform, please. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: We are honored that our invitation to speak to this convention was accepted by Lena Guerrero, one of the outstanding young political leaders in the state of Texas. Ms. Guerrero serves today as a member of the Texas Railroad Commission, a post to which she was appointed by Governor Ann Richards. She is the first woman and the first ethnic minority ever appointed to the three-member commission in its 100-year history. (Applause)

Previously Ms. Guerrero served three full terms in the Texas House of Representatives, to which she was first elected in 1984, and at the age of 26. She had just been elected to her fourth term when Governor Richards asked her to take on her duties on the commission. Her skill as a legislator and her effectiveness as a political leader have won her the high marks and praise throughout Texas, including the warm and enthusiastic endorsement of the Texas AFL-CIO. Please welcome Lena Guerrero. (Standing ovation)

LENA GUERRERO

Commissioner, Texas Railroad Commission

Thank you very much, Mr. President, for that warm welcome and a very special thank you to my friend Jack Otero. The Hispanic community is very proud of his leadership in this fine organization.

The president told you that I am the first woman and the first ethnic minority in a hundred years to go to the Texas Railroad Commission. Well, I want to tell you, the actual truth is, I am the first person with a full head of hair to go there. (Laughter and applause)

You think I'm kidding? You ought to see those pictures on the wall.

The truth is that my appointment to the agency that regulates the oil and gas, trucking, railroad and mining operations of our great state took some oil men by surprise. Yeah, you can imagine this: The day after the governor made her appointment of me, there was an oil man from Odessa who called John Sharp, the state comptroller. He was the railroad commissioner before me. And this oil man says, "John, who the hell is Leonard Guerrero?" (Laughter) And Sharp said, "It's worse than that." (Laughter)

He said, "The governor is not appointing a Hispanic man. The governor is appointing a 33-year-old Hispanic woman." (Applause)

I will tell you that John Sharp does not tell me, first, who this man is, nor will he tell me what he said after that; but John called me and says, "Do not be offended by this statement." He said, "I'm not and you should not be."

About three weeks ago we were in Houston in a room full of oil men and Sharp told this story about me, but he told a version of it I hadn't heard lately. He said about a month ago the same oil man from Odessa called him back and said, "John, I think she's going to be the best railroad commissioner we ever had," and John Sharp said, "To that I took offense." (Laughter)

Well, I don't know how bad it is. Most people think we've got a lot to do with railroads. So my aunt calls my mother and she starts crying. Mother says, "It's not important, cry." And my aunt says, "It's just that we're so proud of her, but it's just that the railroads is not a nice place for ladies." (Laughter)

So I told Mother, I said, "Goodness, I hope you didn't tell her we were in politics. She'd go from crying to drinking, you know?" (Laughter)

And, of course, there is that famous story that really happened to me about 16 days after I got to the Railroad Commission. I got invited to speak to the truckers. And I know that my Teamster friends are here. I want you to know, all these guys were people who owned the companies and probably didn't know better. But I'd told a few jokes and at the end of it asked if there were any questions, and I was really very nervous. I had studied rate deviations, fuel surcharges, all these different things before I went there, but I was kind of nervous.

A fellow in the front row, stands up, raises his hand. He says, "What's your bra size?" (Laughter) So I said, "What's your company's name?" (Laughter) I got to tell you, the honest truth, though, is I'm so glad that man asked me something I knew about. (Laughter) I was nervous.

Well, let me just say to you that there was a big fight in Texas over the last several years about what we should put on our license plates. Big fight. Some say the Friendship State. That's what Tehas means. The Wildflower State, thanks to Lady Bird Johnson. Maybe the Lone Star State. That's what most people know it as.

I personally think they ought to just put no numbers on the plates and say, "Welcome to Texas, where men are men and women are

mayors, governors, railroad commissioners." — (Laughter and applause)

Gee, you know that's not where George Bush is really from.

It is an honor for me to address this constitutional convention, particularly on the day that America honors the men and women who have served in its wars, men and women who paid for our freedom with their lives and their limbs. In a few weeks we observe the 50th anniversary of America's entry into the Second World War. Hopefully, it will be our last world war. That would be the greatest monument to America's veterans.

And while Veterans' Day is reserved for those who served the nation's cause in our Armed Forces, there are veterans of other battles we should also remember and honor today. There are veterans of armies whose battles will not and cannot end. They are the soldiers in the struggle for justice and jobs, and this convention represents a good many of those soldiers.

And so, I come here today, not only to honor the veterans of military wars, but I come here today to thank you, the veterans of political wars. Today, we remember those who put their lives on the line in Flanders Field in France, and every day we should remember those who put their lives on the line at the General Motors factory in Flint. (Applause)

Today, we remember those who marched on Berlin; every day we must remember those who marched in Birmingham. (Applause)

Today, the foreign military threat is ebbing. The AFL-CIO is largely responsible. Your solidarity and assistance helped crumble the walls of oppression throughout Eastern Europe, and yet the domestic political threat to our economic security, freedom, rights and dignity as individual human beings gets worse. We see an increase of intolerance, a renaissance of racism that frightens us all. We find that America is a nation where one in ten need government assistance to buy food. We are a nation where 33 million cannot afford insurance to care for basic health. We are a nation where one in three never finishes high school and the drop-out rates are even worse among minority communities. We lead the world in debt and our ports, bridges and roadways are crumbling before our eyes as our industrial base moves overseas. We rebuilt Western Europe and Japan and their economies, and now it's time we turn our attention toward home. (Applause)

It is time we rebuild America. In Texas, we've already begun. We started by electing a leader, Ann Richards, governor. (Applause)

They told us we couldn't win, but we did. They said we couldn't reorganize and reform state government, but we did. We've made it work in Texas and we can make it work in America. (Applause)

We combed state government looking for bureaucratic waste and opportunities to streamline government services. We found \$4 billion in savings.

We're focusing attention on the basics — education, work force training, creating jobs, reforming insurance, and providing health care — and we're making it work in Texas, and we know it can work in America. We're working with business and industry to clean up the environment, and today the state known for its oil and gas production is now becoming known for its computer chip production, too. In fact, we have more computer chips than cow chips these days in Texas. (Laughter)

Our focus is on providing productive jobs for all Texans. We're making it work in our state. We can make it work in America.

And rather than excluding, we're participating in politics of inclusion in our state. I was Governor Richards' first appointment. She appointed me to one of the most powerful agencies in the country, the Texas Railroad Commission. And as I said before, we regulate the oil and gas, railroad, pipeline, mining and trucking industries of that state. And for the first time a woman and a Hispanic, someone who grew up poor along the Texas-Mexico border, has the opportunity to regulate over \$50 billion worth of the Texas economy. (Applause)

And for the first time someone who started in the cotton fields of South Texas has a chance to serve in such a powerful position and to use that position to help revitalize and strengthen the economy by creating jobs.

We're working to expand new programs and markets for natural gas because natural gas is abundant, and it's a cleaner-burning fuel. Using more of it creates more jobs for our state. It helps clean up our environment, and it helps reduce our reliance on foreign oil.

We must begin to stem the tide on rising oil imports, oil that may cost us pennies at the pumps, but cost us billions in defense to protect it. Using more domestic oil and natural gas can help us do that, create more jobs here at home in the process.

We need leadership in America willing to vigorously pursue that kind of policy. We need leadership in America that rebuilds the public trust and faith in the individual, in our unions, in our schools, in our private sector and in our public sector.

In order for us to regain the reins of government, Democrats must renew American faith in the power of government, not only to do good things, but to do good things right. If we do that, the voters will make a change.

The Democratic Party and the American workers built our schools, our roads and our airports. Our history has been to fight for new programs that move America forward physically, socially and spiritually. Today we must begin to rebuild. We must regain our voice and our vision of what America can and should be, a nation that educates its children, trains and invests in its workers and insures that productive jobs are available to utilize their talents and skills.

We must reward creativity and invest in those who create jobs and wealth, not abroad, here at home where it counts. (Applause)

We need ideas, not ideologues. We need united governments, not divided bureaucracies. We can create opportunity and stand as a symbol of optimism if only we work together.

We are a nation made up of diverse people and people of unlimited potential. We must find the keys to unlock and unleash that potential for the future of this country. Ours is the chance. It is the opportunity to stand and fight for jobs and justice again.

We have begun to rebuild Texas, and we believe we must rebuild America. For all that you do, for the working people in this country, on behalf of one elected official in the great state of Texas, I thank you. God bless you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Thank you, Sister Guerrero, for that very fine address.

We plan to spend the remainder of the afternoon discussing the importance of protecting the right to strike and the importance of S.55, the Workplace Fairness Act; and we'll start with a video.

...A video presentation entitled "Victories" was shown to the delegation. (Applause)

...A "Victory Celebration" floor demonstration ensued leading the convention delegates in singing "Solidarity Forever." (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Will the Escort Committee please bring Congressman William Ford to the platform? (Standing ovation)

William Ford was first elected to Congress from Michigan's 15th District in 1964. After 27 years, thousands of floor votes in the House, and more committee meetings than anyone could count, you can be sure of one thing: Billy Ford is a worker who always remembers where he came from. (Applause)

Bill comes from a long line of trade unionists — his ancestors worked in the mines of Scotland, and more recently, he and other members of his family have toiled in Michigan's auto plants.

The AFL-CIO and, of course, the UAW, have no better champion in Congress, whether as chair of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, or as chair of the Education and Labor Committee.

He has been a tireless advocate of legislation providing notices of plant closings, health and safety, minimum wage, Hatch Act, worker standards, better education at all levels of schooling, child care, family leave, and just about every issue of major importance to working people and their families.

Earlier this year, of course, Bill was our leader in winning House passage of HR 5, the Workplace Fairness Act. (Applause)

We respect Bill Ford as chair of the Education and Labor Committee. We love him as truly one of ours. Please welcome Congressman and Brother Bill Ford. (Standing ovation)

WILLIAM FORD

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tom Donahue says you can lower the podium down if you want it.

Tom, I want you to know when I'm with my friends from labor, I'm ten foot tall. I don't lower anything. (Applause)

If there's anybody out across American that can hear this, you want a fight? Come and get me now. I'm surrounded by friends. (Laughter)

You know, we just came from upstairs. I told your legislative director, I pointed out, and also to Senator Metzenbaum, kind of a warehouse-looking building over here by the baseball stadium. I said, "You know, that's famous for two reasons. That was Detroit's first urban renewal area in the '60s, but it's more important because I was born in my grandma's house on that corner in 1927."

That's the way the kids in my family were born. Factory workers and coal miners, they were coal miners, Lane, before they came to Detroit. Henry Ford came up with an offer of \$5 a day, and they couldn't refuse.

They got out of the holes in southwestern Indiana and came to Detroit, and I was born here.

There was a great old trade unionist at the head of the Michigan AFL-CIO when I was serving in the state senate named Gus Scholle. If you didn't know him, you missed a part of your experience in the

trade union movement. One day Gus Scholle called me into his lair in the state capitol and said, "Billy, you've been fiddling around here long enough with this senate, we're getting tired of the way some of our Democrats are treating us in Washington. You're running for Congress."

I have never forgotten from that day to this that I first said no to Gus Scholle, "I don't want to go to Congress." I didn't have that much interest in my Congressman. It was my Congressman he was talking about.

He said, "We need somebody that understands in their gut what working people mean when they say they need a chance to participate in this country on an even keel." I have not forgotten and I never will forget as long as I serve, and especially as chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, that it was the AFL-CIO that sent me to Washington, and it's the AFL-CIO that has kept me in Washington. And when my career ends, it will be when the AFL-CIO says that I have forgotten what I went there for. (Applause)

Now, George Bush and your buddies, if you don't like that, make of it what you will. You know, George Bush wouldn't walk the streets of Detroit with me today. He said in a press conference — and I don't know where they caught him, I think it was Italy a week or so ago — that we really didn't need extended unemployment benefits because the recession was over. I guess from where he has been observing America — he sees it on TV I'm sure while he's overseas — the recession is over.

Now, how many in this room think the recession is over? Well, let me put it the other way. If there are a lot of you in this room who think the recession is over, and especially for us here, do you know where you're sitting? I just came from this morning presenting 20 medals to 20 survivors of Pearl Harbor who live in my Congressional district, and I chatted with them, and they remember that this was the place that was called the arsenal of democracy. And the working people of this city and its environs who came from all over the country to work here because the UAW in the 1930s had organized the auto plants and paved the way for workers to have decent wages and working conditions, even in wartime, we were the arsenal of democracy. You're sitting right in the middle of it. It's kind of hard to see because there aren't any smokestacks working out there anymore. All our jobs are way off in other countries. And when the President gets his Mexican Free Trade Agreement, the few that you do see out there will be on their way to Mexico in very short order.

But I just want to invite those of you who think the recession is over to get together, we're going to have a convention of everybody who is here who really believes the recession is over in the smallest phone booth on the first floor of this building immediately when Metzenbaum gets through speaking to you. There will be plenty of room, don't worry. (Laughter)

You know, that kind of a statement comes from somebody who has never been there, will probably never be there and doesn't know anybody who's been there. You wonder sometimes if our President ever had a member of his family — certainly not in his generation — who ever had a job because they needed the job, not because Uncle Charley thought it would be a nice job for you to have, or a nice bank for you to run in your spare time, Neal, and other things like that.

Now, my kid couldn't go in to a bunch of bankers and borrow all that money on the strength of his name and his signature and not pay it back and let the federal treasury pay off the depositors who lost their money. And my name is Ford. Now, why wouldn't they be fool enough to do that for my kid? (Laughter)

My family and the Ford family are famous for the work we've done in the automobile industry. Henry's side of the family was in the office buildings down the street, and my side of the family was on the short end of the assembly line working their heads off. And I have been in and around people in my family all of my life for whom the job and the right to that job was the single-most important thing that drove their life.

So we get to another question. Tell me the difference, if you can — 1930s we passed something called the Wagner Act. It said people shall have the right, the right, it shall be lawful to join unions and act together in their common defense and for their common benefit. And if it's necessary in dealing with a recalcitrant employer, they shall have the right to withhold their labor, and it's called a strike.

And I remember that my family just said, well, now, this is the greatest thing that ever happened to working people, we actually have the right to strike.

My maternal grandpa came here, Lane, from Scotland because he was a striker at the end of World War I and he worked in every town he could under my grandmother's name and under his mother's name and his grandmother's name, and they'd find him and put him on the black list every time. And I heard that story all the years I was growing up. Now, what's the difference between the way they treated him and the way Frank Lorenzo treated people at Eastern and the way Greyhound treated their people? No difference at all.

So the promise that was made in the '30s that you and all of those who went before you and come behind you will have the right to strike is now being threatened. Did Congress repeal that law? No. Did the court repeal it? Not quite.

In 1938, there was a Chicken Little case involving a radio company that caused the judge in a dictum to that case to indicate that if the question came up, their probably was a difference between being fired for exercising the legal right to strike and being permanently replaced while you were on strike.

Now, is there somebody here that can explain to me how much nicer it is to lose your job to a scab than to just lose your job because you went on strike? That's the difference, the distinction that they're trying to find. The difference is that somebody else has your job. That somebody else isn't going to give the paycheck to your family.

What we're facing as a result of the actions that Ronald Reagan took boldly like a cowboy in a shootout on the main street of a western town when he took on the air traffic controllers was that Ronald Reagan said to the American people: "I'm going to show these labor people a thing or two. You have 36 hours or 48 hours to come back to work or you're fired." And he fired them.

Now, he had the law on his side because they were government workers and government workers do not have the legal right to strike; but after that, we had a whole lot of managers say, "Wait a minute, Ronald Reagan's approval when he broke that union went up with the American people." And, indeed, it did. It went up with your own members, because, after all, they were only federal employees, they weren't real workers. Because I debated with many of your own members who saw a difference between a government employee striking for his rights and them striking for their rights.

Now, I want to tell you something: The government employees, who are my friends, are in our corner spotting for HR 5, Senate 55, as hard as any other union, because Bill Clay and I have been trying for years to just get on the floor the argument about whether government workers ought to have the right to strike. And you know what those people know in their heart? That if you don't fight now to keep the right to strike, their chance of ever getting it is totally gone. They're looking at you as the last chance they have to ever get what you, up until recently, have had.

And now we're not going to have collective bargaining for our future. We're going to have collective begging for our future. And if you want to represent workers and say, "I'll be the collective beggar for you instead of your bargaining agent," then, you've been around

too long or you ought to begin another business. This is serious business we're looking at. This is not a question of a few technicalities. You can't find a working man or woman in or out of the union out there in the workplace who doesn't understand that if they can be fired for getting uppity, indirectly by simply giving their job to somebody else, that they don't really have the right to get uppity.

You just saw on television that plant in Mississippi — and I was standing with Billy Wynn, and he was saying, "That's our people."

That's an amazing win for labor, because you have a hostile environment in a right-to-work state. If they continue getting away with striker replacement, every state is going to be like Mississippi for organized labor. And those of us from up north who sit around fat, dumb and happy and say, "Well, you know, it's different here in Michigan, it's different in Ohio, it's different in Illinois, it's different in New York, it's too bad for those people in Mississippi," had better look down the road and realize that if you don't stand and fight now, Mississippi will be typical of the labor environment in the United States, not unique to the labor environment in the United States. And nobody in any state, no matter what its history of supporting organized labor and working people, will be safe. (Applause)

We share an obligation in whatever capacity we serve to recognize that something that's been laying there, and it's a time bomb that wasn't even ticking — it only started ticking in the 1980s. It laid there ever since 1938. So why didn't anybody do anything about it?

Well, we grew up in this country to the point where employers realized that it was stupid to fire your work force during a strike, that a strike wasn't, in fact, awarded the death, take no prisoners. It was a labor dispute. You ought to get that labor dispute over as soon as you can, get everybody back to work. Then, we make profits as managers and the workers make wages. That was the attitude that prevailed, by and large, across this country into the early '80s.

And now we see the growing phenomena of the MBAs turned out of the universities, I'm sorry to say, many of them with federal aid for education that I've helped to pass. They're using your tax dollars to get MBAs to come out and show people how to break unions, how to avoid having unions, and how to avoid having the strike continue as a viable, usable part of the collective bargaining process. Collective bargaining without the right to strike doesn't mean that everything will be peaceful and happy. It just means that you will never, ever be able to raise your voice at the bargaining table and stick your neck out on the job or in the workplace.

If you want to be a part of a labor movement that was here when everybody ought to recognize the danger that's coming at us and didn't do everything that you possibly could, you'll be in the same jam I'll be in. I'm now a grandfather, but I still think about what my grandfather would have said to me if he was here to help me. And I don't know where he is, but I trust that as a good working man, he's in the more comfortable of the alternatives. But I would like to go to bed every night believing that my grandfather, if he were here, would be proud of the fact that I recognize what's going on as a threat to the end of collective bargaining as an effective tool for workers in this country, and I did every damn thing that was in my power to do about it. I want you to help me. I want you to make so much noise and get your people so excited and make so much noise in Washington, that my friends over there in the Senate will be racing to passing Senate 55. We passed it. (Applause)

We passed it 247 to 182. And you want to know why it wasn't 347? Because a whole lot of people, even in my own party, which I have never been ashamed of, are more afraid after a vote like that of what the Chamber of Commerce is going to say to them and the National Federation of Independent Business is going to say to their constituents at the next election than they are about what you're going to say to them and your members are going to say to them. And it's time to rear up and say to Democrats and Republicans alike in Congress that people in organized labor can keep score just as well as farmers can. And, damn it, if they come from a farm state, they don't vote against farmers. But they vote against you, and they think it's an easy vote, because there are no serious consequences. We can't point, since I replaced a fellow a long time ago, to somebody who got replaced because he gives us 30 percent of his votes.

You know, you can get 30 percent on most of your score cards by voting for motions to adjourn. You don't have to stand for anything to get 30 percent. (Laughter and applause)

Let me give you one more bit of heresy. We've got some really important things to do between now and the fall of next year. You're going to hear from all kinds of candidates in the next day or two. And I haven't decided yet which candidate I want to support. The only thing I do know, it's anybody but Bush; and I'm willing to do everything I can to make that happen.

But we have a bigger job. We have to take on the people that say organized labor has become a toothless tiger in this country, and when it gets tough and it's a little hard to push, organized labor hasn't got it anymore. I don't believe that. I can't bring myself to believe that my friends in labor are any less anxious to do the right thing that the ones

I've known all my life. If you can raise enough hell — Bill Ford isn't going to pass the legislation in this Senate with great speeches. You can get the Senate to move. It will pass. We've shown the way in the House; and when it comes back as a conference item with Mr. Metzenbaum taking it to the Senate and me taking it to the House, Howard and I will work it out. Trust us. (Laughter and applause)

You might as well, because Bush and his crowd, they don't. Howard and I will work it out and we'll come back; and I'll guarantee you, if you people have been doing a few phone calls and a few, "Hey, Congressman, it's nice to have you at the parade, but how do you stand on my right to strike, how do you stand on my right to have true collective bargaining, are you with me, Mr. Congressman, or are you against me" — quit fiddling around with how he stands on foreign affairs. Forgive him if he's been voting for foreign aid. Forgive him for whatever else he's doing overseas. Start worrying about yourselves and your own families for a change and start getting these Congressmen to answer you, "Where do you stand, Mr. Congressman, when it comes to me and my family?"

The best place to get an answer to that is: "Are you for us or are you against us on workplace fairness, striker replacement," whatever you want to call it. It's a simple black-and-white issue. There are no nuances of fanciness to it. There are no quick dodges to it. A guy has got to answer you, if you are strong enough to ask him straight up. He's either with you or against you. You get enough of them with you and we'll pass that law next year. We'll get back to other business later. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

...A video presentation entitled "H.R. 5; S. 55" was shown to the delegation.

KIRKLAND: Will the Escort Committee please bring Senator Howard Metzenbaum to the platform. (Standing ovation)

Not only is our next speaker one of labor's steadiest and most reliable allies in the struggle to improve the lives of working people, but he is also the principal Senate sponsor of the bill to ban employers from permanently replacing workers who exercise their legal right to strike. Like so many other measures that help working people and their families, he has guided S. 55 through committee; and when it goes to the Senate floor for debate, he'll be there to see that it is passed and sent to the President.

Brothers and sisters, labor owes a great deal of gratitude to Senator Howard Metzenbaum for helping us fight this good fight.

His courage, tenacity and will to win this struggle are sources of comfort and hope to our movement.

Please join me in welcoming this champion of our cause, the Senate's chief sponsor of the Workplace Fairness Act, Senator Howard Metzenbaum. (Standing ovation)

HONORABLE HOWARD METZENBAUM

Senator, State of Ohio

I want to make a funny and say there was a Ford in your future and a Metzenbaum in your past; but that's not true. I'm in your presence. (Applause)

It's great to be here with you and so many of my friends who are up on this platform.

In 1988 I ran for the United States Senate for reelection and George Bush also ran for reelection. I'm proud to stand before you and tell you that — not proud of this, but he carried the state of Ohio by 400,000 votes; and with the support of all of organized labor, I carried the state by 600,000 votes. (Applause)

That was a very happy day for me and my family, but I'm not sure that it exceeded the happiness and the glee and the sense of excitement that I had last Tuesday when a man who was 44 points behind, when a man running against the former Attorney General of George Bush won by ten points in the state of Pennsylvania. It was a great day for all of us. (Applause)

There is a reason why. Americans are angry, and Americans are hurting, and Americans are mad; and they've got a right to be. You know why Harris Wofford won? Because he addressed one issue in particular, as well as a number of others; but the one he concentrated on is the right of every American in this country to have adequate health care, decent health care; and we're going to fight for this in this Congress.

Americans are concerned and they're scared. Last month the unemployment rate jumped again. 140,000 people lost their jobs in October, and they joined the ranks of 8 1/2 million Americans who can't find work in this economy, not to mention the additional six million people who need full-time work but must settle for part-time jobs; not to mention the million Americans who have been out of work so long that they don't even show up in the statistics any more.

It's an unbelievable reality that the Bureau of Labor Statistics says if you're out of work a certain number of months that you don't figure as a statistic any more. You don't have to feed your family any more. You don't have to clothe your family any more. You don't have to house your family any more. That's an absurdity.

The unemployment challenge in this country is incredible. Last month 21 blue chip companies of this country laid off last month: American Express, Hercules, Amoco, Raytheon, Westinghouse, Allied Signal, RJR Nabisco, Boeing, United Technology, Exxon, Sears, Campbell Soup, Citicorp, AT&T, IBM, Rockwell, Time, Inc., GE, Wal-Mart, USX and Chase Manhattan.

While I'm taking a drink of water, think for a moment if you've heard of any employer who was hiring last month. I haven't.

George Bush's answer to the unemployment problems of this country is unbelievable. We sent him an unemployment compensation bill to extend unemployment compensation — you know what he did? Unbelievable, American people don't realize this — he signed the bill when he was certain that there was to be no money in the budget to pay the bill, so it became a nullity. So we sent him another bill. And the second bill, we provided for the money and he vetoed it. I stand before you, and I tell you it is a certainty that the Congress of the United States will send him a third unemployment compensation bill, and my guess is in view of Pennsylvania, he'll sign it this time. (Applause)

George Bush wants to send more jobs to Mexico where the workers get paid \$40 a week, where in the Maquiladora area they work and sleep in unbelievable hovels, where the environmental conditions are beyond compare. George Bush wants to fast track the Mexican Free Trade Agreement to send American jobs to Mexico. It's wrong, it's unfair to American workers, and this Senator intends to backtrack it, not to fast track it. We're going to try to defeat it. (Applause)

When George Bush talks about opportunity, he means photo opportunities abroad, not economic opportunities for American workers, which brings us to the legislative battle you and I are about to join. Make no mistake about it. It is a battle that will put the trade union movement of this country to the test. It will find out what you're made of. Because unless we prevail, your strongest weapon, your right to strike, will end up on the junk heap of history.

For more than a decade the business community has engaged in a systematic dismantling of that most basic right, the right to strike. Never forget that it is your right that the National Labor Relations Act states that, "Nothing shall be construed so as to either interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike." But forget about the law, today's new breed of employers, the merger maniacs, the Leveraged Buy Outs (LBOs) artists, the fast buck, quick hitters, they've changed the rules of a 50-year-old game.

In 1938, 53 years ago, the Supreme Court actually opened the door to permanent replacement workers. But that was an option that was viewed as unacceptable for most employers on moral, if not economic, grounds. What employers did during that period of time was they said these are the workers who built my company; these are the people who have given of themselves for 20 and 30 and 40 years to make this company what it is. And they said we're not going to fire them if there's a strike. We'll have our battle and we'll work it out over the bargaining table, and the employees will come back to work. They didn't use replacement workers to take the jobs of the strikers.

But then one man, one man came along, and he incidentally had been supported by one union, maybe two unions, but one union I specifically remember, the PATCO employees. These were the employees who worked, manned the towers at the airports. As soon as he came into office, almost his first accomplishment as President was the destruction of that union and saying that the strikers would not be taken back, and to this day they've never been taken back. Employers all over the country, they got the message that union-busting by bringing in striker replacements was fair according to that administration.

Employers used to go the extra mile to prevent a strike. Now they're hell-bent to provoke a strike. The General Accounting Office finds that employers now use or threaten to use permanent replacements in one out of every three strikes in this country. Other studies show that strikes last five times longer when permanent replacements are hired, and that permanent replacements regularly produce total concession to employer demands or even union decertification, and that last year some 11 percent of employees striking large employers were permanently replaced.

I conducted some hearings during the New York Daily News strike. I remember how amazed I was when one of the witnesses testified that he was working, he wasn't on strike, he didn't know anything about strike, and he went downstairs around 2:00 a.m. in the morning. He didn't see anybody in the plant, and he said, "Where is everybody?" He walked outside to see where everybody was. He couldn't get back into the company doors because the company had determined, not the union, that the employees were on strike. I learned in that hearing that six months before there was even talk of a strike—in that case the union actually didn't want a strike, never did go on strike—but six months before that the company was hiring strike breakers and replacements. They had hired a firm down in Nashville, Tennessee, in order to put together the striker replacement program.

Frankly, ladies and gentlemen, with employers like the New York Daily News and Greyhound and Frank Lorenzo leading the way, it

should be no surprise that we have a battle on our hands. These employers have no sense of loyalty to their workers. They have no interest in fairness or in collective bargaining. Their goal is to escalate strikes into bitter battles with their workers. It destroys the lives of the working force. It cripples the unions, and it is time we put that kind of management out of business once and for all. (Applause)

When will this country realize what our economic competitors like Germany, Canada, France, Japan, already know, that using permanent replacements is wrong as a policy matter, and foolish as a business matter? When will we become ashamed of sharing this permanent scab policy with the country of South Africa? When will this country appreciate the value of unionism in America in the same way it applauds the democratic unions in Eastern Europe?

Since our politicians love to extol the virtues of trade unions abroad, why won't they stand up for the same principles here in the United States of America? (Applause)

You and I know, unions do not undertake a strike lightly. Workers are never eager to forego their wages, walk the picket lines, exhaust their life savings or strain their families financially and emotionally. Workers never welcome a strike which will literally tear at the fabric of their friendships and their communities. A strike is always the last resort, not the first. A strike is your option when your back's against the wall. And it's time that scab-loving employers learn that we will fight back when our lawful right to strike is trampled on. (Applause)

We did very well in the House, thanks to Bill Ford's leadership, but the Senate is tough. We need 60 votes out of 100 to break a filibuster and get the bill to the floor. There will be a filibuster. Senator Hatch of Utah, joined by other backward-looking enemies of working Americans, such as Simms and Wallop and Simpson and Garn and Lott and Mack, they'll all pitch in to help with the filibuster. And others who I regret to say get too many votes from your members don't give up.

They told me originally I couldn't get my 60-day plant closing bill enacted into law in 1988. When they said we couldn't do it, we went ahead and battled the battle, and we won and we beat Ronald Reagan at that one, and we're going to win on this one. (Applause)

There isn't any question about it that this President will threaten a veto. He threatens a veto on almost every bill that has something to do with the quality of life of the American people and the right of the American people to have a decent home and a decent family life and a decent education for their kids and a decent environment in which to live. He's the most veto-prone President that we've had.

But we've got a battle on our hands, and we're going to beat them. At this moment, there are only 31 Democratic Senators on the bill and only two Republicans on the bill. I want to say this to you, if you want this bill to be enacted into law, you can't do what my good friend Bill Ford says, you can't come to Washington and lobby, you have to lobby back in your own states, whatever that state may be. You have to go out and you have to picket, you've got to leaflet, you've got to put TV ads and say, "Senator X, Senator Y, why in the devil aren't you supporting the right of workers in this country to go out on strike?" (Applause)

I'm not satisfied with your applause, because your applause isn't what I want. I want you to get off your butts and go back home and see to it that you get rid of those United States Senators. Thank you very much. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Thank you, Howard, for those forceful remarks. Before we take up the resolution on Workplace Fairness, we would like to welcome into the hall a contingent of our brothers and sisters whose lives have become entangled in this issue. They represent the thousands of workers who have gone on strike to defend themselves and their families and who have been permanently replaced by their employers. They have been fighting on the front lines of our struggle to ban this practice, and I think you'll agree that they have earned the right to be here while this resolution is read and debated. Secretary-Treasurer Donahue will now call our roll of honor.

DONAHUE: Please welcome from the Firemen and Oilers Union, Local 246, the General President of the IBFO, Jimmy Walker of Atlanta, Georgia; Pete Pelletier of Turner, Maine, representing the striking workers at International Paper. (Applause)

From the Steelworkers Union, Local 5668, Dan Stidham and Bill Doyle of Charleston, West Virginia, representing the locked-out workers at Ravenswood, West Virginia. (Applause)

From the Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 1303, Nemiah Thompson of Detroit and Clark Marshall of Flat Rock, Michigan, representing the workers at Greyhound. (Applause)

From the United Paper Workers, Local 14, Bill Merserve of Jay, Maine; Willie Stout of Nashville, Tennessee, representing striking workers at International Paper. (Applause)

From the Transport Workers Union, Local 553, Janeen Nolan of West Hartford, Connecticut; Peggy Olstein of New York, representing the striking workers at Eastern Airlines. (Applause)

From the UFCW, Local 1116, Roberta Hecinovich and Linda Perry of Hibbing, Minnesota, representing the striking workers of American Linen. (Applause)

From the IUE, Local 825, Lois Waggoner and Linda Beanblossom of Lawrenceville, Illinois, representing the striking workers at Central Industries.

From the ILGWU, Local 187, Betty Strzelecki and Roxanna Pavlik of Racine, Wisconsin, representing the striking workers at Rainfair.

From the UAW, Local 540, Steve Schauer and Judy Watros of Lake Orion, Michigan, representing the striking workers at M. C. Aerospace. (Applause)

From Hotel, Restaurant Employees, Local 226, Rayford Turner and Vince Curreri of Las Vegas, Nevada, representing the striking workers at the Frontier Hotel. (Applause)

From the IAM, Local 141, Tom Barker of Romulus, Michigan, representing the striking Machinists at Eastern Airlines. (Applause)

From the CWA, Local 2, P. J. Conway from Chicago, representing the striking workers of the Chicago Tribune. (Applause)

From ALPA, Local 51, the presidents of ALPA, Captain Randy Babbitt of Washington, D.C.; John Anderson of Montville, New Jersey, representing the striking pilots of Eastern Airlines. (Standing ovation)

DONAHUE: We're proud to have these strikers join us. There are two other people who would have marched with their union brothers and sisters today if they could have. Tom Welsh, Captain Tom Welsh, 48 years old, a member of the Airline Pilots Association, was an Eastern Airlines striker from Ridgefield, Connecticut. He was replaced after 23 years on the job. He was forced earlier this year to take a job with a small charter company, Lauda Air of Austria. Capt. Welsh was killed in May when his aircraft exploded over Thailand taking the lives of all on board.

Bob Waterhouse, 59 years old, a proud member of the Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 1384, a Greyhound striker from Redding, California, 30 years on the job, was months away from his retirement. On March 30, 1990, Bob Waterhouse lost his life on the picket line when he was crushed by a bus driven by a replacement. No charges were filed against the strikebreaker.

These are only two examples. We all know there are many, many more that touch on the untold human price that's paid by workers and

their families who are the victims of vicious employer greed and cold insensitivity. It's time we put a stop to it. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The chair recognizes Vice President Lynn Williams for a report of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE TWO

WILLIAMS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It's my pleasure to call on Bill Bywater, the chairman of the Subcommittee Two of the Resolutions Committee, to report out Resolution No. 1, Workplace Fairness. I can't think of a more appropriate person to call on to do this than Bill Bywater. He's been a fighter in this struggle all along. Here he is, Bill Bywater. (Applause)

BYWATER: This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 1

Protecting the Right to Strike

Resolution No. 37, The Workplace Fairness Bill

Resolution No. 142, Right to Strike

Resolution No. 143, Wages, Hours and Working Conditions

Resolution No. 183, The Permanent Replacement of Strikers

Resolution No. 1 calls on Congress to pass anti-scab legislation to stop employers from permanently replacing workers who exercise their legal right to strike.

The National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act declare that workers have a right to strike without being subjected to employer retaliation, discipline or discharge. But the judicially-created Mackay Doctrine makes a mockery of this promise by saying that strikers may be "permanently replaced."

This is a direct threat to the nation's collective bargaining system. The time has come for the United States to join the civilized world and affirm the fundamental rights of workers to withhold their labor without being replaced by some rotten, scummy scab. (Applause)

The AFL-CIO commends the House of Representatives for its passage of H.R. 5, and we urge the Senate to pass S. 55, which has been reported favorably by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee.

KIRKLAND: You have heard the resolution. It's now open for discussion.

Again, Vice President Bywater.

BYWATER: You've heard Congressman Ford and the great senator from Ohio, Howard Metzenbaum. We know they're on our side and they're fighting for us. We can count on them. But I think the words they gave us are something we should take back with us into our shops. We have to do the job. They're not going to do the job for us in the plants. We have some dummies that have voted Republican for 12 years. We've got to kick them in the ass, wake them up and tell them how to go. (Applause)

This issue is life or death to the labor movement and we know it. And unless we get this legislation passed, the union movement is going to go downhill like it's been going downhill for the past 12 years. And we've got to stop it, and the only way to stop it is to tell the congressmen or senators, "If you're not with us on this issue, we're going to dump you, you dumb bastard. That's what we're going to do." (Applause)

And let me tell you: My union — and I hope every other union — will let them understand very plainly that if they're against us, we're going to dump those guys for sure and we're going to get our workers off their ass and they're going to campaign against those and to replace them. And I don't care whether they are Republicans, Democrats or what the hell they are. We've got to get them out of office and put somebody in that's going to support the labor movement. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President Lynn Williams.

WILLIAMS: Thank you very much, I think, Brother President. Following that is, obviously, to say a great number of unnecessary words because Bill, as is his custom, has said it all and said it very well and said it very bluntly; and I guess he's encouraging us all to go out there and kick all the ass we can. And, Bill, we're with you and we're all going to do that. (Applause)

If I might just be permitted a little side comment here, I think with the support and leadership of a magnificent candidate, that all of us from Pennsylvania in this room demonstrated just a few days ago how to do this job and how to get it done; and having demonstrated that once, we can sure go and demonstrate it again, and just as many times as it takes until we're finished. (Applause)

The need for this bill is because the National Labor Relations Act the law that was established back in the 1930s to give workers the right to organize, to give workers the right to exercise collective bargaining, to give workers the right to present their needs and their case and participate in their workplaces and represent themselves and move

America forward — that law has been turned into a travesty by the Mackay decision and by the acts of Presidents Reagan, Bush, and the rest of them during the 1980s. We have to turn that around; and if we don't turn it around, nobody will turn it around. We can't do too much to bring that about too quickly because workers in America in location after location, however enthusiastic we may be in this hall and however committed we may be in this hall, the blunt truth of the matter is, brothers and sisters, that working people in America in union after union and community after community are taking a beating, are being pushed around, are being denied their rights as American citizens; and if anybody's going to stop it, it's the labor movement; and we have to get that stopped just as quickly and as positively as we can. (Applause)

We're proud to present ourselves to the world as the foundation of freedom and democracy, and there is much there to be proud about. America has provided great leadership in the world for more than 200 years on questions of freedom and democracy and then determine as a right for people to determine their own destiny. But what blacker mark can there be on America's reputation for freedom and democracy than in this modern world to be the only advanced country out there and indeed one of the few countries in the world, even among developing countries and newly industrialized countries, that doesn't recognize freedom and democracy enough to recognize the right of their own working people to go out on strike without having their jobs ripped out of their hands?

We can't present ourselves with clean hands to the world on the question of freedom and democracy until we get rid of this damnable interpretation of the law and get a law in there in terms of workplace fairness and democracy that really represents what American democracy should be all about, what the Declaration of Independence should be all about, what people in America are committed to in terms of freedom and democracy and their future and the future of their children. (Applause)

I really want to use my time, having said those few words, to talk about one example of what's going on in America that deeply affects my union, that involves some of the finest trade union people that we've ever been privileged to have in the United Steelworkers of America.

You saw some of them marching. There's another delegation, additional members of those delegations right over there in the hall. They've been locked out of their plant in Ravenswood, West Virginia, now for more than a year, a year as of this past November the 1st. They've kept their struggle intact. There are 1700 members in that local union. Only a handful, something like 21 or 22 of them, have

crossed the picket line. Everybody else has been out there for a solid year, and their slogan is that they're going to stay out and persist in this struggle one day longer than the company and make sure they win; and I want you all to salute them right over in that corner over there. (Standing ovation)

There isn't time to tell you all about their situation. I want to tell you just a little bit. Many of you know. They were locked out, as I say, more than a year ago in a place called Ravenswood and the Ravenswood Aluminum Company. That was a fine plant for more than 30 years established by Kaiser Aluminum; and you know the reputation of Kaiser originally in terms of progressive labor relations.

These are by and large people who worked in that plant from the beginning or for most of its history, fine producers of aluminum, fine workers in America, built a fine community, had decent wages, raised their families properly. Just the kind of community and just the kind of people that you think about when you think about trade unionists and you think about fine American communities and towns across the country.

The average age of our people who have been locked out is 52 years of age. The average service of the group that has been locked out is 22 years of service.

A couple of years ago a financial manipulator came along with some colleagues with a leveraged buyout. The person who presents himself as the head of this company we have reason to believe put in only something like \$20,000 or \$25,000 to purchase this plant.

The big money came from a person I want to tell you about. The big creditor of this company, the big money, came from a person named Marc Rich.

Marc Rich is a fugitive from American justice. Marc Rich is one of biggest metal traders in the world. Marc Rich hides in a place called Zug, Switzerland. He carries Spanish citizenship and other citizenships to try to avoid paying the price for the illegalities that he's committed and that he's accused of here in America.

He put up \$260 million in terms of credit to buy this plant. One of his closest partners, a guy named Strothotte, owns through another company — Marc Rich put that up through a company called Ridgeway Strothotte, through another company owns all the preferred stock of this company; and he is one of Rich's closest colleagues, if not his closest colleague.

Rich is a fugitive from U.S. justice. There's a price of \$750,000 on his head. He's under indictment on 65 counts, 65 counts that include

racketeering, that include trading with the enemy in terms of arms deals, that include tax crimes; and yet this man right now today is one of the principal people selling metal to the U.S. Mint; indicted on 65 crimes, involved in destroying the lives and community and the whole situation in Ravenswood, West Virginia, and yet doing business with the U.S. Mint.

We have just learned in the last couple of days that he's a big person in the coal industry, too, as well as all of these various metals. In fact, it's another Rich coal company that is involved in selling coal to TVA, Tennessee Valley Authority, another government agency in this country.

He was described not by us, but he was described by Forbes Magazine — and I quote, “as the most despicable representative of western capitalism,” end of quote.

We are seeking support for our brothers and sisters at Ravenswood as you would expect. We're chasing Rich and his people everywhere we can to make sure that this reputation of his is known worldwide.

We have had our people picket his headquarters in Zug in Switzerland. We have picketed the bank in the Netherlands and Amsterdam which provides a good deal of the money in this situation. We've picketed conferences in London, England, and Vancouver in Canada. We've pressured situations in Venezuela and in Czechoslovakia to prevent Rich extending his empire because he's always looking around for opportunities.

We have a video available that describes this whole situation. We have a table established outside the convention hall where you can pick up details of these things that I've quickly described. I just present this as one example.

We've won the legal question so far so that at this moment the NLRB agrees with us that this is an unfair labor situation, but we've just had hearings. We hope that will turn out positively. We never know.

But the company had replacement workers in place the day the plant shut down. They had spent the weeks before not negotiating with the union, but building a fence around the plant. We called it “Fort RAC.” Our people have established their local union headquarters as “Fort Unity,” and they invited trade unionists from all across America and, indeed, everywhere to come and visit with them and express their solidarity and support them, because this whole thing is a crime in any event.

What's being done to workers in terms of locked-out workers, in terms of striker replacement, in terms of scabs, is a sin against all America. But when you add to that the insult of it being done by a wanted criminal, it surely is a situation that we can't bring to an end too quickly. Brothers and sisters, with the united support of these wonderful people in Ravenswood and the rest of the American labor movement, we can do it, and we will. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President Jay Mazur.

MAZUR: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Bill Bywater is right, a scab is a scab is a scab by any other name. (Applause)

I take the floor, and like every other union in this country, we have been victimized by this administration and the previous administration. Today 136 workers in Racine, Wisconsin, are fighting not only for themselves, but for all of us, every single member of every union in this country. Their strike against Rainfair began as a struggle for decent wages, a company with whom the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union had an agreement for 40 years. In the last agreement they made major concessions in order to keep the company going. Their average wage was between \$6 and \$7 an hour.

When the contract expired, they asked for a fair increase. The employer said no, he wanted givebacks and he wanted health care givebacks as well. Five months ago they went on strike, black, white, Latino, women, men, 80 percent of them women. They stood strong and united on the picket line.

The employer, another famous family in America, the Johnson Wax family, which prides itself in its charitable activities in Racine, decided to make his name as a union buster. He declared that scabs were permanently replacing the workers, and that the scabs would decide whether Rainfair had a union, not the union members, many of them who had been working there for more than 20 years.

Today Rainfair has become the labor movement's cause, another example, as you've seen this morning and this afternoon, of the growing unity and solidarity of the labor movement. Lane was right, don't measure us by our numbers, measure us by our commitment, our dedication, our ability to withstand the kind of onslaught that the labor movement has experienced over the last ten years.

The labor movement in Wisconsin, on the state and the local level, has been extraordinarily helpful and supportive of our strike, and we couldn't be here today without them. Trade unions across the country have joined the boycott of Rainfair. They make protective clothing — it's interesting — they make protective clothing for firefighters, postal

workers, for police officers, for letter carriers, and chemical and construction workers, and food workers.

On October 13 with Cesar Chavez at their side, a group of workers began a fast for justice. Three of those fasters are here with us today. Just plain folks just looking to protect their job. Bernice Wilson, why don't you stand up, Bernice. Let's see you. (Applause)

Hasn't eaten in a month. Norma Vela and Ramon Vela, can you stand up, please? (Standing ovation)

They have not eaten solid food in almost a month. Norma has been in the plant 23 years, her brother is also in the plant. She has three children. She has pledged not to eat until the strike is settled.

There are a number of other strikers, they're sitting there, Rainfair strikers. Verlène Bedford, Sylvia Guerrero, Roxanna Pavlik, Betty Strzelecki joining us today. It's a cause that we all share, it's a battle that we all must be involved in, joining in the boycott.

This evening we invite you to join is in a moral protest for the right to strike, for the right for unions to exist, to join me and the fasters and the other strikers at a Racine — at a water-only — it will be a change of pace for most of us — reception in the Kent Room at 5:30. We invite you to join us — there are a number of union presidents who have been supportive — to this reception to show our solidarity with the workers of Rainfair.

We will never abandon the Rainfair strikers or the thousands of others who sacrifice for the rights of all of us. On behalf of Norma, Ramon and Bernice, we must pass the ban on permanent replacements, and give American workers the right and the rights that they deserve in what we call a free country. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: At mike 3, Delegate John Wilhelm.

WILHELM, Western Regional Director, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Our Locals 226 and 165, as well as Teamsters and Operating Engineers have been on strike at the Frontier Hotel and Casino on the Las Vegas Strip for 52 days. The strike is effective, but it's going to last a long time.

I wish I had the time to tell you some of the stories of this strike. It, too, has brave and committed and dedicated strikers who have destroyed the business of that casino. It, too, has an extraordinarily vicious, unprincipled, law-breaking employer who, as we all know, will never be brought to fairness through the laws. But rather than take your time with those stories, important as they are, I want to say to you that when Senator Metzenbaum challenged us to get off our butts and

to take back to wherever we come from the spirit that has been in this room this afternoon, well, we're doing that in Las Vegas. We're off our butts. We're going to do whatever it takes on the strike and on S. 55.

So many of you in this room and the unions that you lead have been a help to us in Las Vegas in our struggle to rebuild our union there, that I couldn't possibly list all of you. So I won't try. But we need your help again, the whole labor movement in Nevada needs your help again.

On December 5, many union leaders plan to be in Las Vegas in connection with a conference on the National Coordinating Committee on Multi-Employer Plans. And on December 5 at 6 p.m., we are having, the entire labor movement in Nevada, is having a mass march down the Las Vegas Strip. We're all together on this and we hope that all of you who are in town will be sure and join us at 6 p.m. on December 5th. We'll promise you a night to remember on the Las Vegas strip.

And then in January, as a testament and a witness to the importance of the struggle at the Frontier, a group of us are going to set forth across the desert from Las Vegas to Los Angeles, because in Los Angeles live over half the customers of the Frontier. We're going to arrive in Los Angeles on January 18th. On January 18th there's going to be a mass labor rally in Los Angeles where all of us in the labor movement in the West will have an opportunity to support S. 55 and to say no once and for all to scabs.

On behalf of the brave Frontier strikers, we pledge to all of you that just as we succeeded last year in the strike in the Horseshoe in making the employer take back his statement that he permanently replaced those workers that you saw in the "Victories" video, just as there were no permanent replacements in the Horseshoe last year after nine and one-half months on the picket line, so we pledge to you two things; one, that we'll do whatever it takes on S. 55 with our brothers and sisters in the West, and we hope all of you will join us on December 5th and on January 18th in Los Angeles; and we pledge to you, also, that just as in the Horseshoe, no matter what the lawmakers do, no matter what the courts do, in the Frontier there are not going to be any permanent replacements. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President Wayne Glenn. (Applause)

GLENN: Mr. President, fellow officers, delegates, what a pleasure it is for me to come in this room this afternoon and see the unanimity of thinking and a solid purpose of all of the entire labor movement on

an issue that goes right to the heart of the labor movement, protecting workers' jobs. It's just a heartwarming feeling, really, to see everybody solidly behind something that is so important to the rank-and-file worker out there in the plants all over this country; and it gives me a good feeling to see the consideration that you give to this most serious item.

I could tell you a few stories. I want to tell you about going to Jay, Maine, and seeing the families torn apart, workers without incomes, a city in which — a little city. When the city manager testified before the Congressional committee on this bill and he told them this little town of Jay, Maine, is destroyed because of the division, the workers that were formerly employed in the mill were replaced, they have no income, and the scabs all live out around the countryside, they don't live in the city and they don't spend any money in Jay, Maine — therefore, the town is just going down. It is a situation that won't be corrected in the next 20 years unless we do our job.

In my union, there have been suicides. There have been families destroyed, divorces because of economic pressures and problems which are caused by these kind of situations. It's a kind of thing that you never quite can lay aside. I don't care how many travels you make or how far you go.

I know when I went up to Jay to speak, President Kirkland, it was a good thing I didn't take Bill Bywater, because, you know, they said I incited a riot and they fined me \$5,000. Bill, hell, if you'd have been with me, I'd probably still be in jail. (Laughter)

You know, it's a job we've got to do. I want to talk to you about how do we get this job done? It's fine if we have all this enthusiasm here, but what we've got to do — it's a nuts-and-bolts kind of approach. You've got to go out and you've got to aggravate the hell out of these Congressmen and Senators. You've got to put pickets on them when they have a meeting. That's what's we've been doing. And I can tell you, they don't like it. It embarrasses the hell out of them. I know that. And they sneak in the back door hoping the press won't see them, and that kind of thing.

But you've got to do that until — "Hey," they say, "we don't need trouble, and I'm either going to get with those workers or they're going to do away with me." We'll replace them.

You've got to do that. You've got to run literary campaigns. You've literally got to get your members to write thousands of letters and you've got to call them on the phone and call them and call them and call them and keep calling them. This is what they react to. And when they see the election results — Brother Lynn Williams was for talking

about Pennsylvania. By God, it's something to talk about, Lynn. I'm very proud of you.

But it shows to me that there's an awakening in America among the working men and women all over this country, and there's going to be an uprising, I tell you. It's going to be an uprising at the ballot box. There's going to be an uprising at the polls, because people are fed up with the way they've been treated.

I don't know why we have to get kicked in the rear so many times before we decide to do something; but whatever it be and whatever it takes, we're there and we've got the job to do. And we can do it.

To me, you know, there's nothing worse than a scab. I think Jack London — he said it as well as it can ever be said a hundred years ago, when he wrote that poem. He said, "A scab has a tumor of rotten principles." And, you know, that's true. There's something wrong with the law of the land, you know, when we put people in jail if they steal money; but if you steal a job, they send the cops out there to protect you. There's something wrong with that kind of thinking. It's something that's got to be changed, and we've got to work with it to get it changed, and we can do the job. But we can't quit. We can't let up. We will be successful.

You know, when we started talking about this, you know, they said, "This can't be done," you know. You can't accept can't as an answer. It can be done and it will be done. If we work long enough and hard enough, we'll get it done. I guarantee you. (Applause)

And I read where Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin said she's going to advise the President to veto. Brother Kirkland, I tell you the way I feel, if George Herbert Hoover Bush vetoes this damn bill, I think we ought to shut the country down for a day just to show him how we feel about it. (Applause)

The labor movement has never made gains without sacrifice, and we'll have to sacrifice. It takes blood, sweat and tears to get the job done, so be it, that's what we'll do. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The delegate at mike 4.

DELEGATE JOE POWELL, West Virginia AFL-CIO: I want to tip my hat to the Ravenswood workers for the solidarity they have brought to the labor movement in West Virginia. And by tipping my hat to them, to the rest of these union members that are fighting scabs.

There is an aspect that I'd like to go into because it's extremely worrisome. When I was a local union officer in the 1950s, when we went on strike, we worried only about the sheriff of that country, and the sheriff brought coffee and donuts to the strike shack.

In the late 1960s with the wrong governor in the seat in West Virginia, we looked down the rifle barrels of the state police. But we changed that. We don't have that kind of a governor now.

But what we do have happening to us is the advancement of the U.S. Marshals into the labor strike in a county and in a state, and it's not right. It's our country, and we need to change that portion of it, federal marshals interfering in strikes. And I've only seen that happen since we've turned the corner of 1980.

We all remember the PATCO president in chains, and they want to implement that on those of us that want to strike and to get a better wage and to get decent working conditions.

And I say to you that it was with great delight that we saw Richard Thornburgh go down, because as Attorney General, he ought to be making sure that Marc Rich cannot do business in this country. Or even more, he ought to send the federal marshals over to Switzerland to pick that jailbird up. (Applause)

The economic bullets are fired by the federal government and the federal marshals at strikers. Let them fire the economic bullets at those who cannot come back to this country because they're under indictment. Let them not do business in this country. And you cannot tell me that the Attorney General of this great country could not put that kind of economic operation to an end. We send troops to Panama to pick up Noriega, a vile creature. But I say to you, Marc Rich is every bit as vile, and he ought to be picked up and brought back in chains and paraded before the capitalists, greedy bastards of this country that want to take all our work and money. (Applause)

This land is our land. It's working men and women's land. Let's take it back. Solidarity. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The chair recognizes Delegate Howard Samuel.

DELEGATE SAMUEL: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It's been a good debate. We've got some more coming, I guess. I just want to remind all of you that we're spending almost an entire session of this convention on a bill which didn't exist two years ago. Wayne Glenn remembers, I guess, that there was a bill, it was a bill introduced by Joe Brennan from Maine at the request of the Paperworkers following their strike at International Paper at Jay, it was going nowhere.

Besides that, we saw around us a climate, an anti-labor climate fostered by the White House for eight years, nine years, which we felt made it impossible to pass labor law reform. We were dealing with an issue which no one outside the labor movement ever heard of. As a

matter of fact, even today the word "striker replacement" isn't terribly well known. That's why we call it the Workplace Fairness Bill.

But in the last 24 months we have learned some lessons, and I want to report to you very briefly on those lessons. First and most important, we've learned that when our members are confronted with an issue that really threatens their jobs and their working conditions, they will react with just as much passion as the most determined member of the National Rifle Association or the Sierra Club. Our members will work if they know what they're working for.

They knew from the very beginning, in every sector they knew that they understood the threat of striker replacements, and they knew that only by joining in the campaign to change the law would they get the albatross off their backs. So the first thing we all did in this campaign was to take it directly to our members, especially in those key states where there are members of Congress whose votes we needed. And you know what happened. Our members responded. They wrote letters, they made telephone calls, they attended district and statewide meetings. They did all the things that are needed to impress a member of Congress to vote for our bill.

We learned another lesson. We learned we weren't alone. We learned that if we had an issue which involves basic moral principles of democracy and justice, we can win the support of groups and individuals outside the labor movement; church groups, Black and Hispanic organizations, women and senior citizens groups. And the fact is that we have won support from those groups outside of organized labor for an issue which they understand is of importance to all Americans.

And thirdly, we've learned that despite a White House which for 10 years has shown its antagonism, its hostility to the goals of organized labor, a majority of the American people still support the basic principles of trade unionism. And one of those principles is a worker's right to strike without fear of reprisal. Every one of our polls, all our focus groups, told us that two-thirds of the American people agreed with us that employers should not have the right to fire legitimate strikers.

But what's ahead? We won a good victory in the House in July. You know what the challenge is now, the Senate. Senator Metzenbaum made it clear, we don't need just 51 votes, we could get those. We need enough votes to overcome a filibuster. That means 60, maybe even more. I think we can do it. Our members have demonstrated that they are behind us all the way. Our allies, the church groups and others are working on our behalf in all the key states. We've shown that our issue has won broad popular support from the people of the United States.

And if we can give it the kind of leadership you've demonstrated today, we can win it, we can win it big in the Senate, then move the bill out of conference committee with veto-proof majorities in both houses and make the Workplace Fairness Bill into law. It can be done. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Delegate at mike 1.

DELEGATE CHUCK DEPERT, Indiana AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. President, members of the Executive Board, honored guests, brothers and sisters. I am Chuck Depert, president of the Indiana State AFL-CIO. In that position you get a lot of opportunities to do a lot of important and exciting things. Last summer I received a phone call from the national AFL-CIO that asked me to go to a place where I became a member of the Machinists Union, Columbus, Indiana, to do an important duty, and that was to take a picture for the national AFL-CIO newspaper. It happened to be a picture of a striker who had lost his job and been replaced, a member of the IBEW, an employee of Arvin Industries.

I didn't know the story other than I knew about the strike. I met with him at 5:30 in an evening, and in front of his home I took his picture and heard his story. I want to share that story with you.

Brother Jim Meredith told me he'd been a member of the IBEW about 17 years and worked in the plant about 20-some years. He didn't have to belong, but after a few years decided that the only way he could help his brothers and sisters who were having trouble was to join the union to make it stronger, and so he voluntarily belonged.

And a few months before, 18 months before, the company had sought in excess of three dollars in wage cuts and wanted them to take a large share of the insurance load off the company's back, and many more things. And he said, "We voted not to accept that and went on strike, and I don't regret that."

And I said, "Can you tell me what it's been like since that strike?" He said, "I'll tell you what it's like." He said, "You see the guy across the street, my neighbor? We worked together for years. He stayed on strike two weeks and went back.

"And my neighbor on the right over here," he said, "he lasted six weeks and he went back. We don't have very much fun in this neighborhood any more. We used to trade tools and work together on different projects and we no longer speak. But that's not the hard part.

"My son worked there too. And one night he came to visit me and he said, 'Dad, you know, your grandchild has some serious medical

problems. It will cost \$50,000 to bring your grandchild back to health.' And, Dad, I don't have 50,000, I'm on strike too. And I know you don't have \$50,000 either.'

"And we decided together that he should go back."

I said, "What's happened since then?"

He said, "I've had two jobs in 18 months. I've worked about two weeks in a plant that paid me \$10 an hour." And he said, "I know the company that I struck found out about it, because one day they just came out without notice and dismissed me. Since then," he said, "I'm in my second week of work making \$5 an hour and no benefits. I think it's going to end Friday."

"My house payments have been made by my grown children. My only mode of transportation is a pickup," he pointed to. "I'm seven months behind. I don't know everyday when I come in whether or not they're going to be waiting to take it back."

This is just not a problem for the labor movement. It's a potential problem for every member of the labor movement. And I know probably everyone in this room has written a letter and made a call. That's not enough. I'm going to pledge myself to go back after hearing these stories, and knowing the Jim Meredith story, to write a letter everyday, to make as many calls as I can make, to hold some meetings with two of the worst Senators from the state of Indiana on this issue, and to continue the fight for the hundreds and thousands of members we no longer have who have lost their job because they stood up for what they believed in. That's what this fight is all about. Thank you for the opportunity of sharing that story. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Delegate at mike 2.

DELEGATE AL GRUHN, Sonoma-Mendocino-Lake Central Labor Council, California: Mr. President, you know, there was a Great Emancipator in this country, he was a Republican. He said, "This nation could not be part free and part slave." If they get away with this permanent replacement by scabs, the eventuality would be an industrial dictatorship and try to put all the workers in this country back in the condition of slavery to the industrial interests of this country.

This emancipator was in the New England states. And shoe factory workers were on strike in Connecticut and Massachusetts cities, and this was in the 1860s. They said, they had a grievance that they couldn't live on wages of \$258 a year. And Stephen Douglas, who was the opponent in that particular election period, had said the strike was caused by this unfortunate sectional warfare. To which Abraham Lin-

coln replied: "Thank God that we have a system of labor where there can be a strike."

And thus at Hartford, at New Haven, even while still a dark horse candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination, he told the striking shoe workers, "I do not pretend to know all about the matter. I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down and obliged to labor whether you pay them or not. And I wish it might prevail everywhere. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich. It would do more harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else. When one starts poor, as most do in a race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition. He knows that there is no fixed condition of labor for his whole life."

The vice president, who mentioned about the Republicans in our membership, I wish he would listen to what Abraham Lincoln said. And I wish that the United States Senators and others, particularly in the Senate, because that's where the issue is now, would think about what Abraham Lincoln said about the rights of workers to strike. And also the President.

You have very basic issues, as I mentioned earlier. If they can get away with this and replace strikers, permanent replacement by scabs, you really don't have a right to strike. You really don't have a right to strike.

So to all the Americans, they can't have it both ways, as Abraham Lincoln said, "You can't be part slave and part free," and neither can they have it both ways in the right to strike. There's only right, and that's the right to strike and not be replaced by permanent scabs. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Delegate on mike 4.

DELEGATE JIM LaSALA: Mr. Chairman, I'm President of the Amalgamated Transit Union, representing the Greyhound employees. Let me share with you for a little moment a little history of the plight of our Greyhound members. Back in 1987 in a leveraged buyout, Fred Curry took over the company. It was a concessionary agreement that provided substantial wage reductions as a condition of his recognizing the union. In anticipation of the expiration of that agreement, Fred Curry, rather than getting to the bargaining table, began advertising hiring and training replacement employees.

On March 2nd, without having reached an impasse, he threatened to impose conditions of the last offer. Our members struck on March 3rd. One was killed, run over by a runaway truck driven by a scab.

We have tried unsuccessfully to bring Fred Curry back to the table. I want to assure you, if it had not been for his right to hire permanent replacements, the strike would have settled within two weeks, or perhaps may never have happened.

But let me take this moment to express to you our appreciation for the help rendered us financially, morally, by your physical attendance on the picket lines and the various rallies; but that's history. October 31st, the bankruptcy judge approved the company's reorganizational plan and are now operating out of bankruptcy. The strike continues.

We urge that you remind the world and the country that that strike goes on, and if you'll continue to join with us on the picket lines so that this company will not operate successfully, until they return the rightful members back to their rightful spot on the seniority roster.

We'll go a step further in moving S. 55, while it will not be of any help to our Greyhound members. We will not lend one COPE dollar to anyone who does not put his name on S. 55. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Is there further discussion? Are you ready for the question?

All in favor say aye. Opposed, nay. The motion is carried unanimously. (Applause)

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Protecting the Right to Strike

H.R. 5 and S. 55 — anti-scab legislation to ban employers from “permanently replacing” workers who exercise their legal right to strike — is the most important labor law initiative to come before Congress in more than a decade. The time has long since passed for Congress to eliminate the most egregious loophole in the nation's labor laws.

The National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act declare that workers have the right to strike without being subjected to employer retaliation, discipline or discharge. But the judicially-created Mackay doctrine makes a mockery of this promise by saying that strikers may be “permanently replaced.” This is the kind of word-play that could only satisfy conservative judges and corporate lawyers. In

the real world of work, there is no right to strike when exercising that right can mean losing one's job.

The Mackay rule is unjust. The freedom of workers to withhold their labor is their ultimate recourse in defending their wages and benefits from employer attack and the last resort for employees seeking improvements in their terms or conditions of work. It is morally wrong to force them to either give in to their employer's demands or else put their jobs and their future at risk.

As Cardinal John J. O'Connor has stated, the Mackay rule violates the principle "that people can't be treated as chattel, people can't be tossed aside."

The ability of employers to "permanently replace" strikers provokes bitter and unstable labor relations and in so doing presents a direct threat to the nation's collective bargaining system.

Under the labor laws, when employees elect to form a union, their employer is legally obligated to recognize and bargain in good faith with that union. This duty is intended to promote a stable and equal system for achieving industrial cooperation and for assuring working men and women their individual dignity.

But the Mackay doctrine invites employers to seek a confrontation with their employees for the sole purpose of destroying union representation at the workplace. By first insisting on — and then implementing — harsh and regressive bargaining positions, the employer can provoke a strike and then hire a new and more pliant scab workforce to "permanently replace" the one that had the temerity to fight back.

The Mackay "right" thus grants employers not merely an unfair winning advantage in setting particular wages and working conditions, but also in eliminating the collective bargaining procedure that the federal labor laws were enacted to encourage.

The labor disputes at International Paper, Eastern Air Lines, Greyhound, the New York Daily News and Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation — to name but a few — symbolize the evils of the Mackay rule. In each dispute, the employer's concessionary demands transformed a disagreement over the terms of the next labor contract into an all-or-nothing confrontation over whether the employees' chosen union would survive.

The resulting strikes and the "permanent replacement" of workers at these firms have spawned protracted, divisive conflicts that are substantially more difficult to resolve than the original economic dispute between the employer and the union. The ultimate lesson to other

workers — both the organized and those considering organizing — is that the “right” to strike can carry a prohibitive price.

A truly free and democratic society is not supposed to work that way. Recent events in Eastern and Central Europe, South Africa, the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the world have demonstrated that a genuine right to strike is fundamental in any free society. Mackay’s denial of that right is contrary to the letter and spirit of the International Labor Organization’s Conventions #87 and #98, which define the essential elements of freedom of association and industrial justice.

The time has come for the United States to join the civilized world and affirm the fundamental right of workers to withhold their labor without being replaced by scabs. The AFL-CIO commends the House of Representatives for its recent passage of H.R. 5, and we urge the Senate to pass its own measure, S. 55, which has been reported favorably by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee.

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...At this time a film was shown to the delegation. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Donahue.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

...Secretary-Treasurer Donahue announced the times and locations of various meetings and receptions.

DONAHUE: The Escort Committees for tomorrow morning’s speakers:

The committee to escort Senator Edward Kennedy: Vice Presidents Jack Barry, George Kourpias, Jerry McEntee, John Sweeney, and Rich Trumka.

The Escort Committee for Senator Don Riegle: Vice President Sig Lucassen and Billy McCarthy, delegates Ed Ball, Ernie Lofton, Dick Cordtz, and Frank Garrison.

That’s all I have.

KIRKLAND: We’ll have some more Solidarity Day music as we recess. The convention stands in recess until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(At 5:08 p.m., Monday, November 11, 1991, the convention was adjourned, to be reconvened Tuesday, November 12, 1991, at 9:30 a.m.)

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SECOND DAY — MORNING SESSION

Tuesday, November 12, 1991

The convention was called to order at 9:37 a.m., President Kirkland presiding.

KIRKLAND: The convention will come to order. Rabbi Ernst J. Conrad, Rabbi Emeritus, Temple Kol Ami, West Bloomfield, Michigan, will deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

RABBI ERNST J. CONRAD

Temple Kol Ami

West Bloomfield, Michigan

Dear friends, let us rise, please. Rock of all ages, righteous in every generation, gratefully do we invoke Your presence upon this far-reaching assembly of men and women who serve, through the toil of their bodies and minds, their own families, their nation and humankind. Bless all of them, those who are present and those who cannot be with us at this time.

We are so thankful for this gathering of the labor union movement, without which this country would not have attained pre-eminence today. As their struggle for fair wages, decent benefits, a job for all, security, child and family care continues, abide with everyone imbued with the vision of equity and justice for all.

Strengthen the hands of the leaders of this Federation and of this Congress in their quest for maintaining an economic balance at a time of retrenchment on behalf of working people everywhere. Moreover, may the united voice of this movement be heard throughout the land on behalf of the poor and on behalf of the downtrodden, the jobless, the homeless, the hungry, the naked. May sympathy and compassion return to the leaders of this democracy still claiming victory over an enemy abroad, where there was no contest but the death and disease of children and the aged.

Grant us courage and insight to change a course of history, a course presently a futility in despair, into an avenue of understanding, of friendship, of loving kindness, encompassing all the citizens of this

land — indeed, the citizens of the world — fashioned for wise human use by an understanding of Your all-pervading goodness. May this be Your will. Amen.

KIRKLAND: Thank you. Will the Escort Committee bring Senator Kennedy to the platform, please. (Standing ovation)

No one in this hall need ask Senator Ted Kennedy which side he is on. (Applause)

His record speaks for itself. For nearly three decades, Ted Kennedy has been a leader and a fighter in the Senate on a host of issues that are of vital concern to working people and their families.

He shares our vision of America as a land of opportunity and a place where working people are treated with dignity and respect both on and off the job.

Today, as a growing number of families become the victims of a national health care crisis, we need his leadership more than ever.

Brothers and sisters, I give you the senator from Massachusetts, Ted Kennedy. (Standing ovation)

THE HONORABLE EDWARD M. KENNEDY **U.S. Senator, Massachusetts**

Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Lane, for your kind words and generous introduction. My colleagues up here on the podium, a distinguished group of men and women. (Applause)

All right, thank you. Save a little of it now.

Let me first of all thank you for that very kind and wonderful welcome. I want to say very sincerely a word of appreciation for your president and someone who's been a longtime friend over the 29 years that I've had the honor of being on the Labor Committee in the United States Senate on every issue involving working men and women. We had the good fortune to listen to Lane Kirkland. We've had a good opportunity to listen to the so many men and women who are up here on the podium and, as I look over the hall today, who have been there speaking for working men and women here in this country and all over the world.

Lane has really been a true statesman of the trade union movement, and I'm honored to be presented by him today, to work with him. It's good to see him in a position of leadership, and I'm sure he'll be there for many years to come. Lane, I'm grateful to you for all you've done. (Applause)

Now, I want to tell you, that reception I received today is a little bit better than the reception I received not long ago. I went down to the state of Virginia — I thought I'd go out and test the waters a little bit, and I went down there in a rather conservative area. And this gentleman was introducing me to this group of people out there, and all of a sudden as the introduction was going along, I heard someone say, "Kennedy is a horse's tail," or something like that. I'm paraphrasing a little bit. (Laughter)

And what do you know, someone came up and grabbed that individual and threw them right out of the room. And I said to that person who introduced me. I said, "I didn't know this was Kennedy country." And they said, "It isn't, it's horse country." (Laughter)

But in any event, I'm glad to be here. I know you're going to have a full afternoon hearing all of those presidential candidates. You're going to settle that issue about what goes first — Iowa, New Hampshire — and who's going to settle the Democratic nominee. It's going to be settled right out here this afternoon with the AFL-CIO, and it's not a bad way of resolving that issue. (Applause)

I want to tell you, I'm pleased. People have asked me about running. I said I'm not running because I hold a higher office. I'm chairman of the Labor Committee, and I'm going to stay there until I get the hang of it. (Applause)

Well, I am honored by your invitation to participate in the convention that is so timely for our cause. And over the years, in the United States Senate and on the campaign trail, I've been proud to stand with labor, as my brothers were before me.

When my brother Jack went to the Congress, returning from World War II, he went to the Congress and asked to be on the Labor Committee. He served there from 1946 to 1952, when he was elected to the United States Senate. And when he came to the United States Senate, he went on the Labor Committee from 1952 to 1960.

When I was elected to the United States Senate in 1962, I asked to go on the Labor Committee because that is the key committee that deals with the issues of working men and women. That is the committee that deals with decency and fairness in our country. And I have served on that committee and proud to do so.

And when my brother Bob was elected in 1964 and served in the United States Senate until 1968, he asked to go on the Labor Committee from the state of New York. Every Kennedy has been on the Labor Committee for 49 years — 49 years — and we intend to stay right there and get the job done for working men and women of this country. (Applause)

And that is because when the going gets tough, you can always count on labor to stand its ground. And I'm proud to be here today to say that because you did, and because you kept on keeping on, things are going our way at last. The tide has turned on important issues that American labor and working men and women across this country truly care about.

Ronald Reagan and George Bush may have slowed us down a little in recent years, but the worst is over now. We're not going to let their vetoes stop us any more. (Applause)

In the last Congress, in spite of the Bush administration's unfair opposition, we passed a minimum-wage increase that was nine years overdue. We won a major battle to bring safe, affordable and accessible child care to working men and women — not all that we wanted, but a down payment. We passed the Older Workers Benefit Protection Act to prevent employers from discriminating against senior workers in employment benefits.

We passed the landmark Americans with Disabilities Act, so that millions of disabled fellow citizens will have the chance they deserve to be independent and productive members of the work force.

We trimmed the sales of the corporate raiders, and made it harder for management to rip off workers by terminating profitable pension plans and diverting assets to wasteful business takeovers.

And in this Congress, with the strong support of the AFL-CIO, we have been making worthwhile progress, too. We have just won the long and difficult battle to end discrimination in the workplace, and all of you deserve a major share in the credit for that victory on civil rights. For two years, through thick and thin, you made the White House feel the heat, and they finally saw the light. It's not a quota bill, and it never was. It's an anti-discrimination bill, and it always was. George Bush understands that now, and he's going to sign the Civil Rights Act of 1991, and I say to all of you, well done. (Applause)

And before this Congress ends, the president is going to have a chance to sign two other bills we care about. One is extended unemployment benefits, to help the many thousands of working families who have been hurt the most by this recession.

I said all over my state of Massachusetts, with 9.2 percent unemployment — I said it down in New Bedford and Fall River where you have 19, 19, 20 percent unemployment. I said it down there in New Bedford where the mayor said they're opening a Pizza Hut over in Fairhaven. They want 10 jobs and they've got a thousand applications.

This isn't a partisan issue. Richard Nixon supported it. President Ford supported it. Ronald Reagan supported it. What is wrong with you, George Bush, that you won't support it? We're going to send it to you again and again until you will. (Applause)

The other is Family and Medical Leave Act, so that men and women on the job can take time off to deal with family emergencies. I feel strongly about this issue. When my son, Teddy, lost his leg to cancer — 12 years old — every three weeks for three days I went to that Children's Hospital in Boston, Massachusetts. For close to two years I went there, close to two years. There isn't a job here represented by any of those that are out in this audience that would be able to do that, and there isn't a parent in this hall or out across our country in the plants and factories of the nation that wouldn't want to do it. And we didn't ask about non-paid medical leave. I'm a United States Senator, and I was able to receive it. And I say that every working family in this country should not have to make the choice between the job that they need and the child that they love, and we're going to send that bill right down to you, Mr. President. (Standing ovation)

Another piece of legislation is on the move. Veto threats or not, Mr. President, we intend to see that businesses across this land respect the rights of labor and stop their unfair practice of hiring permanent strike replacements. And we're going to support you all the way. (Applause)

We intend to act as well to enforce the law, reform the law, and end the irresponsible neglect of health and safety in the workplace. The tragic fire in Hamlet, North Carolina, that shocked the conscience of America was an accident waiting to happen, and it never should have happened. It is time to reform the outdated OSHA rules, eliminate the dangers, and stop the slaughter on the job that costs the lives of 10,000 workers from accidents every year.

Election Day last week was a turning point on many of our issues. But most of all, it was a turning point on two of the most important challenges we face — the economy and health care. The men and women of labor and people throughout the country are fed up with the lack of economic leadership by an administration that has allowed this nation to fritter away its economic strength and stumble down the dead-end path of no growth and continuing decline.

A president must be more than a secretary of state. Foreign policy is important, but it's no excuse for neglecting the home front. (Applause)

And I say to you, this do-nothing Republican administration is going to be replaced by a do-something Democratic administration, starting on Inauguration Day in 1993. (Applause)

The White House said this recession would be short and shallow, but it drags on long and deep. The Bush administration has compiled the worst record on economic growth of any administration since World War II.

And what do they offer as their prescription? Deeper and deeper budget cuts for the poor. More and more capital gains tax cuts for the rich. And higher and higher tax burdens for working families and the forgotten middle class.

Well, I say any doctor who prescribed that medicine for a patient would be guilty of malpractice, and all those in this administration who prescribed those remedies for our sick economy will be looking for a new line of work in 1993. (Applause)

The economy is in trouble, and so is the Bush administration. Trickle-down economics is no answer. It didn't work for Herbert Hoover, and it isn't going to work for George Herbert Walker Bush.

Now, some people think it's not appropriate for Senator Tom Harkin to talk about President Bush that way, using his full name. And I have to agree with that. What I really meant to say is: Trickle-down economics didn't work for Herbert Hoover, and it isn't going to work for George "Herbert Hoover" Bush. (Applause)

We all know what is really ailing the American worker. Since 1973, the average weekly earnings, in real dollars, have declined by an incredible 19 percent. The only way for most workers to maintain their standard of living was to put more of their family to work.

Strong unions built the middle class in this country; and today, membership in a labor union is still the single most effective means for all workers, especially women and minorities, to boost their incomes from low-income workers to gain entrance to the middle class. That is why we must never, never, never surrender to the Right Wing and this administration in their relentless assault on workers' rights. (Applause)

Another important battle on another important issue is just ahead. The voters of Pennsylvania have given new momentum to our cause. For the first time in many years we've reached a critical path for action. I'm here today to ask your help to set a goal. Success is within our grasp. Before Congress adjourns for the 1992 election, we must complete the unfinished business of Social Security and Medicare by enacting national health reform, controlling the cost of health, making affordable health care a basic right for all Americans, not just an expensive privilege for the few. When I first came to the cause of universal health care as a freshman senator in the 1960s, it was a new cause for me; but it was far from new for labor.

Organized labor took this cause up a half a century ago; and because of you, across the years we kept the faith and kept the dream alive. And I say now, half a century is long enough for America to wait for national health reform.

The people understand the crisis. Costs are soaring beyond control because the current system has a built-in bias for higher and higher fees.

Thirty-four million of our fellow citizens are not covered. Twenty-four million of that thirty-four are working men and women. Ten million of that thirty-four are children in our society, increasing numbers of children not covered. Sixty million more Americans who have some coverage have inadequate coverage, even according to the Ronald Reagan administration.

American workers should not have to spend 40 percent more for health care than workers in Canada, 90 percent more than Germany, or twice as much as in Japan. No working men or women should lose their health insurance because they lost their job or changed their job or suffered serious illness.

No Americans who work a lifetime to build a safe and secure retirement should have to exhaust their life savings to pay for nursing care in their golden years.

No union negotiators should be forced by the soaring cost of health to swallow give-backs at the bargaining table. It's time to say no to a health care system that steals from labor and robs management, too.

You should not have to fight a losing battle for higher pay because the cost of health care is going up twice as fast as wages. It's time to say no to a health care system that distorts the collective bargaining process by forcing employers to choose between ever-larger insurance premiums and ever-shrinking benefits.

Above all, it's time to say no to an administration that wants to postpone action on health reform until after the 1992 election. (Applause)

No one has to convince American labor that our health care system is broken and it's time to fix it. Union health benefits already cost 20 percent too much because so many others do too little. It's time to stop freeloading employers and non-union firms from denying any coverage at all and then dumping workers who need health care in the public sector programs paid for by higher premiums and by the hard-earned tax dollars by millions of union members.

You're getting it both ways. For every hour that you work and that your workers work, you're paying into a fund to cover other workers.

The ones who aren't are freeloading who are effectively being subsidized by you. And then what happens? You pay more in terms of taxes because there are many who fall through the system. You're paying for it both ways, and you're denying the kind of wage increase to yourselves and to your workers and the kinds of increased taxes on your families as well, and that's wrong.

I say that's not fair, and the only effective way to stop that abuse is to end the free rides for firms like that by making all firms pay their fair share for workers' health.

The approach I favor that labor has done so much to advance will do two fundamental things. First, it will guarantee the basic health insurance for all Americans. Every employer would be required to insure all its workers and dependents or else contribute to the cost of a new public program that will cover them and cover the unemployed as well.

This country can no longer in good conscience ignore the millions of faces pressed against the windows of our affluent. Now is the time for universal access to health care for every man, woman and child in America, regardless of income, regardless of race, regardless of age, regardless of health status, regardless of pre-existing conditions, regardless of any other exclusions that have been used unfairly to build up the profits for the insurance companies and deny this fundamental right to our fellow citizens.

Second, our plan will put in place at long last a tough comprehensive program to control the rising cost of health. America spends more on health care and gets less value for the dollar than any other country in the world. Laissez-faire won't work when the system is faring badly and costs are going through the roof. Only national health reform can wring out the waste and abuse and bring in the strict and comprehensive cost controls we need.

We all know the battle won't be easy. The forces arrayed on the other side have not budged an inch in a generation. They fought against us every step of the way on Social Security and Medicare. They fought against us on minimum wage, unemployment compensation, fair labor standards and against every effort to bring health and safety to the workplace.

We know we'll have to work even harder for reform in the months ahead because our opponents are already working hard to stop us. They've even formed a new group called HEAL to lobby against us. They spell it H-E-A-L. I spell it H-E-E-L because that's a more accurate description of that organization. (Applause)

They have big money and high-priced talent; and after the dramatic vote last week in Pennsylvania, they're running scared. They're filling their war chests even higher. But all their million-dollar lobbyists in thousand-dollar suits can't save them now.

The voters are aroused. They understand the issue, and once again, the people are ahead of government. We reject the cynical attitude of business that decent health care for American workers and their families is none of government's business.

You and I know they can't defeat us. The only way we can lose this battle is to defeat ourselves. So let me be candid. If the House of Labor is divided against itself, if we keep on sending conflicting messages about single-payers versus employer-based reform, we will play into the hands of the White House and lose the best chance in a generation for achieving comprehensive health reform.

Surely when so much is riding on what we do, we can learn to act together. Once our basics are solidly in place, everything else we want will follow; and we'll be more likely to finally prevail with our single-payer plan.

Our goal is real reform, nothing less — no more Band-Aids, no more incremental steps that only leave us farther from our goal. It will take more than a garden hose to put out the wildfire for health reform ignited last week in Pennsylvania.

Half-hearted measures of recent years have only made the problem worse. If you're sick and your temperature goes from 101 to 103 and then to 104, you're not getting better because you're getting sicker at a slower rate.

We will not settle for anything less than universal coverage for all Americans, and comprehensive controls for all health costs. If we unite around those two basic ideas, we can win this battle in 1992. We can bring American health care into the modern world. We can write national insurance at long last into the laws of the United States. (Applause)

Anything I've left out, my good friend Don Riegle will fill in this morning. (Laughter)

Let me close by saying again how honored I am by your invitation to be here and to address the leaders the labor. For all those who have kept the faith, for your millions of members across the country who have worked so hard to bring us to this day, we can say at last the time is right. The clouds are lifting. It's been a long voyage, but our ship is finally coming in.

If the great leaders of labor from the past could see us now, I know how proud that they would be. Samuel Gompers, A. Philip Randolph, John L. Lewis, Walter Reuther, George Meany and all the others who gave their lives to labor and whose dream of a better America brought better lives to all Americans. True to them, true to their vision, true to our own ideals, true to the generations who will come after us, we're on the march again, the way we marched before.

Will you stand with me when we fight for labor's agenda? Will you stand with us?

Will you stand with us for health insurance? Will you stand with us?

Thank you very much. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Thank you, Ted. As I imagine you can tell, we are all on your side. (Applause)

Now I want to direct your attention to the video screens for a video on health care.

...A health care video presentation was shown to the convention delegates. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The chair recognizes Vice President Wynn for a report of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

COMMITTEE CHAIRPERSON WILLIAM WYNN: Mr. Chairman, we call on Subcommittee 4 Chairperson Joyce Miller to present the committee's resolution on health care reform.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE 4

SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRPERSON JOYCE MILLER: Thank you, Vice President Wynn.

Sisters and brothers, this very important resolution on health care.

Resolution No 2

Health Care

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute, for the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 2, Health Care

Resolution No. 52, Health Care Reform

Resolution No. 69, Preventive Health Care

Resolution No. 91, Long-Term Care

Resolution No. 126, Health Care for All

Resolution No. 135, National Health Care

Resolution No. 137, Health Care Workers and Health Care Reform

Resolution No. 144, National Health Care Reform

Resolution No. 189, Health Care Professionals and Health Care Reform

This resolution reaffirms the AFL-CIO's commitment to fundamental restructuring of the health care system. It urges national health care reform that would provide universal access to services, contain costs, improve quality of care and be financed on an equitable and progressive basis. The resolution quotes the Executive Council statement of February 1991, stating that the labor movement believes that a national social insurance system would be the best mechanism for reform. It also expresses the recognition that the urgency of the situation requires action now and that reform may come about in stages.

It urges action on proposals that meet labor's principles. It reaffirms the specific principles on which unions believe reforms should be based and calls on affiliated unions and state and local central bodies to make the national health care reform campaign a priority.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 2, and I so move.

KIRKLAND: The question is on the adoption of Resolution No. 2. The chair recognizes Vice President John Sweeney, chairman of the AFL-CIO Health Care Committee.

VICE PRESIDENT JOHN SWEENEY: Sisters and brothers, I rise to support the resolution, and say to you, sisters and brothers, that it's time, high time, for national health care reform in America.

As Senator Kennedy reminded us, it was 1946 when organized labor first backed national health reform, supporting a proposal from Harry Truman, and when the special interest groups in health care first rallied behind the American Medical Association's socialized medicine slogan and sent it down to defeat.

Over the following 45 years, those interest groups — physicians, hospitals and insurance companies — developed a strangle-hold on the nation's health policy that disgraces us as the only industrialized nation, except South Africa, that fails to guarantee health coverage for its residents.

At the same time, the unions of the AFL-CIO fought for and won comprehensive health coverage for our members. We bargained for it, we picketed for it and we struck for it. As long as national health reform was blocked by the opposition of those who were making money off of illness, we insisted that employers provide and pay for family health coverage. As a result, comprehensive health benefits became a standard part of the employment package. But the passage of time never dulled our fervor for national health reform, nor tarnished the idea that Harry Truman had advanced. Now, national health reform is once again on the country's agenda, and 1992 has the potential to be a turning point in our decade's long campaign for national health care, just like 1946 was, and just like 1974, when the policies in favor of national health reform ran as high as they do today.

We heard Senator Kennedy remind us of this past history. The history of health reform in our country is one of lost opportunities, and the big challenge before us today is how to make sure that 1992 does not go down in history, just like 1946 and 1974. But believe me, sisters and brothers, 1992 can be a year, a year that we turn the tables on the American Medical Association, turn the tables on the American Hospital Association and turn the tables on the Health Insurance Association, because the present situation will not, indeed cannot, continue.

The system of employment-based health coverage we built after the country rejected Harry Truman's proposal is crumbling and crumbling rapidly under relentless health cost inflation, inflation which was unleashed by our country's fatal experiment with health care competition in the 1980s. Now, health insurance premiums have grown out of reach for millions and millions of Americans, and health costs have become a threat to the bottom lines of many businesses.

With per-employee costs averaging more than \$7,000 a year in the Los Angeles area, and the rest of the country not far behind, the simple fact is that health benefits as we know them will cease to exist by the end of the decade. As great a shame as it is that 37 million Americans have no health coverage whatsoever, the even more chilling news is that the traditionally well-insured middle class — our members — will soon be in the same category, and we will continue to be forced out on strike by employers trying to push increased health costs off onto our members.

Other countries have demonstrated that quality health care for all can be made affordable if everyone who pays the bills joins together and deals in a unified way with the physicians and the hospitals that provide care. We can do the same here, and the time, brothers and sisters, is now.

The election of Harris Wofford last week was a wake-up call for Congress and for the administration. Even George Bush is talking about health reform. Our message to Congress in the coming months should be: give us a bill in the House and the Senate that brings together the best of all the approaches put forward to date. Give us an on-the-record vote in 1992. The message to our fair-weather friends in Congress who are afraid of crossing the insurers and the doctors who fatten their campaign coffers should be: pass the plan or pack your bags. (Applause)

The resolution before us is the result of extensive discussion and work by members of the Health Care Committee and the Executive Council and has the unanimous support of the Council. It provides the Federation with a strong position to lobby and to spearhead a national grass-roots campaign.

Brothers and sisters, I urge your support for this resolution and your ongoing support for a unified labor campaign for national health reform. While acknowledging that differences exist among some of us as to the method of reform, we should keep foremost in our minds that we are united by our goal, that we are united by the same goal Harry Truman had in 1946. Sisters and brothers, we would do well to remember that to seize the opportunity before us and to avoid repeating the missed opportunities of the past requires nothing less than a united labor movement. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President Jack Joyce. Mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT JOHN T. JOYCE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters. I think we all realize that national health care insurance is an idea whose time has come. The only tragedy is that making this kind of public policy change in the United States requires that so many have suffered so much so long.

As Senator Kennedy noted this morning, it was people in this room and those who came before us who worked many years to try to bring us to this point. But even the Bush administration now recognizes that the force behind change is irresistible. Indeed, it may be that the major problem we face in 1992 will not be so much from those who oppose reform, but rather, those who would redirect the energy behind change that's been built up for change into misleading and meaningful programs that the Bush administration is now scrambling to pull together.

We demonstrated a few weeks ago in Pennsylvania that when our message is clear and our efforts are unified, we will prevail. Thanks to the work over the last two years or so of John Sweeney and the Health Care Committee, the AFL-CIO staff, we now have a clear message.

The nation needs now medical care, meaningful medical care for all Americans and, at the same time, a program that begins to give us some degree of control over skyrocketing medical costs. If we unify behind legislation that gives us both meaningful care for all Americans and cost containment, we will, as we did in Pennsylvania, prevail.

So let's support the committee's recommendation. More importantly, let's get behind the action that the committee calls for.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The delegate at mike 2. Mike 2.

DELEGATE REGINA HICKS, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union: I'm a representative of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union. I'm here from Birmingham, Alabama, and I'd like to tell you some stories of some of our members in the South. We have several poultry plants in Alabama and I'd like to just cite for you two examples of what happened with two of our members who were not covered with health care insurance.

We had one employee who worked in a poultry plant. She was off work several times on and off due to illness. The last time she was off work ill for about nine weeks, she had no income, four children; and this last time she just felt that she would get better and didn't have to worry about going to the doctor, since she had already run up over \$6,000 in medical costs. Her illness was a little more serious than she had thought, and she died in April of 1991.

In July of 1991, in another poultry plant, we had an employee who fell out on the production line. She died and was pronounced dead on arrival at the hospital. She had had a massive stroke. She suffered numerous illnesses because she could not afford to go to the doctor. If she had gotten the medical attention that she needed, she might still be alive today.

As Jesse Jackson said last night, "You can't teach that that you don't know."

So I'd like to tell you a personal story. I know what it's like to be without health care insurance. At age 19, being a single parent, I had two daughters, two and three years old. I was on welfare, receiving food stamps; and, unfortunately, the way our system is set up, if you want to better yourself, then you've got to give up that safety net.

I decided I was going back to school and I didn't worry so much about not receiving a welfare check any more or not getting my food stamps, because I felt like I could work and earn enough money to take care of the bare necessities. What I worried about was giving up my

Medicaid coverage and my children and myself being without health insurance.

I decided, needless to say, to go ahead and let it go; and what you do in an instance such as that, you pray every day that nothing will happen so that you will have to have the medical care that you can't afford. And when somebody does get sick, then, you resort to home remedies and you try to do the best you can with that. And, then, as a last resort, when the illness has gotten to the point where you can't do anything about it, then, you rush to the emergency room; and, you know, the emergency room costs are much higher than those of a doctor.

When we have members coming to union meetings telling me about the problems that they have with health care, I know what they're going through because I've been there. So it's with this in mind that I would urge each of you to support this resolution, and, also, to contact your Congressional representatives and encourage them to support it.

Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Delegate McEntee at mike 3.

VICE PRESIDENT GERALD McENTEE: Mr. Chairman and delegates, my name is Gerry McEntee, and I'm the president of AFSCME, and I'm — (Applause)

That's good. And I'd like to share a personal story with all the delegates in this room having to do with health care, and another story as well, and compare the two.

My father drove a trash truck in the city of Philadelphia most of his life, and my mother and dad owned a small house, and they had a couple sons and a couple daughters. My father died at, I guess, about the age of 80, and a number of brothers and sisters had passed away as well. And it was my mother that was left, and myself and my sister.

And we tried to take care of my mother as she got older and older. We found that we couldn't do the job. We weren't able to take care of her. So then, we put her in a nursing home. We put her in a fine nursing home. The workers weren't getting the money, they weren't paid enough; but the owner of the nursing home was getting from our family \$40,000 a year to take care of my mother.

Now, we did that for three years. She even had to sell the little house that she had at the seashore. And, then, we all ran out of money. We had no money left. And my mother had to sign a form, a piece of paper,

a form that said she was a pauper; and she had to go on welfare in order to stay in a nursing home and get care.

Well, nowhere else in the world, in the free world today, are our senior citizens or our elderly or our parents put through that kind of trial and that kind of tribulation. And, by God, in America that's got to stop and got to stop soon. (Applause)

Now, I want to just tell you one other story, and the other side of the coin. Now, we all remember when the president of the United States got his thyroid condition, and we're all sorry for him. And he went to the hospital. Now, do you think he had to show his Blue Cross card when he went to that hospital?

And, then, Barbara Bush got the same kind of condition — all due respect to the president and the first lady — and she went to the hospital. Do you think they asked her about the co-pay or the deductible? They didn't ask her that.

And, then, the topper of all time, when Millie had the same kind of condition and she went to the hospital, she had free health care.

Well, by God, America, if it's all right for the Bushes, if it's all right for the Congress, then it's all right for the McEntees and the workers in America. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The delegate at mike 1.

DELEGATE GARY CLUVER, Central Labor Council, Jefferson, Wisconsin: Thank you, President Kirkland. I'm the president of Jefferson County Labor Council in Jefferson, Wisconsin. I'm also a worker. I work in a meat packing plant nine hours a day. And I'm also an officer in my local union. I'm also recording secretary for REEP, a national reform group within the UFCW. While the bell tolls for democracy throughout Europe, we find that it's a struggle in the UFCW. We want one member, one vote.

I also sit on the VTAE — which is a vocational, technical and adult education school board — as a labor rep. I have the labor seat on there.

And I'd like to first thank you for such a nice conference, and I'd like to thank the people, the committee that put this together and the workers that set this up.

Now, as far as the health care issue goes, there are two UFCW plants in the town I work in, that I live in; and in those two plants, the company passed the total increase of the cost of health insurance on to the employees to the point now where these employees work one day a week for their health insurance. I think that the crisis is great when you look at the fact that they still pay out of pocket in co-insurance and

that many of the major contracts that are being negotiated nowadays in our industry and in other industries call for increases of the employee to put more money into their health care, I think it's to the point of an emergency.

Now, Senator Kennedy's health care plan reaches out to address this problem, and his record in support for labor is outstanding, to say the least. But if we must go step by step — and I don't agree that we should have to go step by step — I think that the Russo plan is the way to go, that Canada has a plan, and if we don't know about that plan, we should find out about it and we should accept nothing less. If it's step by step, then, damn it, let's just make one step, not a series of steps, and get to that plain and simple. We need that. We'll accept nothing less.

And to quote the Reverend Jesse Jackson last night, "Where is the money going to come from? Where it went."

Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 2.

DELEGATE SUSAN COWELL, ILGWU: Thank you. Last week the voters in Pennsylvania, our members and retirees sent a message on health care, not only to Bush and the Republicans, but to Congress and the Democrats as well. The voters are fed up. They're not looking for a quick backroom compromise with the insurance companies and the doctors. They want real change. They want national health reform that will guarantee health care as a right to every American working or unemployed or retired.

We did it in Pennsylvania. We can do it across the country. We must mobilize our members and our retirees, state by state, around candidates, around state or federal legislation.

If we do that, we will create a movement so strong that any politician who ignores us will go the way of Richard Thornburgh. This is not the time to compromise. This is the time to fight like hell for what we really want, and what we really want is national health reform.

Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 3.

DELEGATE STANLEY HILL, AFSCME District Council 37, New York, New York: Mr. Chairman, I represent 140,000 members in New York City; and of those 140,000 members, 35,000 of those members work in the public hospital system in New York City. There are 11 public hospitals in New York City.

Mr. Chairman, I want to not only rise to support this important resolution for health care, I want to tell you why it is so appropriate now to not only support this resolution but as your resolution talks to, organizing in the grass-roots level.

You see, New York City represents eight million people; and of those eight million people, those 11 public hospitals cannot refuse a patient whether that patient has health insurance or that patient does not have health insurance. And as you stated in your resolution, there are 37 million people in this country that do not have health insurance; and I know in New York City alone there's about two million people who do not have health insurance.

So as a result of that, when a patient comes into the hospital, we cannot refuse that patient whether that patient has health insurance or not.

The tragedy right now, Mr. Chairman, as of 8 o'clock this morning, one of my sister councils, a doctors council which we do not represent but they are part of a municipal labor coalition in New York City—and they represent the doctors in one of the largest hospitals in New York City—are currently on strike effective as of 8 a.m. this morning.

They are on strike for a lot of reasons, and the basic reason is that there is no fairness and equity in dealing with the public hospital system because there's really no health care process or program to deal with fair and equitable health care; and as a result, the pressure is incredible. The hospitals, the emergency rooms are at a crisis.

President McEntee talked about his father and his mother. I have a brother who was mugged two years ago; and unbeknownst to me, he was taken to a public hospital and was left on a stretcher for seven days because they did not have sufficient beds.

When it was brought to my attention, I went out there to the hospital to try to correct the situation; and fortunately, I was able to; but that's a typical story in many instances in the public hospital system because the public officials, the elected officials do not have the kind of sensitivity that this health care resolution talks to.

We have what you call affiliations that we pay \$40 million a year to. These are doctors from the voluntary sector that are supposed to come into the public hospitals to provide decent health care.

Because of the pressures and the lack of accountability, we don't have that kind of accountability; and as a result, we are suffering today.

Many of you probably heard the tragedy in Kings County Hospital where one of my local presidents, Jim Butler, had to take some real drastic action to deal with Mayor Dinkins and the public officials to do

something about Kings County Hospital. They formed a commission, and that commission said what we've been telling Mayor Dinkins all along, that you not only need decent health care, you need sufficient staff, you need training, you need a system that's going to be fair to everyone and not a system that will discriminate and just have an overburdened system where people are burned out.

We know how important health care is in New York City because we are living with it every day. We know that we cannot refuse any patient that comes into a public hospital system.

We had a group of Mexican trade unionists that came into New York City for a visit, and we took them around to Bellevue Hospital, one of the greatest hospitals in this country. And we took them around and we showed them how important and how much care we give the patients; and one of the trade unionists said to me, "Stanley, do you treat and take all the patients," because he saw poor people. He saw middle-class people. He saw rich people in the hospital; and I said, "Yeah. We've got to. We've got to accept every one."

He felt good about that, just like I felt good years ago when I took my family to Canada and my two kids got sick, and I rushed them to a Canadian hospital; and I automatically — the American style, you know — I took out my credit card and my Blue Cross card, and I showed it to them.

They said, "What is that for?" I said, "I belong to HIP and I have my credit card." He says, "Not in Canada. We take all the people and we service all the people without cost because we've got a national health care system." And ladies and gentlemen, that's what we need in America. (Applause)

That's what we need in America. Nobody, nobody in America should be denied decent health care. And as a representative not only of AFSCME District Council 37, but also as a member of the Hospital Review Planning Board of New York, as a member of many of the committees that I work very closely with, the state AFL, the Central Labor Council and the national AFL, we know how important it is to work together to make sure that we pass this resolution and also on an organized level make sure in this country one day we get a national health care system that will service all people. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: We have a number of speakers on this resolution, and we also have a guest who is faced with a time problem. So I will temporarily suspend the discussion of this resolution while we hear from our guest.

Will the Escort Committee please bring Senator Riegle to the platform. (Standing ovation)

When it comes to the economic issues that are vital to American workers, the people of Michigan know who their friends are. That's why they've sent Don Riegle to the United States Senate.

Over his 24 years in the Congress, both as a Senator and as a House member, Don Riegle has been a friend to working people and a leader in the fight for economic and social justice.

He is on the front lines of the struggle to keep American jobs at home, and he is leading the fight against the free trade agreement with Mexico.

Please join me in welcoming him, Senator Don Riegle. (Standing ovation)

HONORABLE DON RIEGLE

Senator, State of Michigan

Thank you, Lane Kirkland. Let me welcome all of you to Michigan. We're very proud to have you here. Here in this state we have a great working relationship with labor, and we're proud of that fact.

Now, isn't it amazing how George Bush has a jobs program for every country but America? In fact, he's the last person in our country who doesn't think that we're in a recession. He's got a jobs program for Mexico, for China, Kuwait, even Cambodia, but no jobs program for our people.

Many of our people are desperate, and you see it here in this town. A homeless man froze to death on the streets here in Detroit last week. We heard on the morning news many Desert Storm veterans can't find jobs. We need a change here in America. We need a jobs program for America, and we need a new Democratic President who will put America back to work. (Applause)

I just listened to some of the debate from the delegates here on the floor a few moments ago, and we need a comprehensive national health reform plan to cover every man, woman and child in the United States, and we need it now. We need it now. (Applause)

Reagan-Bush were in power for eight long years, and now Bush-Quayle have had three more years. Now that's 11 years, 11 years and still no health care plan from that crowd.

Now, think about it for a minute. If the President and the Vice President and the Cabinet members were to lose their health insurance today and the members of Congress and all the top officials of govern-

ment were to suddenly lose health insurance this morning, how long do you think it would take Bush to get a health care plan up to Capitol Hill? We'd have a plan from him this afternoon.

It's time to move on this issue. We've got people who are dying every day whose lives could be saved by national health reform. I've had them testify before my health subcommittee on the finance committee. I had one young woman who left a hospital here in the state of Michigan who had Crone's disease, to come and testify before our committee, worked at a 7-Eleven making \$12,000 a year, no health insurance, 28 years old. Within six months, she was dead. She would be alive today if she had gotten the health care that she needed in this country.

Well, here is a bill that will do it. We've written this bill in the Senate — Ted Kennedy, George Mitchell, Jay Rockefeller and myself. It's a good bill; it's ready to go. It's time to take it up; it's time to get it enacted. (Applause)

And at the same time, we ought to take up S. 55, the anti-striker replacement bill, and get that enacted, too. (Applause)

Now, on trade, the Reagan-Bush-Quayle administration has made the United States the economic doormat for the rest of the world. There is no fair trade. Unfair trade is killing us and taking millions of our best jobs overseas. Japan is systematically destroying the industrial base of America, and stealing the economic future from our people. The Japanese are laughing at us as they keep a closed market at home and dump their surplus production here at below-cost prices.

When a Japanese family comes to visit the United States and the first thing they do in New York City is go shopping, they shop for Japanese goods. They buy video recorders and cameras and other things. Why? Because they're cheaper in New York City than they are in Tokyo. We can't let this go on.

Even Communist China — and we remember the events in Tiananmen Square — Communist China this year will have a \$15 billion trade surplus with the United States, and next year it will go to 20 billion. The Bush program for stopping it? There's no program for stopping it. They want most-favored-nation trading status with China to make it worse.

And now we see other countries — Korea, Taiwan, Mexico — copying Japan and trade cheating that steals our best jobs. I wrote the Super 301 Trade Law to crack down on trade cheating. It's on the books now, but the Bush administration won't use it.

I'm drafting now a new one, a much stronger law, to crack down on Japanese transplants here in the United States and their Kieretsu practices that are choking our U.S. auto companies and our U.S. parts suppliers. Millions of our best jobs in this country are at stake and this is a fight that we must win. And I'll tell you this, I intend to win it. (Applause)

We need stronger trade laws. We need a tough Democratic president to enforce those laws. And we must say no to putting U.S. jobs on a fast track to Mexico. It's insane to force U.S. workers to compete with 50-cent-an-hour wages in Mexico, where there are no workplace or environmental standards. In fact, in terms of the economy of this state, Ford, Chrysler and GM have already established more than 70 plants in Mexico. You can imagine what would happen with a free trade agreement in place.

Now, I know that Bush thinks that a Mexico free trade agreement will help the state of Texas, but it's going to severely damage the rest of America. This proposed U.S.-Mexico free trade agreement is a knife aimed at the heart of the U.S. and Michigan economy, and make no mistake about it. In fact, here the Republican governor of this state supports a free trade agreement with Mexico. Well, he's wrong, too. And we must stop the fast track loss of U.S. jobs to Mexico, and we're also going to replace that governor in 1994. (Applause)

I drafted a Senate resolution that has won the support of the AFL-CIO, Senate Resolution No. 109, on this issue. It now has 20 co-sponsors. It will change the Mexico fast-track procedures and allow us to confront, open up and amend on the Senate floor any Mexican free trade agreement. My resolution, for example, extends the debate time not from the 20 hours it is now — what we're locked into — but to 15 days, and would let us offer amendments in five areas, and they're key areas: fair labor standards, there are none in Mexico; environmental protections, there are no real protections in that area in Mexico; on the rule of origin so other countries can't come in and use Mexico as a launching platform; dispute resolution on legal questions where you've got a corrupt legal system down there; and finally, worker adjustment assistance for the damage it would do in this country.

I need 51 votes on the Senate floor to stop the fast track and confront this treaty directly. I need every single Senator to hear from you. I need 51 votes. We're at 20; we need 31 more. I need your help in getting those votes. Let's stop this thing right now while we still have the strength to do it. (Applause)

We're talking about defending the job base in this country and about the future for this generation of workers and every future generation.

The only way we're going to be able to pay for the national health reform plan is if we've got a strong economy, and that means people have to be at work and we can't let these jobs keep going overseas. We've got to keep them here at home.

George Mitchell has promised me a vote on the Senate floor on Senate Resolution 109 and that vote, when it comes, is going to turn the tide on this trade issue and stop this trade war that's killing the U.S. job base.

I think Harris Wofford proved that the people are with us if we give them a choice. The national health reform, extended unemployment benefits, stopping the fast-track job loss to Mexico, and an aggressive U.S. jobs program that can rebuild America, these are the initiatives that the country needs. That was the message from Pennsylvania, and 11 months from now that's going to be the message from the whole of the United States of America. (Applause)

And I want to say to the Steelworkers and to the Mine Workers and to the other labor organizations in Pennsylvania: You did a terrific job and my hat is off to you. You made a difference in this race and we won this one and America won this one. (Applause)

The Pennsylvania results point the way for a new president and a new America. I think the days of Republican elitism, of trickle-down economics, are coming to an end. It's time to put America on a different track. It's time to help our working people and to rebuild the middle class. It's time to tell Reagan and Bush and Quayle and their rich friends that their feast of self-indulgence is over. It's time for America to help its own. We've got to concentrate on rebuilding America before it's too late.

We need an all-out fight for economic justice and organized labor must help lead this charge.

The national labor movement seeks national health care, extended unemployment compensation benefits, safer working conditions, fair trade laws and an aggressive U.S. jobs strategy. But what is significant about your efforts is you're not just seeking those things for your own members. You're seeking those for every worker in this country. And we need them for every worker in this country. Time is getting away from us.

In this state, we see it perhaps in the most severe way. When people are out on the street and homeless women are reduced to holding up signs begging for money from passing cars to get enough money to eat or to try to get in out of the cold, it's wrong. It doesn't have to be that way. And we can change it, but we've got to fight, we've got to stand up and fight — fight like we did in Pennsylvania and fight in every

other one of the 49 states. And the people who don't want extended unemployment benefits ought to be thrown out next November. They ought to be thrown out of office. (Applause)

It was 30 years ago that John Kennedy said to us on his first day as president: "With a good conscience our only sure reward — and history, the final judge of our deeds — let us go forward to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth, God's work must truly be our own."

He was right. That work is our own. That's why you're here in this convention. People are hurting. Our economic future is in real jeopardy. We're not meeting America's basic human needs. Yes, God's work is our own. It's the heart of your human agenda and your mission. So let us ask his blessing and guidance as we summon the strength and the solidarity to meet what is truly an epic challenge.

I say to you that right makes might, and we've got a year to get this job done, to take this country back and put it in the hands of the people. So let us pledge today in this convention hall that when we leave here, we're going to go out of here in behalf of this program and devote that time over the next year to win back the presidency for the American people, with a new Democratic president who will fight to put this program in place. Thank you very much. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Thank you, Don Riegle, for your remarks and for your role in the United State Senate.

We'll resume discussion of Resolution No. 2. The delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT JOHN N. STURDIVANT, American Federation of Government Employees: Thank you, Mr. President. Brothers and sisters, I rise in support of this resolution. I think it is a good statement. As I go around this country meeting with the members of AFGE, and not only with just the members of AFGE, but the people we serve — the elderly, workers, all of those individuals who are constituents of the types of services that we provide — there is no issue, there is no single issue that is more on the minds of the citizens and the people I have come in contact with in this country than health care. That is the issue.

Mr. Chairman, I am proud to be a member of the labor movement that is carrying this issue to the forefront of this country. I am proud that we have taken this issue. We've got it on the front of the agenda, on the top of the agenda, and I am proud that we're doing that.

I'm also proud to see in the resolution, Mr. President, that the resolution calls on the federal government as an employer to provide

proper health care for its employees. And we think that this is important, because before the federal government can become involved in health care for the rest of the citizens, then as an employer it ought to be able to provide a good health care program for its employees.

The federal employee health plan, Mr. President, has all of the elements of the battle that we in the labor movement are going to have to fight — greedy providers, entrenched interests, entrenched insurance companies and individuals who are more concerned with the status quo than with change.

Next year, brothers and sisters, the administration is going to have to show its hand on health care, because next year the administration is going to have to come forward with a plan to reform the federal employee health benefits program. And that is going to give us an opportunity, that is the open shot of the battle to deal with the question of health care.

So, Mr. Chairman, Mr. President, brothers and sisters, the members of AFGE are ready, willing and able to join you in this fight for health insurance. We're fired up about this fight, we're ready to fight, and we're ready to go.

But, we ask you to join with us next year when we start dealing with the administration on our health care, because that will be the opening shot in the battle. The same people who will be fighting us — greedy providers, entrenched insurance companies and other interests — are going to be fighting us. So we ask for your support. We support this resolution, and we urge you to adopt it. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 3.

DELEGATE BARRY GORDON, Screen Actors Guild: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I wanted to speak today because I, along with my brothers and sisters in the performers unions, fully support this resolution. But we do want to sound a warning note because I am troubled that my worst fear is about to be realized, and that fear is that the Republicans, and particularly the Bush administration, now understands the value of having a health care program. And so they're going to attempt to jump on the bandwagon, with one toe, but they're going to jump on the bandwagon.

My fear is that this is the time when we should be taking the strongest, most definitive position on health care that we can take. My fear is that the worst thing that can happen for the fight for health care reform is to wind up with a compromise of a compromise.

We have to take the strongest possible position, and I urge you to consider in the near future — I urge the collective leadership of this great organization to consider — the importance of speaking loudly and strongly for a single-payer solution, not some time in the future, but now. (Applause)

I want to tell you, I've had an opportunity to travel across the country. I've participated in something called the "Emergency Ambulance Health Drive," and we collected more than two million ballots from citizens all over this country calling for universal, single-payer health care and calling for it now, and they responded. And I spoke to my members in Albuquerque, in Denver, in Washington, in Philadelphia, right here in Detroit; and I find it fascinating that, to a man and woman, everybody felt that the best solution was the simplest, cleanest, most rational solution, which was a single-payer solution. But the higher up I got on the political hierarchy — and we visited with many of our representatives in Washington — the more I began to hear two words, "political feasibility." I found it fascinating that the only place I heard political feasibility, folks, was in Washington, D.C. The people believe it is politically feasible.

Three weeks ago, I participated in a grass-roots meeting of the Democratic Party of the San Fernando Valley to generate platform proposals. We began to discuss health care. There were only about 200 of us there. No one came with any pre-arranged agenda. By the end of that meeting there was a unanimous vote to support a single-payer system.

It is politically feasible. I urge you to listen to your members. I urge you to listen to the people. At this point they are leading, and there's a spark out here on this issue that can re-ignite the labor movement as nothing else has done. Let's not diminish that spark.

This isn't a liberal issue or a conservative issue. This is a human issue. Let's take hold of it and run with it, and use it, and use it all the way until 1992, when we get a president who isn't going to veto anything we put forward. (Applause)

DONAHUE: The Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 2.

VICE PRESIDENT MORTON BAHR, CWA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm president of the Communications Workers of America. My union is no stranger to the battle to preserve health care at the bargaining table. As many know, in 1989, 40,000 of our members and 20,000 of IBEW members were on the street for 17 weeks, just to protect what we negotiated over the previous 30 years. Our employers have learned to expect that we will not tolerate cost-shifting; and so, recognizing that not a union nor a company on their own can fix this

problem, we have formed a health care coalition of 16 telephone companies representing four and a half million consumers in every state in this union, along with IBEW and CWA, to work for a national solution.

But now we're seeing an onslaught against retiree health. Companies under the cover of the new regulations being opposed by the Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB) which simply calls on them to show on their financial records their future obligations for pensioners' health care—are using that as a weapon to try and reduce and eliminate health care for those who need it the most, people in retirement.

And a recent report indicates that one-half of the Fortune 500 companies have already eliminated or are in the process of eliminating health care for retirees.

Senator Kennedy said it clearly — “Band-aid approaches do not work.” Now is the time for reform.

We know the statistics. One-third of the American people either have no health care or are in a position where one serious illness wipes out their total savings and puts them into virtual bankruptcy.

I participated in the Emergency Health Care Rally of those ambulances that left the West Coast, which President Gordon just spoke about. On September 21st, I attended a rally in St. Louis where three ambulances loaded with these pledge cards came, on their way to Washington, and I was the featured speaker. But I thought I knew all of the problems of the people who have fallen through the safety net; but I can tell you, we don't know them all.

I listened to an auto mechanic who is self-employed, who had suffered a heart attack a couple of years earlier, was fully recovered and back at work, and he finally found an insurance company to cover him, at \$7,000 a quarter.

I listened to a young woman in her 20s who contracted cancer as a child and was in remission; but since she was no longer under her parents' health care, she had been on the public dole because she could not get any health care insurance on her own.

And, then, we listened to the president of the St. Louis chapter of Multiple Sclerosis, who pointed out that this dreadful disease usually hits people just about the time they leave their parents' coverage at the age of 18 to 21, if they're lucky enough that their parents still had it.

And so we really don't know. We're seeing the tip of the iceberg of the tragedies that are hitting American families; and when you multi-

ply this thousands of times a day, you begin to realize that time is running out for thousands of our fellow citizens.

And I suggest to you that merely voting for this resolution is insufficient. We've got to mobilize our members to make sure they understand the true fight. Many of them still enjoy their health care, and after collective bargaining, we save it for them, they tend to go back to sleep. We have to let them know that there is no time for sleep. Each one has got to contact their members of the House and Senate and let them know very plainly, if you're not with us on this issue, we're not going to be with you on Election Day. Thank you. (Applause)

DONAHUE: The Chair recognizes the delegate at mike 1.

DELEGATE ALFRED DiTOLLA, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm president of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees. I bring, also, the assurance that the membership I represent endorses and will fight for this cause. I'd like to remind you, this morning we were told to remember those who came before us. Richard S. Walsh, our president emeritus, was one of those. Dick will be 92 in February. Dick requires the kind of care that can be provided only at a minimum cost of \$200 a day, or \$73,000 a year; and this kind of care is not provided for under Medicare or the normal health insurance policies.

So, let us be remembered in the next generation as those who made top priority the matter of health care that they will be enjoying. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 4.

DELEGATE RON RICHARDSON, Washington, D.C.: Delegate Ron Richardson, an old bartender from Washington, D.C., who for 26 years has been spending an inordinate amount of my time, as I'm sure we all have, on looking at our health care problems for our members. I think a lot of us have realized the difference between us and all the other industrialized countries regarding health insurance, where they're spending eight percent of their gross national product to cover everybody and we're spending 12 or 12.5 percent of our gross national product to cover some folks.

And I think the one word that it all boils down to is that word, profit — for-profit hospitals; millionaire doctors; greedy, blood-sucking insurance companies that pay brokers commissions, finder's fees, consultant fees; stockholders profit; and inordinately large executive compensation and use our money and our members' money to build massive real estate empires.

I'm no longer willing, Mr. Chairman, to contain one dollar in cost for a sick union member to help make The Rock bigger, the doctors richer or the hospitals more profitable.

The most efficiently administered health program in the United States is Medicare. Let's not reinvent the wheel and look for ways to allow the profit motive to continue wrecking our health care program in this country. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Are you ready for the question?

Question is to adopt Resolution 2. All in favor say aye.

Opposed, nay.

The resolution is approved. (Applause)

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Health Care

The nation faces a crisis in health care. We spend more than any other country, have 37 million people without protection and there are mounting threats to the quality of care. If current trends continue at the bargaining table, by the end of the decade one-third of total compensation will go to pay for health care at the expense of wages and other benefit improvements.

In comparison with other industrial nations, the U.S. health care system fails the tests of fairness and equity. Even those who support the current system can no longer defend the excessive overhead and administrative costs associated with our fragmented system.

We continue to believe, as we have advocated for many years, that a unified national health care system with a single payer should be the ultimate goal. We also believe that the urgency of the current crisis demands action now.

As the Executive Council, in a unanimous action, declared last February: "The urgency of the health care crisis for the consumers and purchasers of care and for those who have fallen through the cracks in the current system requires us to seek relief now, without compromising our principles, and to support measures that can be enacted."

That February 1991 council statement also called on Congress to enact federal legislation that will: "Continue the labor movement's long-held goal of a social insurance national health care program, while recognizing that reform may come about in stages. Accordingly, we will support measures that would move the nation toward our goals."

We, therefore, urge Congress to establish a national commission of consumers, labor, management, government and providers to administer a single national cost containment program by negotiating uniform payment rates to be used by all payers, establishing a target for the annual rate of increase in total health care spending and establishing a capital budgeting system to encourage the efficient distribution of capital. In pursuing an effective cost containment program, the federation also will work to ensure fairness for health care workers.

We urge Congress to establish a core benefit package to which all Americans are entitled and to require all employers — including the federal government — to contribute fairly to the cost of care. Any benefit package supported by the federation must include preventive care. Congress also must establish a federal program for those not in the work force. We believe that any program must contain progressive and equitable financing.

Recently, there has been a growing interest in reforming insurance practices in the small group market. While we support such long-overdue reform, the AFL-CIO believes that far more needs to be done and that reforms should be developed by Congress — not the states — to assure uniformity across the country.

The new regulations from the Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB) that go into effect in 1993 have led a number of employers to cut back coverage for future retirees or eliminate protection altogether. Such actions already have drastically increased the number of retirees without coverage, and the problem is growing. Trade unionists believe that the most effective way of responding to this crisis is to reduce the age of eligibility for Medicare to age 60. This would spread the cost of retiree health care over the entire population and would no longer unfairly penalize employers who have attempted to protect their retirees against the high cost of getting sick. We also support the development of a national social insurance program to cover long-term care services, including inpatient, community-based treatment and home care. Trade unionists believe that all individuals providing health care services, including those providing long-term care, should be provided adequate compensation and training.

In broadening its grass-roots campaign for national health care reform, the AFL-CIO calls upon national and international union affiliates and state and local bodies to organize support for our health care principles among union members, employers, providers and community leaders.

The AFL-CIO believes that nothing short of full-scale restructuring of the system will solve our problems. We have reached the stage

where quick fixes are no longer possible and where "voluntary efforts" no longer offer promise.

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We have another video, if you will observe the screen.

(A video presentation entitled "Trade/U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement" was shown to the delegation.)

KIRKLAND: Chair recognizes Vice President Wynn for report of the Resolutions Committee.

VICE PRESIDENT WILLIAM WYNN: Mr. Chairman, we call on Vice President Kilroy, Subcommittee 1, to present the committee's resolution on trade.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE 1

...Vice President Richard I. Kilroy read the following:

Resolution No. 3

International Trade and The North American Free Trade Agreement

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 54, Buy American

Resolution No. 56, Free Trade Agreement and Human Rights

Resolution No. 123, Trade Adjustment Assistance

Resolution No. 136, International Trade Policy

Resolution No. 3 notes that America's trade crisis continues and without the implementation of new government policies that recognize that the interests of the nation as a whole differ from the interests of corporate America, the U.S. will continue to experience a loss of jobs, destructive trade deficits, a growing level of international debt and damaging giveaways of technologies and markets.

Actions that are needed include the extension and improvement of the Super 301 provision of the Trade Act, the enactment of legislation aimed at reducing large bilateral trade deficits, and vigorous enforcement of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act. It also calls for specific policies to deal with the problems encountered by individual industries such as steel, autos, textiles, apparel, shoes, telecommunications, electronics, and transportation.

The resolution states that policies are needed to regulate the immense flows of international capital to encourage domestic production and to strengthen existing codes of conduct for multinational enterprises to protect the rights of workers. It calls for the improvement of the Trade Adjustment Assistance program, and demands it be fully funded to provide adequate compensation to those who are unemployed because of trade.

The resolution states that provisions of the Generalized System of Preferences and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation concerning labor rights and standards must be vigorously enforced, and countries that abuse worker rights should be immediately removed from those programs. It also calls upon the administration to fully utilize the worker rights provisions in Section 301 of the 1988 Trade Act.

Insofar as the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations is concerned, the resolution calls on the administration to reorder its objectives, to emphasize a variety of areas, including changes in GATT rules to address balance of payments problems, trade adjustment assistance, the denial of worker rights, and the preservation of U.S. trade remedy law.

Further, the resolution states that the so-called Enterprise of the Americas Initiative must place greater emphases on debt reduction, insure that import sensitive industries in the United States are protected, and include provisions that directly address problems caused by differing standards in areas such as occupational safety and health and environmental protection. It emphasizes that so-called free trade must not condone the abuse of workers or the environment.

Concerning the North American Free Trade negotiations, the resolution states that a new trade agreement with Mexico, unless carefully structured, will only encourage greater capital outflows from the United States, bring about an increase in imports from Mexico and reduce domestic employment as the United States remains mired in a recession. At the same time, it will do little to promote equitable, economic development in Mexico or improve the standard of living of Mexican workers unless there are explicit provisions within the agreement to do so. The resolution calls upon the administration to include in any agreement provisions addressing labor rights and standards, environmental protection, funds for infrastructure development in the border area, and debt relief for Mexico. It states that U.S. trade remedy law must be preserved, import-sensitive industries in the United States protected and legislation enacted to deny trade benefits to companies that transfer production to Mexico. If an agreement does not contain these provisions, it should be rejected by Congress.

Finally, the resolution calls for action directed toward the goal of achieving a greater balance of trade on a sectoral basis in order to preserve America's vital industrial base.

The committee recommends amending Resolution No. 3 by adding after the third indented sentence on page 3 the following indented phrase:

"The repeal of 'Fast Track' procedures used by Congress to consider trade agreements."

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 3, as amended, and I so move.

KIRKLAND: The question is on the adoption of Resolution No. 3 as amended. The chair recognizes Vice President Bieber.

VICE PRESIDENT OWEN BIEBER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I rise to speak in favor of Resolution No. 3. Brothers and sisters, as we gather here in Detroit this week, I sense that we share a strong mold of hope and of change. On health care, on civil rights and on other issues as well, it's clear that the tide is starting to turn. Especially as I think about the suffering that millions of Americans have endured as a result of mismanagement of trade policies, I'm reminded of a line from Winston Churchill. Churchill once said, and I quote, "You can absolutely count on Americans to do things right after they have tried everything else."

While the obvious fact is for more than a decade now the Reagan-Bush administrations have tried everything else when it comes to trade policies. The result — in my own union we know the result all too well — closed plants, closed offices and hundreds of thousands of lost jobs. But the consequences are far from limited to the suffering of our members and the communities in which they live.

As domestic auto and other bellwether industries have been hit with unrestrained predatory trade practices by foreign competitors and protracted recession, our entire economy has suffered. The resulting damage to our industrial base, the fall in middle-class living standards, the growing polarization of our economy and the deterioration of our economic power has impacted each and every one of us.

What's encouraging is that more and more Americans now realize that it's time that our government start to do things right when it comes to trade policy. It's time, brothers and sisters, to put the child-like belief in a free trade Santa Claus aside in favor of politics that fit the realities of today's global economic situation.

That's what the Japanese have done over the 50 years since they lost World War II. Has their economy suffered as a result? Obviously not.

It's what the Europeans are doing now as they reconstruct their economy for the next century. Clearly they recognize that so-called free trade is like a lot of free traffic. If you don't have a system of traffic lights, of stop signs, expressways and other means to regulate access to your market, what you wind up with is a lot of crashes and a lot of chaos.

And if the Europeans didn't know that before 1980, they certainly have learned by observing what's happened in this economy since that time. It's what Americans are also learning, as we saw demonstrated in Pennsylvania just one week ago today. The victory of Harris Wofford is being widely interpreted as a referendum on national health care, and that's correct. But as several observers have pointed out, an early television ad blasting George Bush's plan to put America's jobs on a fast track to Mexico also played a pivotal role.

I'm not the only one making that assessment. This past weekend the Washington Post reported that we are not likely to hear George Bush talking much about the Mexico trade deal between now and November 1992. But now is anything but the time for us to be silent. The fight on Mexico free trade is far from over. (Applause)

And let us recognize that our voice on this critical trade issue did much to alert and educate the American people. Let us recognize that the resolution we enacted today will go still further to clarify the fundamental choices that must be made about our economic future. Let us take this opportunity to again declare loud and clear that sound, rational trade policies represent nothing less than the extension of the fundamental idea on which this country was founded. That idea which we celebrate every July 4th is the principle of independence from foreign domination in favor of control of our own national destiny.

Let us affirm that idea anew today, and again and again and again in the days to come.

Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The chair recognizes Vice President Sheinkman.

VICE PRESIDENT SHEINKMAN: Brother President, brothers and sisters, yesterday we saw the victims who lost their jobs because they went on strike. There are thousands of victims today who are being replaced. They're not in this hall represented by anyone, and out of sight of most Americans in our country. These workers lost their jobs because employers shut their plants and moved to so-called free trade zones in Central America. These zones are nothing but zones of exploitation. Over 100 million American dollars were supplied by our government to help establish such zones in El Salvador, where 5,000 trade unionists were killed by death squads. And the

ICFTU declared that country to be, and I quote, "One of the most dangerous places in the world to be a union member."

Our money went to an organization called FUSADOS, a so-called non-profit organization to promote, provide technical assistance and money for companies to establish operations in El Salvador. This company put out ads across the United States: "You can have this woman, a woman named Martinez, for 53 cents an hour."

Isn't it something? We've cut off aid to workers displaced because they've lost their jobs because of trade. And 15 million American dollars, yours and mine, were pumped in to provide training for workers in El Salvador. How else can you describe, but exploitation, the free trade zone in Honduras. The factories are ringed with barbed wire. Workers who need to go to the toilet are almost treated like criminals; where women are injected with contraceptives so they don't give birth so that it doesn't interfere with production.

And in Honduras, AID, our American aid program, funds an organization called FIDE. FIDE maintains offices in the United States to lure American companies in El Salvador. They provide glossy literature. Let me tell you what that literature says. When you go to El Salvador where work stoppages of factories are practically non-existent. Where else can you describe but the exploitation in the free trade zones of Guatemala where a woman is regularly punched in the stomach so she doesn't become pregnant, or if she does, has a miscarriage? Where workers are fed amphetamines so that they'll work 40 hours straight to fill orders for American-made factories.

Our embassy provided trade missions to come to Guatemala to establish plants in what amounts to, in many cases, death camps. How else can you describe but exploitations in the Dominican Republic where free trade zones are ringed with barbed wire, and it's not uncommon for workers to be physically abused?

Last year I visited with several of my brothers and sisters of the ILG in the Dominican Republic at the request of our brothers and sisters in the textile trade unions to see how we could be of assistance. We visited the free trade zone, not as workers' representatives, but as representatives of a company called the Amalgamated Clothing Company. I was the president. I asked them what can you provide us. Well, we provide your workers 55 cents an hour, plenty of space, nice plants. I said, "Sir, I have difficulties with unions in my company in New York." He says, "Don't worry about that. We have barbed wire, and the army is only a half a mile down the road." That's the kind of story that is faced.

The livelihood of 20 million Americans working in manufacturing are at stake. Brothers and sisters, the conditions that the workers in Latin America and the Caribbean face is not something that's going to enhance their standard of living, but it is being exploited by American business at the risk of American workers' jobs. The answer is clear: we need international labor standards which are enforceable, standards that provide for free association, the right to bargain and the right to strike, where workers don't have to fear being replaced.

We don't want to lose our jobs here in the United States, but at the same time, we don't want to have everybody engaged in a race to the bottom. And what we need, we want, is fair trade; we want international workers' rights to govern trade between the nations of the world, rights that protect workers everywhere, in the United States and around the world. And we want these rights now. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes President Randy Babbitt of the Air Line Pilots Association.

DELEGATE RANDY BABBITT, Air Line Pilots Association: Thank you, Mr. President. Brothers and sisters, we have all endured hostility from the White House over the last dozen years. The Reagan and the Bush administrations have imposed short-sighted economic and trade policies that have battered every sector of the economy and put millions of men and women out of work in this country. Their trade policies have already given away the farm. They've given away the factories. They've given away the mines. They've given away the workshops. Now, they're cooking up policies that would give away the airline industry.

They want to give away the exclusive right of U.S. airlines to carry passengers and cargo between points within the United States. The right to serve points within a nation's borders is called cabotage. And while we have competitive flights between countries, U.S. airlines, along with every other airline in every other country in the world, has always maintained exclusive cabotage rights to flights within their countries.

But the Bush administration's trade negotiators would like to give those rights away. They've already tried through the back door to slip cabotage rights into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Secretary of Transportation Sam Skinner has tried to introduce cabotage to the talks with the Canadians across our northern border. Even though cabotage is currently illegal in this country, he has tried to introduce it into those talks. And I'm certain that more cabotage proposals lie in the wings from this administration.

And Secretary Skinner and President Bush, they want to do this under the guise of free trade. What would free trade in airlines bring this country? Increased services? Let's take a better look.

Since the domestic airline traffic in this country in the domestic United States is 40 percent of the world market, foreign airlines would get lucrative U.S. routes, while our airlines would get little in return. For instance, British Airways would gain a right to fly between New York and Los Angeles perhaps, while U.S. carriers would get the rights to serve London to Manchester, and that's not a fair swap.

Another strike against U.S. airlines in a liberalized world market is the absence of a level playing field. Unlike in the United States, most foreign airline markets are highly regulated — slots, entry and the very existence of their airlines, and usually monopolistic airlines. Entry into and out of those markets is difficult and expensive.

And add to that fact that most foreign airlines are either subsidized or else they're outright owned by their foreign governments. These airlines can and would charge cut-throat prices to force the U.S. airlines out of our own domestic markets.

You can ask our maritime brothers about the dangers of unfair and unbalanced competition. They're already suffering. And like in the maritime industry, the airlines are a cornerstone of economic development and national security. Consider, in the Persian Gulf War: Could the U.S. government depend on foreign airlines to drop everything and carry thousands and thousands of U.S. troops and tons of materials into the war zone like our U.S. carriers did, like our ALPA brothers and sisters did? Could they depend on foreign governments to do that? Of course they couldn't.

And when the smoke clears, free trade and aviation services would bring a wave of devastation to the U.S. airlines that you haven't seen since we were deregulated thirteen years ago. Even more airlines would go bankrupt and thousands and thousands of more American workers would lose their jobs. And our nation's long-term economic development and national security would be placed at risk.

I urge all of the brothers and sisters at this convention to adopt this resolution, as well as our proposed resolution on international trade and aviation service. We need to send a message to the Bush administration not to throw away our precious economic rights in the name of dubious economic beliefs.

President Bush, Secretary Skinner, can you hear us? America's workers are suffering. We need trade policies that protect and promote American jobs, American business and American quality of life in the years ahead. I know, President Bush, that you spend most of your time

in Europe; but for those of us who live and work in America, we don't need foreign sabotage. (Applause)

I got replaced once by Frank Lorenzo. I damn well won't stand for being replaced by my own government or George Bush.

Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 1.

DELEGATE JACK HENNING, California Labor Federation: Mr. Chairman, I'm Jack Henning, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, California Labor Federation. Mr. Chairman and delegates, we are more than sensitive and more than conscious of the dangers of the free trade program. We, of course, support the resolution. We live in proximity to the worse of their evils. As indicated in that excellent film shown before the debate, we have lost 500,000 jobs on the borders of California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, lost and gone forever; and it's only begun, even under the maquiladora program. The theory of the maquiladora program was this: There would be a dual-plant system. American plants close to the border states, close to the border of those states I cited, would have a plant to cross the border to give a stimulus, supposedly, to the American economy and the Mexican economy. It was done solely for the profit of American capital.

But as evil as it is, the flow is continuing. Before the enactment, before the propaganda agitation by the Bush administration for the Free Trade Act, in California, one of the great lumber companies of the northern part of this state, Louisiana Pacific, has moved all of its log processing plants that once involved the job of the workers in California to Mexico. The Teamsters union — and this reminds us it can hit everywhere, not just in the manufacturing discipline — the Teamster freezing plant, vegetable freezing plant in Santa Cruz County — that's south of San Francisco, along the coast — moved to Mexico. It reaches everywhere.

In the motion picture industry, we have a double-breasted system now. The motion picture industry produces films in the United States under the excellent conditions established by our unions, but at the same time, in the double-breasted operation, they're producing films in Mexico with wages that we would decry and deplore and would never accept. And so it goes on and on and on.

If I may cite Lane Kirkland's observation of some months ago when he quoted an old truth of the resisting American labor movement when he said, "Labor is national, capital international." And that's the reality. Capital can move its money, and American capital has always done it. For decades, they moved it into Latin America; and whenever an American plant was endangered by a domestic rebellion or domestic

protest because of the exploitation of the workers in Latin America, the president of the United States sent in the United States Marines.

One of the greatest of all of the Marine heroes was General Smedley Butler who fought with the Marines in China at the order of the presidency. He fought the Marine battle in Nicaragua. He fought it in Haiti. And in his retirement, he wrote his memoirs and he said, "In Latin America, we were nothing more than the hired guns of Wall Street protecting American capital."

Two weeks ago or three weeks ago, we saw on a national television program what the dimensions of free trade will be for American workers and American capital. The chief executive officer of Ford Motor on a CBS program advocated the free trade program, and part of that CBS review was a motion picture showing the assembly line of Ford Motors below the border in Mexico. Jobs already gone.

As the senator from Michigan indicated, the titans of American industry are already there — General Motors, General Electric, Westinghouse.

The computer system of the San Francisco subway system wasn't made in America. It was made in Mexico, in Tijuana.

When this free trade agreement goes in, there will be an endless, endless flow.

If I may quote President Kirkland again, in his excellent address of Monday he said that "corporate America was flagless," meaning it had no patriotism, there was no flag, no Old Glory that it defended and embraced. It has only the interest of capital.

And if you wonder how American capital can be taken out of our reach and out of our containment, talk to the maritime unions. They've been decimated by the flight of American capital. We have no Yankee ships on the seas as we once did. American capital puts its money into Panama and Liberia, and they finance the shipping industries of those countries, American capital flying under foreign flags, to escape the conditions established by the maritime workers of this nation.

But if we are going to understand and if our membership is going to understand the peril and be prepared to act in a counterattack way, intelligently, we must realize that in this program we are seeing the predatory face of American capitalism existing for one reason only, the accumulation of profit at the expense of anyone who stands in the way. They'll gobble up the capital, the frail capital of Mexico, once they move in. That's one thing. But they'll take from us the sinews of economic livelihood. They'll deprive America of all they can.

When the CEO of Ford says, "We're going there," General Motors is going there, what makes you think that this state of Michigan will remain the citadel and the strength of the automobile industry? There's nothing in the world to stop them from going down. If they can make more money down there, they'll move; and there's nothing American labor can do about it by itself, because neither by personal or collective action can we stop that.

We can stop it only by alliance with Democrats who will stand up and fight for our interests.

There is one advantage we have in this struggle when we challenge this predatory, unvarnished capitalism, and it is this: the Moscow monkey is off our back. (Applause)

And no longer can the economic protests of the dissenter be likened to treason. No longer can the protests of American labor in strong and militant terms be likened to subversion. Moscow no longer exists. That monkey is gone.

And so, we recall then, if we will, the great traditions of challenge that identified American labor in decades past on the knights of capitalism and its encroachments on human freedom. We can do it. In the past that challenge was there to our loyalty and to our faith. In the sit-down strikes of the 1930s, when the UAW was newborn, the American press thundered that the auto workers were following the revolutionary tactics of the French labor movement, which had seized plants; and in that same time, out on our Coast, when Harry Bridges liberated the Longshoremen and the seagoing unions and the united movement of the maritime unionism, they called for his deportation. They called later for his imprisonment, because he spoke in bold language and used terms like this: "The employer class will always be in contradiction with the working class." They said, "He's talking the language of Moscow."

Well, brothers and sisters, Bridges was talking about the economic classes, not the social classes of the Old World with hereditary privilege as a way of life.

Brothers and sisters, remember this: If there is a middle class that we embrace, what is it middle to? If there's a middle class, there has to be an upper class. If there's a middle class, there has to be a lower class; and the upper class is spawning the free trade movement at the expense of the workers of this nation. (Applause)

Again, we can't do it alone because neither by personal or collective action can we stop this movement. We can stop it only with political allies.

We're proud of the fact that we never forget our friends; and by God, it was tonic today to see the delegates of this convention stand and embrace a man embattled and assaulted by the press in every conceivable way. But we stood and gave him one of the greatest ovations ever given by any political figure visiting an AFL-CIO convention. We never forgot what Ted Kennedy stood for. (Applause)

And we never forget our enemies. It's easy to do that; but what do you do with 13 Democrats from the California delegation to the House who shared and enjoyed the blessings and the endorsement of our movement and who voted against us in the free trade movement? What do we do? It recalls the observation of John L. Lewis in an identical situation when he said it behooves those who sup at labor's table to view with fine impartiality the struggle between labor and capital when they are locked in mortal combat.

But by God, we are locked in mortal combat in this fight; and those who are not with us cannot hold silent. They are against us, and we must remember them when we endorse. (Applause)

Brothers and sisters, we have one great reservoir of values. They have powers, those who would advance this program. They are the lords of the economy; but by God, we are not the serfs of the economy. They are the lords of the economy, but we have values they can never buy. We have values they can never purchase. We are beyond intimidation.

We fight for the workers and for a civilized community. We fight for all the abandoned and the scorned of our society. We are invincible, despite their claims to power. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Delegate at mike 2.

DELEGATE NICK BONANNO, ILGWU: I know there's not much left to say after my brother from California. (Applause)

I can stand here and talk about all kinds of percentages. Sixty percent of the garments that are sold in this country come from overseas, one-seventh of them from China; but that's not what you want to hear.

I rise and support this motion on trade at this convention because of some personal experiences. I am the son of an immigrant, an Italian immigrant who came to this country in 1912 who fought his way up as a shoeshine boy and a presser in a garment factory; and he was able to support his son, me, for a couple of years in college; and then I became an organizer, and I went south.

I have four children, and one of them is an attorney. Another has a degree; and that was done by working in the garment factory, the lousy

little garment factory in New York City. That's where it began. That's what we're talking about, our industry.

Some time ago, three or four years ago, I spent a month in Japan as a student — an old student, but a student. And they tried to pick my brain and finally, in a session with the opinion makers, newspaper writers, college professors, the question was asked: Why don't you people decide like we did to get rid of your garment industry and go on to bigger and better things?

And I looked and I thought, and finally the answer came to me; and it was a personal answer. It was a personal response. The answer was that in America we're a very — we're not a homogeneous group. In America, we take in the unwashed, the unwanted from all over the world; and in Japan, you're homogeneous. You're all the same. You eat the same food. You have the same religion. You talk the same language; and when you decide to make a change, it's easy to move. It's easy to get people to move to another job or another situation. But in America, my father came. He didn't know the language, the customs or any of the other things he should know to make that living.

He needed a job. He needed a place to start. He needed a beginning. This labor-intensive, lousy little job was the beginning for him, and it should be the beginning for many others who come after us.

Mr. Chairman, I move that this resolution be approved by this convention. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 1.

DELEGATE GEORGE CLARK, District 11, IUE: I come out of a television factory in Arkansas, and I can remember at one time in our International union back in the 1960s when across the country we represented close to 100,000 employees in the TV or the TV-related industries.

Today because of the unfair trade imbalance that we've enjoyed in this country, we represent less than 10,000.

In the particular plant that I come out of, the employees in that plant could build a color television set, ship it to Japan and sell that color television set to the Japanese consumer cheaper than the Japanese manufacturers were selling color television sets to the Japanese consumers. But there was a problem. The Japanese government would not allow those sets to be shipped in there.

At the same time, our country was allowing the Japanese to dump the color television sets into American in order to capture the market.

After they captured the market, of course, then they bought the plant. And a few years later, they began to ship some sets — ship some of those products down into Mexico.

It's a strange thing. A few years ago in negotiations with a Japanese company, they were crying and complaining about the problems they were having of the cost of shipping parts into this country to assemble the sets here in America.

And I said to the Japanese corporate people, "Look, that's no problem. We'll solve that for you. You move the manufacturer of those parts into America. We'll negotiate a contract with you that will guarantee you that you can build them cheaper in America than you can ship them from Japan."

The corporate people from Japan said, "That sounds good, but it would create one problem. It would create unemployment in Japan."

And I think it's high time that our government starts thinking the same way.

I'm in support of the resolution, but there's one thing that I am concerned about. I hear so much about retraining of workers in America. Retrain for what? There are no jobs in America to be retrained for. Unless an agreement can guarantee us that we're not going to lose any more jobs in America, then I think it ought to be rejected.

We can't afford to lose one more manufacturing job to foreign imports. If this trade agreement is enacted and if we're not careful and it's not very, very tight, we'll lose millions of more jobs in America to Mexico.

Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 4.

DELEGATE DAVID ARIAN, West Coast Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union: One of the previous speakers mentioned Harry Bridges — that's Harry's union. I took over about four weeks ago, so this is the first opportunity to represent the union on a national level.

In terms of the free trade bill with Mexico, we make our money off international trade. Myself, I was a crane driver. After 25 years in the industry, I got to be a crane driver. We moved the containers on and off the ship. That's how we make our money. We've always considered ourselves to be internationalists — hopefully out of principle, but on the other hand, just because that's the way we made our wages every week.

But certain things have changed in the world, and I know our union has to re-evaluate the question of trade, and particularly the question of free trade with Mexico.

If you look at the investment in Mexico and capital going into Mexico, you see the beginnings of the development of the infrastructure, and the development of a series of ports along the Pacific and Gulf ports in Mexico where the major shippers — particularly foreign shippers like NYK, which is a Japanese shipping company, the largest one, and Evergreen, which is a Taiwanese company — investing major capital in Mexico. This will begin to supplement the trade and the work that we presently do, particularly in ports like L.A., Long Beach, San Francisco, and even as far as Seattle and Tacoma.

The world is changing. The one thing that we want to fight against is a policy that just says if it's good for America, American capital or American workers, we're going to defend it, and to hell with what happens to the Mexican worker and other workers.

But one of the speakers on the podium, I think, took the correct position. We've got to be concerned about our jobs, but at the same time we've got to be concerned about the condition of the Mexican worker and what's going to happen to him. Our own union is trying to establish ties. We're an international union because we have locals in Canada and on the West Coast of the United States. We hope to develop a closer relationship with the Mexican Stevedores who have recently been busted out of their union. And I think our obligation with labor is to open up those borders in terms of the labor movement.

Only one or two things are going to happen. Either the condition of the American worker and the Canadian worker is going to slide to the level of the Mexican worker, or we're going to bring us all up together. So we have a specific obligation that is in our own self-interest to stand in defense of the Mexican worker today.

I'm telling you, in this country the greatest thing that we've got to fear in terms of our policies is a successful promotion of race politics. And race politics can be promoted by David Duke, or it could be directed at Mexican immigrants coming across the border.

In our national politics, if we are unable to defeat this race politics, we will never be able to maintain our standard of living, and that's what's coming. That's what David Duke reflects — all whites unite against the rest of society. It's not going to happen, but the tendency is there.

So, I would just like to rise in support of this resolution. I would also like to say on the West Coast that we would like to work with the other AFL unions in a fair trade agreement, and in an agreement that

enhances not only the American worker but also the Mexican worker. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 2.

DELEGATE ED LAWSON, Teamsters: Mr. President, Delegate Lawson from the Teamsters Union from Canada. I want to add just one brief dimension that perhaps hasn't been commented on here today. This free trade agreement proposed is for USA, Mexico and Canada. Unfortunately we have a prime minister that's of the Reagan philosophy that wants to join very quickly in this.

I serve in the Parliament of Canada, in the Senate, and we were treated with the president of Mexico coming to tell us, "Please don't be concerned. This will put together 360 million people, a trading block of six trillion dollars, and you need not be concerned about environmental concerns, safety concerns. What you will have are what I bring, 80 million citizens willing and anxious to buy North American-manufactured goods."

Well, what a fraud. The truth of the matter is there are 20 million unemployed and 75 percent of the rest of them can't afford to buy food and clothing and housing, let alone to buy North American-manufactured goods.

And now we're treated — before we used to have your right-to-work states come into Canada and set up little consultants, inviting people from Canada to relocate in the South. The most recent letters we've received are consultants who say we can guarantee to save you \$20,000 a year per employee if you'll simply come and relocate to Mexico. And some of our companies are doing that. So, it's a very serious concern, and thousands more Canadian jobs are going to be lost.

Now, we're going to try to continue that fight in Canada to also stop this agreement, but I do want to say that we rely heavily, President Kirkland, on the outstanding job that you and your people have done at the AFL-CIO with the material you provided to help us with that fight. I want to say both as an international vice president of the Teamsters, and as a Canadian, that we pledge to join with you to win this fight. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Are you ready for the question? The question is the adoption of Resolution No. 3.

All in favor, say aye.

Opposed, nay.

The resolution is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

International Trade and North American Free Trade Agreement

If America's position in international trade is to improve, it is essential that the United States go beyond its current reliance on blunt macro-economic policy tools. Exchange rates, fiscal policies and interest rates all influence trade. But by themselves they cannot bring about the necessary shift in the pattern of U.S. trade. It is increasingly clear that the academic abstractions of the free trade theory and comparative advantage, upon which current U.S. government policy is based, are not guides to the management of economic issues between nations but a rationale for policies that support the interests of international business. The U.S. government has a responsibility to promote and defend the interests of the people within its borders. Current emphasis on free trade and unfettered capital movements is an explicit abrogation of that responsibility and will lead to the further globalization of production, will enrich corporate elites, and will harm American workers without alleviating poverty among workers in developing countries. Strong new government policies that recognize that the interests of corporate America are not identical to the interests of the nation as a whole are essential. Otherwise, the United States will continue to experience a loss of jobs, destructive trade deficits, a growing level of international debt, and damaging giveaways of technology and markets.

Such actions should include:

- Extension and improvement of the Super 301 provision of the trade act.
- Enactment of legislation aimed at reducing large and persistent bilateral trade deficits.
- Vigorous enforcement of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, which provides the Bush administration tools to address unfair and discriminatory trade practices, can help bring more fairness and equity to America's trade relationships.
- The repeal of "Fast Track" procedures used by Congress to consider trade agreements.

Beyond these economy-wide approaches, problems encountered by individual industries require specific remedies. These include:

- A reduction in the level of Japanese car exports to the United States and the elimination of the gross imbalance in auto parts trade with Japan by the purchase of more parts, materials and components from existing U.S. suppliers by Japanese automakers for their U.S. assembly plants and by increased exports to Japan. The administration should insist that the Japanese facilities raise their local sourcing, as European nations have done. The growing problem of auto and parts imports from low-wage countries such as Korea and Mexico also must be addressed. Furthermore, a substantial increase in North American value should be required for vehicles to qualify for duty-free treatment under the U.S.-Canada Auto Pact and the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).
- Policies must be implemented to bring some order and stability to trade in textiles, apparel, and shoes.
- Legislation to extend the authority to enforce the Voluntary Restraint Agreements (VRAs) on steel mill products and machine tools.
- Strong action to address the trade problems of the telecommunications industry. Imports of telecommunications products have inundated the American market while foreign markets continue to restrict American-made goods. The Omnibus Trade Act provides the administration the authority to address this issue and that authority should be utilized fully.
- Policies to maintain and re-establish domestic electronic and television industries.
- Policies to assure that a significant portion of U.S. raw materials destined for export, such as grains and logs, are processed in this country.
- To revive the U.S. maritime industry, legislation is needed to substantially increase the portion of cargo carried in U.S.-flag ships and to ensure a strong U.S. shipbuilding base, thereby enhancing national security. Further, immediate action is necessary to eliminate foreign barriers to U.S. transport carriers involved in international commerce, as well as unfair trade practices in the shipbuilding industry.
- The prohibition of Alaskan crude oil exports should be maintained, and domestic carriage of the oil retained for U.S.-flag vessels. The U.S. merchant marine should be given a more important role in providing auxiliary services for the U.S. Navy. The United States should ratify the UNCTAD code for liner

conferences to help the domestic shipping industry attain a more equitable share of cargo generated by U.S. trade.

- Policies and appropriate action are needed to stem the export of office and other service-sector jobs.

In addition to individual industry requirements, other trade-related measures are necessary. Specifically:

- The Trade Adjustment Assistance program should be extended and fully funded to provide adequate compensation to those unemployed because of trade, to improve training, job search, and relocation aid for displaced workers and to permit supplier workers to be covered under this program. Funding should be provided through the allocation of existing tariff revenues or the imposition of an import surcharge.
- The export of capital, technology, and price-sensitive items that damages the U.S. economy should not be promoted. The transfer of U.S. technology must be controlled to assure continued technological advances, competitive advantage for domestic production and national security. Export-Import Bank funding, including direct loan authority, must be maintained in order to provide U.S. industry with tools necessary for international competition. These funds should be made available for the domestic purchase of U.S. products to offset foreign subsidies. Financing, however, should not be used to develop projects in other countries in industrial sectors where excess capacity exists.
- Policies must be enacted to regulate the immense flow of international investment. Administration emphasis on overseas investment by American firms must be redirected and legislation enacted to require the disclosure and monitoring of foreign investors in the United States.
- Tax loopholes and incentives for multinational companies to move abroad — including the tax deferral privilege and the foreign tax credit — should be ended.
- Provisions of the tariff schedules that reduce tariffs on products containing parts produced in the United States should be repealed.
- The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a government agency that insures private investment abroad, should be restructured. Worker rights provisions should be enlarged and regulations protecting domestic production and employment vigorously enforced.

- Bilateral investment treaties must be carefully reviewed by the Senate to insure that protection for workers is included and domestic production not harmed.
- Existing codes of conduct for multinational enterprises must be strengthened to protect the rights of workers employed by these firms and to provide effective remedies when those rights are denied. Rapid progress in this area is particularly important in light of the strong growth of foreign direct investment in the United States. Subsidiaries of multinational corporations operating in this country must demonstrate the highest respect for the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively.
- To prevent countries from seeking to attract industry through the exploitation of workers, international agreements are needed to improve labor standards. In pursuit of that goal, the United States should fully utilize the worker rights provision in Section 301 of the 1988 Trade Act, to penalize those countries where basic rights and standards are denied. Provisions of the Generalized System of Preferences concerning labor rights must be vigorously enforced, and countries that abuse worker rights should be immediately removed from the program. The persistent use of child labor must be addressed through the enactment of legislation that would prohibit imports of products produced by children, with stiff criminal penalties for violators of that ban.
- Most-favored-nation status for China should be revoked. The United States should no longer support the Chinese government's repression of its own citizens.
- The Foreign Trade Zone Act of 1938 should be repealed. Any exemption from this nation's trade laws must be proven on a case-by-case basis. At minimum, manufacturing operations should be prohibited within such zones.
- The Buy America Act should be strengthened to insure public funds are used to purchase domestic goods and services. Similarly, the Defense Production Act should be amended to limit the production of weapon systems to U.S. manufacturing.
- The United States should end its support of loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that require the borrowing countries to curb imports and push exports to pay their debts. In place of this approach, which has harmful repercussions on the United States and other economies, the IMF should be urged to promote balanced growth in both borrowing and lending countries. It is also necessary for the IMF, in constructing any economic program, to consult closely with the trade unions in the

affected country in order to mitigate any harm to workers. Central to this goal is a solution to the debt crisis of developing countries. It is essential for private banks to substantially write down the value of loans and provide interest rate reductions.

- Concerning the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, the administration should place greater emphasis on debt reduction, ensure that import-sensitive industries in the United States are protected and negotiate provisions that directly address problems caused by differing regulatory standards such as occupational safety and health or environmental protection. So-called free trade should not condone the abuse of workers and the environment.

Priorities in Uruguay Round

The administration's objectives in the current Uruguay Round of negotiations on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) should be reordered to emphasize the following areas:

- GATT instruments that permit trade restrictions to safeguard balance of payments should be reformed to directly address the U.S. deficit. The massive current account imbalances that exist today are harmful to the United States and threaten the viability of the international trading system. It is therefore appropriate for GATT to establish mechanisms that can help bring about the gradual reduction of those imbalances through the application of trade policy.
- GATT rules must be amended to include provisions that would address trade advantages gained by the denial of worker rights or the maintenance of repressive working conditions. Competitive advantage in trade should not be derived from the denial of the right to freedom of association, the refusal to insure a safe work environment, the exploitation of child labor or other reprehensible practices.
- The inadequacies of the GATT safeguard procedures need to be addressed. The United States should concentrate on exposing trade restrictive measures employed throughout the world and should develop procedures for negotiating agreements that would bring some order and stability to trade in import-sensitive products, as well as products and commodities where worldwide excess capacity exists.

- The disadvantage faced by U.S. producers as a result of current GATT rules on border tax adjustment should be eliminated by means of appropriate changes to the GATT.
- Solutions to the serious problems faced by U.S. industry in the area of counterfeiting need to be found.
- Tariffs should be maintained for import-sensitive industries.
- Essential protections for the textile and apparel industry must be maintained.
- GATT rules must be amended to permit the imposition of an import fee to fund trade adjustment assistance programs.
- Under no circumstances, should the United States accept any weakening of U.S. trade remedy law, particularly Section 301, Section 337, and the anti-dumping and countervailing duty status.

North American Free Trade Agreement

The AFL-CIO believes that a new trade agreement with Mexico, unless carefully structured, will only encourage greater capital outflows from the United States, bring about an increase in imports from Mexico, and reduce domestic employment as the United States remains mired in a recession. At the same time, it will do little to promote equitable economic development in Mexico or improve the standard of living of the vast majority of Mexican citizens unless there are explicit provisions within the agreement to do so.

What is at stake is not more or less trade with Mexico, but the nature and quality of that trade. A bad trade agreement for the United States would result in less job creation, less productivity increases, and regression in environmental and other social standards. For Mexico, it could well reduce that country's comparative advantage to simply cheap labor, turning Mexico's economy into one large export platform, sacrificing balanced and equitable economic development.

A vivid illustration of what will result from an ill-conceived trade agreement can be found in the operation of the so-called maquiladora program. During the 1980s, U.S. companies invested hundreds of millions of dollars in Mexico to produce goods that are exported to the United States. The exodus of manufacturing facilities from the United States to Mexico has left hundreds of thousands of American workers jobless and their communities in economic disarray. Meanwhile, some 500,000 Mexicans work for substandard wages and under substandard working conditions, producing products destined almost entirely for the U.S. market. In addition, many of these maquiladora plants pose a

serious threat to those living on both sides of the border, through the release of toxic waste into the air, water, and soil.

Negotiations, if properly oriented, provide an opportunity to begin to solve these serious problems for people in both countries. If they remain narrow in scope — relying solely on so-called free market mechanisms, to simply expand existing patterns of trade and investment — these problems will only grow.

The following elements are among those that the AFL-CIO believes must be addressed if a new trade agreement is to be successful:

- Provisions must be included in any trade agreement whereby infractions of labor rights or workplace standards in production for export can be addressed by trade actions by any of the three countries. Areas that should be dealt with by these provisions include the right to organize and bargain collectively, strong workplace health and safety standards, an appropriate minimum wage structure and the elimination of child labor.
- This negotiation also provides the opportunity to creatively address the huge differential in wage levels among the three countries by encouraging an increase in compensation for Mexican workers. This is particularly important for those who are employed by U.S. companies exporting to this market. It is clear that current levels of compensation for these workers have no relationship to their productivity.
- An agreement must contain provisions to address the existing environmental degradation of the border area, and provide funds for increased enforcement of environmental laws and regulations in all three countries. It is essential that an agreement specifically permit trade actions to address violations of environmental standards.
- The AFL-CIO believes that there should be no change in current U.S. trade remedy law, including safeguards, subsidies, dumping, Section 301, and Section 337.
- Legislation should be enacted that would deny trade benefits to companies that transfer production to Mexico.
- Funds must be provided to improve the infrastructure of the border area, including sewers, water, electricity, and adequate housing and schools.
- An agreement should provide additional debt relief for Mexico so that it can begin investing at home to improve the standard of living of its people.

- Protections for import sensitive industries in the United States must be part of an agreement.
- Tough rules of origin — with content requirements of at least 80 percent — must be negotiated so that other countries cannot take advantage of the agreement and tranship goods through Mexico or Canada into the U.S. market. For textile and apparel products, a 100 percent rule of origin should be negotiated.
- The establishment of an adequately funded trade adjustment assistance program with reasonable eligibility standards to provide real help to those who are displaced, including income maintenance, special health care protection, and worker retraining.
- An agreement that does not address these elements should be rejected by Congress.

A New Policy

It is essential the United States construct a more realistic framework for coordinating world trade relationships. The huge trade imbalances that exist today cannot continue. Other countries have dealt more effectively with international trade to promote their own industrial development and employment. Negotiations and national action should be directed at the goal of achieving greater balance in trade on a sectoral level in order to preserve America's vital industrial base.

Reliance on trade liberalization alone will not achieve this goal. It is time for the United States to realize that economic relations between nations are becoming increasingly complicated. While commerce today is indeed global, social protection and regulation — factors that are necessary to humanize the market and help promote a more equitable distribution of its benefits — remain the responsibility of national governments. This conflict needs to be resolved if trade is to expand and benefit the greatest number of people.

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KIRKLAND: Six years ago this body directed the Federation to develop a program of consumer benefits and services for union members outside of collective bargaining. That resolution led to the creation of the Union Privilege Programs. While this program is still relatively young, it has already touched the lives of millions of members.

More recently, Union Privilege has developed a mortgage program to make it easier for union members to realize the dream of home ownership. In just six months the program has counseled more than

60,000 union members, and has delivered more than 100 million dollars in mortgage commitments. (Applause)

The Union Member Mortgage Program includes special features designed to reduce the barriers to home ownership for first-time buyers. I now call on Vice President Bill Wynn to make a special presentation to one of the participants in this new program.

Vice President Wynn.

Union Privilege Awards

VICE PRESIDENT WYNN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This is truly an honor for me. I want to applaud you, Lane, and the Union Privilege Benefit Program for providing this great benefit.

The people that I am about to present to this convention are typical Americans — two-family earners, couldn't buy a home, couldn't realize the American dream had it not been for this program. Both hard workers tried to save their money to purchase a home, but even with two incomes, that was impossible without this program.

So, at this time I would say to you, the UFCW is particularly proud, Lane, that the first recipient of this mortgage program, the Union Member Mortgage Program, is a member of Local 1099, Cincinnati, Ohio, UFCW — Sheila Williams. Sheila and her husband, David Williams. (Applause)

Let me tell you what this plaque says. First, it has the UFCW logo. And it says, "Union Member Mortgage, the American Dream Award, presented to Sheila and David Williams, in recognition of being the first union member in the nation to purchase a home through the Union Member Mortgage First-Time Buyer Program. Presented November 12, 1991." (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President Jack Joyce for a presentation.

JOYCE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters. We're going to be now making a presentation to one of the other first union members to purchase a home through the Union Member Mortgage Program. I'd like to make it clear how pleased we are that we were able to participate in this program. As President Kirkland pointed out in his comments, these are relatively new benefits, but we've already found in our own organization that they've played a very valuable and important role in assisting us in a very important cause.

Obviously, one of the most important objectives of the labor organization today is to grow — grow not only in terms of absolute members,

but in terms of the percentage of the workforce recognized. And there are two sides of that coin. One side, obviously, is recruiting new members. But the other, equally important side, certainly in construction, is being able to keep those members that you have brought into your organization when work dries up, as it does periodically in construction.

We, as an organization, have been growing when work was doing well. But when the nation tumbled into the current recession, depression that exists in construction in some areas, we began to show initially very high membership declines. But once we begin to energetically and intensively push the Union Privilege Program, we noticed that our membership decline slowed down dramatically.

So, if Brother McClanahan is with us at this point, we can present the plaque to him. (Applause)

Lane, would you like to join us in this presentation. I'm happy to point out that the seal of the Bricklayers is on this one, Bill, although it's going to a native of your own hometown, South Bend.

Al, it reads, "Union Member Mortgage American Dream Award presented to Al McClanahan in recognition of being the first union member in the nation to purchase a home through the Union Member Mortgage First-Time Buyers Program." Congratulations. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: This afternoon's session will be devoted to the presidential candidates forum. A different stage arrangement means that the Executive Council members who sit up here should all take their seats with their delegations. Trade and Industrial Department offices, fraternal delegates and staff should find seats on the convention floor.

On October 25th, I wrote to all affiliates that the candidates will be guests in our hall, and there should be no demonstrations, signs, hats and so forth. The forum, like the rest of the convention, will be open to the press. Any demonstration in support of a specific candidate will make it appear that at least some union leaders are not prepared to wait for the views of their membership.

The candidates forum allows our delegates to view the candidates. But the forum's primary purpose is to produce a videotape that can be distributed throughout the Federation so that individual members can make their preference known to their local and international unions leading to the consideration of whether or not this movement will make an endorsement in the primaries.

Because of the importance of the timing, I would urge you in the strongest terms to please be in your seats by 2:15 this afternoon so that we can start this on time and carry it through on schedule.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Donahue for reports.

DONAHUE: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Late Resolutions would request the unanimous consent of the delegates to accept, as a late resolution, a resolution that would be numbered 202, "The Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation: It's Time to Declare War Against RAC." The resolution is introduced by delegates of the United Steelworkers. I move acceptance of the resolution for the consideration of the committee and the convention.

On behalf of the convention, I want to simply acknowledge the receipt of the report filed for the year 1990-91 by the International Labor Communications Association, which report details the activities of the association during the last two years. The report notes the election of Leo Canty, editor for the Connecticut Federation of Teachers, as president of ILCA; and Susan Phillips, editor of UFCW Action, as secretary-treasurer of ILCA.

This report will be inserted into the proceedings and be a part of the record of this convention.

Report of The International Labor Communications Association

During the past two years, International Labor Communications Association has continued to function as an instrument of support for the goals of both the AFL-CIO and the CLC.

ILCA intensified its efforts — through both the print and electronic media — to assist the Federation in reaching its goal of improving the labor movement's communications as described in the document, "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions."

ILCA in 1991 has a membership of nearly 800 publications and radio and television outlets, all media arms of affiliated AFL-CIO, CLC national and international unions, state and local central bodies, regional organizations and local unions.

Nearly 80 percent of the ILCA's membership comprises local publications. In that regard, ILCA maintains an education committee whose duties are twofold: one, to ensure that affiliates are fully informed on issues affecting their respective memberships; and two, to provide training in the necessary skills which will enable these affiliates to communicate fully with those members.

In addition to numerous workshops held at the 1991 convention, similar training sessions are held in off years.

Typical of such off-year training conferences was the one held in 1990 in Denver where ILCA met in conjunction with the Midwest Labor Press Association.

The Organization also continues to upgrade and expand its official monthly publication, "The ILCA Reporter."

Working with the AFL-CIO Department of Information, ILCA now provides special art work through the Federation's graphics service.

While increased postal rates and the fiscal, monetary and trade policies of first the Reagan administration and now the Bush administration, has done violence to ILCA membership, the association has come through until now with its integrity intact, its membership stable and its treasury as healthy as it can be in such troubling times.

The ILCA continues to represent the concerns of organized labor in the process of postal rate-setting for AFL-CIO publications and other nonprofit, pro-people organizations.

The leadership of the ILCA serve with counterparts from the Federation on the AFL-CIO/ILCA Postal Committee both as a postal "watch dog" and to represent both organizations and their affiliates on the Mailers Technical Advisory Committee to the United States Postal Service, a high-level body that recommends changes on technical mailing issues to the Postal Service. ILCA continues to support the efforts of the Federations Legislative Department in postal rate and other related efforts.

This year, the ILCA Journalistic Awards contest was broadened and a new category was initiated. This new category is called the Saul Miller Award, named for the late director of the AFL-CIO Publications Department.

It will be awarded for the first time next year to the publication that does the best job of presenting the issue of permanent replacement of workers by strikebreakers.

Once that issue is removed, the Saul Miller Award will continue to be given for labor communicators' best efforts in presenting the whole issue of labor law reform.

To fully reflect the current racial, religious and ethnic diversity of the trade union movement, the 1991 Convention adopted constitutional language that will permit, but not require, the Executive Council to appoint two members to reflect diversity in periods between biennial conventions.

Leo Canty of the Connecticut State Federation of Teachers was elected to a two-year term as ILCA president. He succeeds Patrick J. Ziska of the Machinists Union, who did not seek re-election.

Susan Phillips of UFCW Action was elected secretary-treasurer. She succeeds David Elsila of the UAW, who also did not seek re-election.

Elected vice-presidents were: Fernando Albornoz, La Voz Latina, LCLAA; Robert Chambers, UAW Newslite 1999; Molly Charboneau, Flightline, Association of Flight Attendants; Don Dalena, United Steelworkers Press Association; James Earp, IUOE Local 3 Engineering News; Laura Ginsburg, PED Forum, AFL-CIO Public Employees Dept.; J.J. Johnson, AFSCME's Voice of Council 1707; Karen Keiser; Washington State AFL-CIO; Sam Kirkland, The Independence, UAW Local 1776; Rick Palmer, Local Lodge 141 Transporter, IAM; Antonio Ramirez, UFT Bulletin, United Federation of Teachers; Anne Rivera, Labor Unity, ACTWU; Magda Lynn Seymour, SEIU Union; Fred Solowey, AFSCME Public Employee; and, Kathy Wilkes, ILWU The Dispatcher.

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KIRKLAND: As we recess the convention, we leave you with more music from Solidarity Day. I would urge you to vacate the hall as quickly as you can because we have to start setting up the platform. The convention is in recess until 2:15 sharp.

...At 12:30 p.m., the convention recessed to reconvene at 2:15 p.m.

SECOND DAY - AFTERNOON SESSION

Tuesday, November 12, 1991

The convention was called to order at 2:30 p.m., AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland presiding.

KIRKLAND: This afternoon the convention will hold a candidates' forum. Six announced Democratic presidential candidates have accepted our invitation to participate. This forum will be moderated by Paul Duke, the senior correspondent for public television in Washington and the moderator of the television program "Washington Week in Review." Brother Duke. Welcome, Paul.

As I mentioned this morning, I hope and trust that there will be no demonstrations. Once the forum starts, delegates are requested to hold their applause until closing statements are completed. That is in the interest of both time and fairness.

Please remain seated at the conclusion of the forum. There will be the usual convention announcements thereafter. One half an hour after the close of this afternoon's session, a reception for the delegates, the candidates, and their guests will be held in the foyer just outside this hall. Paul, the deck is yours.

DUKE: Thanks very much, Lane. And for all of you, welcome to 1992 Live, right here in Detroit, because this is the first of the presidential debates that will feature all of the announced candidates thus far for the Democratic nomination.

Let me tell you that this forum is governed by some certain basic rules, and let me just outline those for you. Each candidate will make a three-minute opening statement of his choosing. Then, there will be a question-and-answer period in which the moderator will be the chief interrogator. As a matter of fact, the moderator will be the only interrogator.

I will ask a candidate a direct question. That candidate will have one minute in which to respond. Then, each candidate will have one minute to react to or to comment on the direct question or the comment or the response of the others.

Once all the candidates have answered, I then will have the option of asking a follow-up question to one of the candidates, if I so choose; and that candidate, then, will have one minute to answer.

If a candidate is strongly attacked — and we know that never happens in politics — but if it happens to occur, then I will offer the candidate who is attacked the chance to rebut before asking another direct question. But the rebuttal is going to be limited to 30 seconds, and we have some lights here on the stage, and we hope to keep that under control.

At the end of the forum, each candidate will have two minutes to make a closing statement.

Now, the participants today, one of whom, obviously, hopes to lead the country starting in 1993, are Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska; Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas; former Governor Jerry Brown of California; Governor Douglas Wilder of Virginia; Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa; and former Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts.

We held lotteries to determine the order of the open and closing statements, and it so happens that Senator Kerrey won the part for the opening statement. And now I think the candidates are indeed supposed to come out on the stage. (Applause)

DUKE: All six are present and accounted for and miked up. I think we can now begin. Senator Kerrey, the floor is yours.

Senator Kerrey

The 1991 presidential campaign is about change, fundamental change. An increasing number of Americans are beginning to believe that it is possible and are beginning to believe that it is desirable to change the president of the United States of America.

In part, this is because the president of the United States just doesn't seem to understand that there's a life-and-death struggle going on in America today for working Americans who are facing decreasing income, caught in a squeeze of lower income and rising costs for health care, for housing and for education.

The president, rather than looking out at America and seeing flesh and blood, appears to look only through the lens of a pollster. He appears to act very much like the character in Mel Brooks' movie, *History of the Earth, Part One*, where as the King of France — his aide comes and says, "The people are revolting." And the King of France says, "I'll say they are."

That's the way George Bush is acting towards the people of the United States of America. He stands in the Rose Garden of the White

House and says no to parental leave, no to increases in minimum wage, no to extended unemployment benefits, no to giving strikers the right to come back on the job after they've settled their dispute, no to a woman's right to choose, no to civil rights.

Increasingly, I believe Americans are growing distrustful of that kind of leadership and, increasingly as a result, are saying it's time for a change in 1992.

But if we are to have economic renewal in America, I believe we'll have to change much more than just the presidency. We need to change the way the government itself is organized so as not only to be more efficient, but more effective in solving the problems an increasing number of Americans face. We need fundamental change in the way we finance health care so that health care is established as a right and an environment in which we can control the cost. We need fundamental change in the way we educate our children so not only do we have a sense that we're increasing performance but a new partnership between the federal government and local school districts.

We need a change not only in the way we apply technology but the way we train people to handle that technology so that their job skills can increase and their standards of living can as well.

In 1992 most particularly we need a change of values so that we begin to care more about posterity than we do about popularity, more about the next generation than we do about the next election; and that's why I'm running for the president of the United States of America.

Governor Clinton

For eleven years I have been privileged to serve as the governor of a state that is small enough for me to know by name the people who have suffered in the Reagan-Bush revolution. I have seen middle-class families work longer hours, spend less time with their children to bring home smaller paychecks to pay more for health care, housing, education and taxes.

I have watched two administrations now glorify wealth and power over work and productivity and family; glorify the fast buck over the long haul. It is apparent to me that the central question in this election is whether we will change our national leadership to recover our economic leadership, restore the forgotten middle class and reclaim the future for our children.

If you vote for me, you'll get someone committed to just that, someone whose economic policies will be determined by one simple question: What does it take to compete and win in the global economy?

The answer to that will determine my trade policy, my tax policy, my investment policies.

I know we need a tough and fair trade policy, and we need to meet our competitors on the field of economic battle.

I know we need affordable health care for all Americans, or we'll never be competitive in the global economy.

I know we need a real education president, someone who will fully fund Head Start, give us apprenticeships for young people who don't want to go to college but don't want to be in dead-end jobs; offer the opportunity for all Americans to finance a college education and give every one of your members a chance for a lifetime of training and retraining.

But I know the American people have to meet the challenge to change, too. All of them will have to change to seize new opportunities and assume new responsibilities. And I'll challenge them all: the poor, to have the opportunity for more education and training and help for their children with the challenge to end welfare as we know it; for students, the opportunity to have new-found educational opportunities with the challenge to meet high standards. And if they take money from national service funds to go to college, to pay it back with two years of service here at home as policemen or teachers or nurses helping to build America. For parents, the opportunity to have real family leave and favorable tax policies with the challenge that if they leave the home and leave their children for someone else to raise, they will have to meet the toughest possible child support enforcement. For workers, the opportunity for affordable health care, lifetime training and genuine striker replacement legislation. But the challenge to give us the most competitive workplaces in the world by changing the working environment and working with managers. I'll challenge business that way, I'll challenge government that way, and I ask you to join with me.

We won't always agree, but if I'm your president, we'll be full partners in restoring the middle class and America's greatness.

Governor Brown

My candidacy is not so much about me, it's about you, you, and you, and all of us. Everyone in this room and everyone in Detroit and everyone who used to live in Detroit, everyone in this country, because there's no one person, if we speak honestly, who can come to grips and handle the crisis that's before us. You'll hear proposals about health care and education and national service and jobs and jobs at good wages.

We have to understand something. From the days when hundreds of thousands of people would meet in Cadillac Square in this city to where we are today, there's been a profound and steady erosion of the power of organized labor, the power of the Democratic Party, and in fact, the power of the people of this country.

If you try to understand, and we really face it honestly, we find out that when you look at the power of those who are elected to service, you see that they are in the grip of the power of a fraction of this country, from a democratic system where people had weight in the process, we've slowly turned into a politics where one percent of the population — because of their campaign contributions — control and dominate this process. And as a result of that, no matter what speeches you may hear, when the rubber meets the road, people vote against you. They vote against you on jobs and on trade and on health insurance.

For 25 years the Democratic Party has talked about having a national health insurance plan, but as long as the medical insurance complex pumps tens of millions of dollars into the incumbent party, both Democrat and Republican, you're never going to see a health insurance bill. And that is the essence of the problem. The majority of people are suffering because of the stranglehold, the corrupt grip of the few on our governing institutions.

My candidacy is about telling the truth of that and challenging it. I've said I won't take more than \$100 from any citizen. The reason for that is not because it's easy, not because somebody gave me that idea, but because I can't figure out any other way to cut the umbilical cord — that I have certainly long held onto and what every major politician in this country still sucks on — that umbilical cord to corrupt money that is undermining this country, that has undermined organized labor, and is eating away like a cancer at the Democratic Party.

This is about wakening America. It's about wakening you, when your people vote against you and put a fast track to lose jobs, to move them out of Detroit. I mean, 98 treaties have been passed without fast track. When you can't even have the right to withhold your labor — what made Solidarity what it is, they sat in those yards in Gdansk — and unless you have the power in solidarity to withhold your labor, unless the government recognizes that, then you have no power. And this candidacy is about joining you in taking back your government.

Governor Wilder

I'm glad to be here today and to say that I'm running for president because the country that I love and that you love has been subject to a

hostile takeover, and that was during the Reagan/Bush era. Greed and prejudice have been used against us, the middle class pitted against the poor in order to divert the attention from the real culprit. The culprit was voodoo economics. George Bush coined that phrase.

The wealthiest Americans got richer. They got the tax breaks. The rest of us got the tax burdens. To paraphrase the hit song, the rest of us got the shaft.

A decade of code word politics has made prejudice respectable again. From Willie Horton to quotas to David Duke, the Republicans capitalized on our fears. And yet, let's be clear: they're not the only ones to blame, because you and I know that after Walter Mondale lost the election in 1984, many Democrats began suggesting that the Democratic Party was too closely identified with minorities and labor.

I told those Democrats at the time that they were playing into the hands of those who wanted to divide us. I hope they realize now they have contributed to the climate that we see in our country today.

It's time to start healing America, and we need a President who understands all the damage that has been done to our great country. We can't entrust the future of our country to those in Washington or elsewhere who play at code word politics, nor to those who saddled working America with their budget and economic mess.

Sixty years ago Governor Franklin Roosevelt knew that unless financial and fiscal sanity was restored, the hopes of working America was doomed. Thirty years ago, John F. Kennedy knew that there could be no illusions when it came to fighting discrimination. The next president must understand both of these lessons.

I'm an American, born in a segregated society in the Depression, and I understand probably better than anyone running why the forces of greed and prejudice must be defeated. The past sacrifices and the dreams of working America run right through my veins. And I know the struggle of working men and women, and I know exactly how it feels to be told that you can't get that job, even though you know you have the qualifications to get that job.

The working people of America have the right to be angry. But my life has taught me this, anger doesn't solve anything, it builds nothing, but it can destroy everything.

And I'm running because I want to see this country come together. We must stop exporting our jobs, stop taxing the middle class, stop tolerating a health system that leaves more and more people unable to afford basic ways, and stop favoring nations that use prison labor, and stop sacrificing American workers for Washington's mistakes. To-

gether we can heal this nation, replace greed with equity, replace prejudice with equality, and replace Bush with a real Democrat.

Senator Harkin

Thank you very much. I want to thank Lane Kirkland and the AFL-CIO for having this today.

As many of your know, I come from labor. My father was a coal miner most of his life. My brother Frank was a United Auto Worker for 23 years until they busted his union. So I want you to know I'm proud of labor and I'm proud of what labor has done for America. I tell you, I think it's a darn shame that we have a president of the United States that can say all kinds of nice things about labor in every other part of the world, like Solidarity, but does his level best to destroy the free labor movement here in America.

I want you to know as a candidate and as a president I won't do that because I'm on your side.

I'll tell you another thing, I won't just take your money and your support and treat labor like some illegitimate cousin. I'm not built that way. I'm built to stick up for working people. And that's why I've come out with an economic program to put people back to work in America and give them good jobs.

It means, first of all, getting rid of trickle-down economics. You know, give everything to the rich, hope it trickles down. You know that never works.

Secondly, it means investing our wealth here in America, building roads and highways and bridges and mass transit and sewer and water and energy and communication systems. And I mean to do it with American steel and American products and American labor here in our own country.

It means investing in early childhood education and Head Start. It means a national health insurance program for all. It also means that we've got to stop subsidizing the defense of Europe and Japan to the tune of \$160 billion a year and make them start paying their own tab.

And it also means getting tough on trade and quit exporting our jobs. I want you to know I'm the only candidate for president that voted against sending your jobs to Mexico on a fast track, and I'm proud of it.

I want to say something else too. I consider public service to be vital to a free democratic government, and in the Harkin administration, we won't make public service a whipping boy. I'll stick up for our public employees; I won't stick it to them.

Lastly, let me say old George Bush, he was over in Rome a couple weeks ago, he said there wasn't a recession over there, meaning here, our country. Old George Herbert Walker Bush can't get it right. Born on third base, he thinks he hit a triple.

There are some who say I shouldn't be bashing Bush. Well, I've got this to say: if not us, who; if not now, when? And I intend to hold his feet to the fire and make him accountable for what he's doing to America. And I'm telling you all, this is a tough message, the tough message of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy and, yes, Harris Wofford, that I'm taking to the American people.

DUKE: Time's up.

HARKIN: It is a message of courage and conviction, and with that message I'm going to win the nomination. And with that tough message and your help, I'm going to whip George Bush.

Senator Tsongas

Thank you very much. I began my campaign eight months ago. I was not a politician in Washington looking at the polls. I was a private citizen back home watching George Bush take this country over the economic cliff. I'm not in government. I left government seven years ago.

The basic reality we face in this country is very simple. The cold war is over. Japan won and Germany won and Taiwan won and Switzerland won.

Why did they win? Because they know what they're doing. They have an economic battle plan. If you're a steelworker in the United States, you know that we don't have one; and if you're an unemployed steelworker, you know it even better. If you're an auto worker, you know we don't have one. If you're an unemployed auto worker, you know that even better.

George Bush, like Ronald Reagan, has no economic battle plan. You know, it would be like if Michigan State and Ohio State had a football game and they announced just before the game that the coach of Michigan State would not be at the game. He'd be at a conference in Rome, but would send his best wishes. Then, the university would declare that no more game plans were allowed and that everybody could go on the field and do their best and good luck to them. That's the Reagan-Bush economic plan. It's no plan at all.

What we have to do is say to the American people, enough decline. I grew up in Lowell, Massachusetts. I suspect a lot of you have been there. You talk about economic decline, my home city used to be a

textile capital, and we lost those jobs. And that's what I grew up in. It wasn't a couple-month recession. It wasn't a couple years' recession. It was a decline decade after decade after decade. That's my childhood. And what's happening to this country is that we're going to give our children the same future. They're right now beginning to hear around the country young people saying they're angry because of what we're going to leave them.

We have to have an economic battle plan. Here is mine. There are copies out there. George Bush has no idea what to do, but you have to hold us accountable. You have to say to us, "What is your economic battle plan, what is your health care plan, put it on the table."

We're going to do that and we're going to give you something very good, and in January, 1993, George Bush can go back to Europe, live there forever. We're going to turn this country around.

DUKE: All right. We've heard the opening statements, and I'd like to pursue this matter of an economic battle plan, because the topic that echoes up and down the meeting rooms of this convention clearly is jobs, jobs, and more jobs. And, say what you will, George Bush does have a program of sorts. He talks about economic growth and he has a program to reduce the tax on capital gains, which he thinks would stimulate the economy.

So what I would like to do is to put this question to you now, Governor Brown: Specifically, how would you get the economy moving again and do you believe that we need a new dose of supply-side economics?

BROWN: I think we need a new dose of what I would call a new capitalism. We need a dose of economic strategy that we don't have. We don't have a plan. You don't have a game plan, and you don't have it. And all the rhetoric aside, I'm going to get back to the basic issue. Unless labor has the tools, you're not going to protect the gains, and even if you create the economic game plan, they'll all go to Mexico anyway, or Malaysia. You've got to have a trade plan. You have to have a labor law reform. You have to be able to withhold your labor.

And, then, in that context, you have to have an economic strategy to rebuild infrastructure, roads, highways, trains, the waterworks, schools. You need all that stuff, everything that Harkin said and everything that everyone else says.

But you need one more thing. The incumbent leadership — and this can be real harsh, but it's true — is bought and paid for by the very interests that are destroying this country and destroying you. And unless we challenge them, the economics are always going to be turned around. That's why you lost on fast track. That's why you lose on labor

law reform. You must cut the umbilical cord to the corrupt status quo. Then, you invest, and then you people finally win.

DUKE: Okay. I want to ask all of you to hold your comments to the questions to one minute, as was agreed to in the discussions beforehand. Governor Wilder.

WILDER: I think that the only plan that I've heard to speak to putting money out there is my plan. I call it "Put America First Plan," and it deals with realities. We need to stimulate the economy to produce jobs.

How do you do it? We've been borrowing from Social Security, borrowing from the Highway Trust Funds and borrowing from everybody else. My plan would call for \$50 billion right away to be put into starting up our economy, right away, by cutting \$25 billion in waste, but finding \$15 billion from lower-priority items on the budget, and \$10 billion I would find from defense spending. That's \$50 billion automatically going right into our economy.

I'd take \$35 billion of that and give that for tax relief for middle class families, tax incentives; and I would take \$15 billion of that and give it to our citizens in our localities so they can fight infrastructure needs and build educational needs and opportunities.

DUKE: Senator Harkin.

HARKIN: As I said before, what we need to do is start investing here in America, and first thing we've got to do is throw out that supply-side, trickle-down economics. You know, these Republicans, they just can't get it right. They keep trying it. They don't understand, you can't fertilize a tree from the top down. They keep trying it. It doesn't work. You've got to put it in at the bottom, let it percolate up. And that's why my economics program that I outlined a couple three weeks ago is what we need here in America, to put Americans back to work.

I talked about building roads and bridges, highways, mass transit, automated roads, new energy systems, communications systems. And, again, it means doing it with American steel, American products, American workers, doing it here in this country.

People say, "Harkin, where are you going to get the money for that?" Well, I'm going to go to the American people and say: You've got a choice. We're not a poor country. We are the richest country in the world. Six trillion dollars GNP, \$1.3 trillion federal budget. We're not broke. It's just that all the money is in a few hands. That's what's wrong. It's in a small pot. And what we've got to do is spread it around

a little bit. Money is like fertilizer. It works the best when you spread it around a little bit.

DUKE: Senator Tsongas.

TSONGAS: That's true in politics, too.

My plan is very simple. No country is great economically if it doesn't have the best manufacturing base in the world. If you're not producing automobiles, if you're not producing computers, if you're not producing parts, if you're not producing steel, if you're not producing textiles, nothing else matters.

My strategy is an investment strategy, two parts. One, invest in human capital, education and training — we've talked about that — so that we have the best skilled workers in the world.

The second part is to invest in your productive capacity, research and development, plants and equipment.

It's like a set of dominoes. The first domino for our country as it is for any country is the manufacturing base. If people are not working making products that are high valued and that are exported, the rest of the economy begins to fall down; and that's what is happening to this country. Manufacturing has to be our focus.

DUKE: Senator Kerrey.

KERREY: I will say five things quickly. First of all, we need to restructure the federal government itself. It's gotten too big. It's inefficient. It does not solve the problems that America needs to solve. I propose going from 14 to 7 departments. That will make the federal government an awful lot more accountable.

Secondly, we've got to have a single-payer system of health care so that all Americans have health care as a right, so that they aren't penalized for pre-existing medical conditions. The incentives are there like we have with all industrial nations. They increase your job skills. They increase your ability to be able to extract from the marketplace.

Thirdly, we need a different way of getting technology applied in the marketplace. We spent \$150 billion, two-thirds of which is in defense. We need to shift that over to civilian research, particularly in processing; and fourthly, I believe that we need significant investment in changing the regulation and the objective that we have for our communications technology.

Overall, I think we've got to try to say essentially that the real wealth in America is going to be created by working men and women in this country. Unless we provide a tax system, an educational system

and an infrastructure system so they can get wealthy, none of the rest will work.

CLINTON: I will say we have three major problems. One is everybody says we're underinvesting. We're underinvesting in public and private funds. Two, we're not competing in the organization of our economy; and three, we're wasting more people than anybody in the world. Let me just address those quickly.

We need more public investment in infrastructure, education and the control of health care costs.

Secondly, we've got to compete, not just tough trade policy, but how do you support trade policy? Other countries have health and export financing. We've got to do it. Other countries do research and development with government help. We've got to do it. Always compete.

Finally, don't waste so many people. We let people lose their jobs here because of crazy decisions managers make, and there's no fund to retrain them. Most people lose their jobs, and they either stay out of work too long or they have to take a job making 30, 40, 50 percent of what they used to be making and there's no fund to retrain them.

So I say make more use of our people. Educate and train everybody for a lifetime. If you compete economically, you invest more and you put people first, you'll win in a global economy. What we've done is reward wealth and greed and let the people who run the biggest companies in this country make a hundred times what their workers do and get a tax deduction for it; and we've been rewarded with economic decline. We've got to change.

DUKE: All right. It seems to me that you've struck a kind of a theme here. You all talk about we need a great deal more investment in the country to improve various things, health and education, to do more to build up the country; but I don't find any solutions in terms of how do we pay for these things.

For example, Senator Harkin, you recently said if we make our children pledge allegiance to the flag, we should pledge to give them education, health care and housing. We can all agree with those noble objectives. My question to you, would you specifically tell us how you would pay for those things?

HARKIN: First of all, that was Bob Kerrey that said that. I want to give credit where credit is due. It's a pretty good saying, I've got to admit. I wish I'd said it.

How do we pay for it? Again, I'm going to go to the American people and say you've got some choices. As I said, we're the richest

country in the world. People always say how are you going to pay for it. But, implicit in that question, it's sort of like we're poor. We're broke. We're not broke. We're the richest country in the world, but we've got to make choices and here's your choices.

It's called a ballot. If you want to continue to spend \$160 billion a year of your money defending Europe from the Soviet Union or whatever it's called, the choice is there. Take your ballot and put it in the Bush box. But if you believe we can take some of your wealth — it's your money — and invest it here in America in better roads and bridges and mass transit and energy systems, better education, health care for all, you take your ballot and you put it in the Democrats' box because that's where we're going to get the money.

DUKE: Senator Tsongas, do you have a specific pay-as-you-go plan here?

TSONGAS: Let's take the issue we've all been talking about, health care. Everyone is going to offer a health care commitment, but where is the package? Where's the specifics?

In the back of the room there are 150 copies of the plan that we're talking about. This country spends \$730 billion a year in health care. That is 12 percent of our GNP. The problem is not that there's not money. The problem is there are 37 million Americans who are not covered.

George Bush says he doesn't see a program that he likes. The fact is the money is there. The easy part is to say I'm for health care for everybody; and I am a product of medical science, so I care about this deeply.

The question is, can you have a program that works economically. I have endorsed a managed competition plan, and I think it's critical, as was said in the early speeches, that you force us, every one of us, to put our health care plan on the table and explain to you specifically how we pay for that.

Here is mine. I think everyone should do the same thing.

DUKE: Senator Kerrey.

KERREY: I think Paul Tsongas is really on to something. I think the health care is a linchpin to try to provide resources, particularly for children. I have a proposal that — with all due respect — I believe is superior to the managed competition plan.

It simply says that if you're American, you have a right to health care. We'll argue at the federal level what our benefits are going to be. I have a progressive system of paying taxes that will pay for the plan

itself so that every American under \$40,000 a year will pay at least \$500 less.

It is an enormous relief on property tax as well. AFSCME just did a study that showed a \$27 billion reduction in property tax if my bill were to be passed. It does not tie people to employment. It liberates Americans to be able to worry about the right thing, and it provides for the first time continuous health care to 11 million children who live in poverty who do not have the kind of care that they need.

DUKE: Governor Clinton.

CLINTON: First of all, I would like to point out that this national government could find \$500 billion to pay for the bankruptcy of the S&Ls — which will cost \$900 billion when you finish paying the interest on the debt — and can't find \$5 billion to fully fund Head Start. So I believe the money is there.

Secondly, I agree with what the others have said. If you control health care costs, you will free up massive billions of dollars in existing federal revenues.

When you take that, plus the second thing I think we have to do, which is to not increase current consumption programs in the federal government more than per capita income goes up for the American people; and thirdly, take the savings you get from the peace dividend, from reduction in defense spending and divide it between paying off the debt and investing in education.

Those three steps will provide the money we need for every program I have recommended for the American people.

DUKE: Let me urge you to hold your applause, if you would, because you're taking away time from the discussion, even though at the end you will be given plenty of time to applaud.

One of the hot topics in labor circles is the going practice of replacing workers — did I miss you? Okay.

BROWN: Why don't we come back to the same point. There's money. This is the essence of my case. Bush gave \$7 billion to the Egyptians because they supported the war. The Democratic-controlled Congress gave \$50 billion to bail out the S&Ls.

There's the money, but there's not the political will because the incumbent leadership is bought and paid for. That's the problem. Until you take that power back, you're not going to redirect the money where it's needed.

A million people left Detroit. This city is dying. It's dying because there's not enough power here. Labor has power, and that's where it

has to begin. Working people have to take this country back. Then we'll have the plan. Then we'll have the investment where it's really needed, and that's in people's pockets and families; and that takes care of the schools and everything else.

DUKE: Governor Wilder, you have a turn, too.

WILDER: Let me, first of all say Tom Harkin, you indicated earlier you were the only person who voted against fast track with Mexico. I didn't have a vote in Congress. If I had, you would have had two votes.

Secondly, I am the only one here who spoke of the \$50 billion being allocated for jump-starting our economy, and told you where I would get it without taxing anyone. And moreover, let me say this: health care has to be affordable, accessible and there has to be accountability. Before you can do any of that, however, you have to get some handle on the fiscal spending in Washington. I wasn't there to sign on to that budget compromise which made us the largest deficit nation in the world.

We keep talking about how rich we are. Then why do we owe everybody in the world the kinds of money that we owe? And why don't we put our priorities first? We can pay for those plans by having accessibility, accountability, and to make certain that it's affordable. The affordability comes, however, in cutting needless spending and getting rid of waste.

DUKE: The moderator will move on to another question. We have talked a bit about trade today. Foreign trade is always a prime topic, particularly in labor circles before an audience like this. There are Democrats in Congress who are pushing for more restrictions on trade practices. But the question I have to put to all of you is: shouldn't the policy when it's decided go beyond what labor wants? Couldn't some of these restrictions hurt consumers and drive up prices, harming the economy in the long run? I'll start with you, Senator Kerrey.

KERREY: I think the answer is yes. I mean, my vote to give the president fast track authority, by the way, was a reluctant vote given the performance of the Republicans the past eleven years on trade, where trade, the object of trade is the number itself.

I believe what trade should be used for is an engine to increase the standard of living of everybody in the world, and indeed, it has been. Very few people on this platform would criticize what Harry Truman and George Marshall did in Europe, and that was to expand economic opportunities in Europe. We traded with Europe, and our standard of living went up as a consequence. In addition to that, we should see trade as a means to strengthen our communities and strengthen our environment. If we have a social contract between the United States

and Mexico, which I am going to argue for alongside with Don Riegle, then in fact we can make trade work for all people in this country and in the world.

DUKE: Governor Clinton?

CLINTON: I feel it only fair to acknowledge that I agreed with Senator Kerrey on giving the administration the authority to negotiate, even though I don't trust them to negotiate a good deal.

We have won a lot over the years in trade. We have jobs going on a fast track to Mexico right now because of short-sighted management, and because we don't have a national economic policy that controls health care costs, trains workers, increases productivity and gives us a chance to have a competitive trade policy.

So, we have got to expand trade, that's the only way a rich country gets richer, but we can't do it on the backs of middle-class working people. We can do it, and everyone can win, if you have someone who has the guts to have a national policy to restore middle-class economics of this country. Then we can have more trade, other countries can win and we will, too.

DUKE: Governor Brown.

BROWN: Just coming over here yesterday I ran into someone who is running a plant closing department for the state of Michigan. He said plant closings have doubled, outsourcing of jobs. What's happening is the power of the few, the people who write those thousand-dollar checks that are financing all these presidential campaigns, they make more profit by going to Mexico. That's the fact. Sure we should expand, I want to expand trade to the maximum, but in the context of an economic plan that is subject to people such as yourselves. As long as you're putting up 15 percent of the political campaigns, you're going to get 15 percent of the action. Unless we can break the stranglehold of that corrupt status quo, then all you're going to get are crumbs of rhetoric. That to me is the most important issue, and I will come back to it on every question, because it is the key to our survival, yours, mine and the United States of America.

DUKE: Governor Wilder.

WILDER: Paul, no case has been made that the American consumer has been hurt as a result of us insisting that jobs not be exported abroad. We have got to have foreign markets open to the American investor, American industry. To the extent that we are constantly being hurt — I got hurt in my own state of Virginia with a plant that says they were moving south. They didn't say south of the border, but they finally got south of the border.

You know why? Because of the cheap wages with them not having the opportunities to protect those workers in those regards as the American worker would be insisting upon. So, accordingly, I think the American consumer won't be hurt, our trade policies can be expanded. You can't begin to compare what we did at a time when the Marshall Plan was enacted with President Truman, because America then was the giant of trade across the entire world. That is no longer the circumstance, and accordingly, I think the American consumer and the American taxpayer is being cheated.

DUKE: Senator Harkin.

HARKIN: I don't think anything says it more clearly than these two ads right here that were in an industry magazine. Here is an ad that was in the September 1990 magazine. It says: "Here is Rosa Martinez, produces apparel for U.S. markets on her sewing machine in El Salvador. You can hire her for 57 cents an hour." September 1990.

Same ad, August 1991, just this August, one year later. "Rosa Martinez produces apparel for U.S. markets on her sewing machine in El Salvador. You can hire her for 33 cents an hour." Hell, next year they'll say she'll pay you to work for you.

The thing is, and I'll tell you, you go out and buy those shirts — you've done it like I have, one made there, one made here, same price in the store. Who's making the money? It isn't Rosa Martinez, and it isn't our workers in this country. That's why the consumers aren't getting a good break. And that's why I say it's time for a president that gets tough on trade. Don't lower our standards to theirs, make them raise their standards up to ours.

DUKE: Senator Tsongas.

TSONGAS: In Europe today what they're looking forward to is Europe 1992. I believe strongly, I agree, we need a North American-South American common market. The Europeans are going to come together, and when they do, we are increasingly going to be excluded. In the Pacific Rim, the same thing.

We have to have a strategy, an economic strategy that reaches out to North America and South America has to be the basis of it. Our future — let me tell this quick story. There's a fellow who ran for the Lowell City Council back in the bad old days. His campaign slogan was: "Help us save what's left." Now that's a hell of a positive statement. This country has only one future. The Japanese know it, the Germans know it. Highest wages in the world, highest skills in the world. We're not going to compete with Malaysia. You compete with Malaysia, you're going to live like Malaysians. We have to compete

with Japan, Germany, Switzerland at the highest wages in the world. That's where the economic battle plan comes in.

DUKE: That leads me to a follow-up question to you, Senator Tsongas. Aren't these proposed trade restrictions really a cop-out? Isn't the real problem the productivity, the need to improve the productivity of American workers?

TSONGAS: I am not a protectionist, I have never been a protectionist. But the fact is, what Reagan and Bush did very simply was, they went to the Japanese — let me use them — and said to the Japanese, "I'm going to take on the Soviets, the evil empire. We need your support. You can have everything else." And they took it.

What we have to do is be competitive — invest in education, training. We also have to say to all our trading partners, reciprocity, level playing field. You go to the Japanese and say to them, "It is not in your interest for the United States to implode economically. There are two pieces to the puzzle, fair trade and aggressively getting your act together."

You know, the old expression in Pogo, "We have met the enemy, he is us."

If we underinvest, which is what we are doing compared to all our trading partners, we're never going to compete, but we have to make them play fair.

DUKE: Another hot topic in labor circles is the growing practice of replacing workers on strike. The unions obviously are opposed to this, but many business groups contend that in this atmosphere of a recession which we have today, or a partial recession at least, that business needs more freedom to hire and fire to make sure that it can meet the efficiency that management needs.

What is your opinion? There is a bill which is now before Congress, and what is your opinion about whether we need this bill or not, Governor Clinton?

CLINTON: I think we do need it. I don't think it's fair to say workers have a right to strike and say that means the right to lose your job. And business knows it's not there, because they had the legal right to do it for thirty years and never used it.

When was it used? When the Reagan-Bush era dawned and they were told that basically wealth and power counts more than work and productivity. Business knows it, but to be further fair, business feels the pressure, that they need to use this more now because this is the only country in the world without an economic strategy to compete and win.

You give affordable health care and control health care costs for business, you give systematic training so we're the best-trained people in the world, you revolutionize the workplace for productivity and give us striker replacement legislation, we'll protect workers and still compete and win in the world economy. That's what we ought to do.

DUKE: Governor Brown.

BROWN: I strongly support that — and Tsongas is handing out his book, I've got a labor record out there that you may see as you walk out, it's probably the strongest — it is the strongest labor record anywhere in America. I'll stand on it. We banned professional strike-breakers in California.

I come back to the same theme, that what is missing here are the tools, the tools to take power back. We're sitting in a city that has lost a million people. You go to Kuwait, we're rebuilding it. We had a Marshall Plan, and unless we take that same attitude and commit ourselves to rebuilding our own people, that's investment — everybody is talking about it.

That's what we need to do. And there's only one obstacle. I believe it's the system by which we've made politics and politicians into beggars from the few who'd rather move to Mexico or move to some foreign country than invest right here in this country. That's the critical question. Yeah, we can get economic striker protection, but it's going to take some kind of an earthquake, because the Senate Democrats aren't doing it — some of them are. That's what has to be changed.

DUKE: Governor Wilder.

WILDER: It makes no sense for someone to lose their job because of exercising a constitutionally protected right. And for that worker to be put out of work because they're saying that I want to protest against what the grievance procedures are, what the health policies are, and nothing at all affecting that worker's work. And for management, or anyone else, to be able to say, "As a result of your exercising that right, you're fired." I'm against that, that's wrong.

DUKE: Senator Harkin.

HARKIN: In opening, I said something about my brother Frank. He worked 23 years. He was a United Auto Worker, worked in the plant. The first ten years he worked there he didn't miss one day and wasn't late once. In 23 years, he only missed five days at work because the snow plows didn't come through. He's a deaf man, he's disabled.

After 23 years, they brought in the scabs, they busted the union, brought in the scabs and threw him out on the trash heap.

No one has to beg me to be on that anti-striker replacement bill. I know what it means from my gut. And no one, not one person in this audience or in the labor movement in America has to tell Tom Harkin how important the fight is at Ravenswood, West Virginia, to the life of the free labor movement here in America.

And I can tell you this, as president of the United States, I'm going to do everything in my power to pass that anti-striker bill, and you can count on it.

DUKE: Senator Tsongas.

TSONGAS: I spent six years in the United States Senate. I had a 90 percent labor support record for COPE. But I have spent 20 years trying to make the point that what we need in this country is arbitration and conciliation between labor and management. I would love to support the striker-replacement bill, but I don't think in the long run that that is better than forced arbitration.

I'd love to get the support, but I'm not going to flip flop on this issue, and I don't think it's good economics. Labor, management, government has to get together and understand what everybody else among our trading partners understands. We have to work as a team; labor, management and government have to get together and not have a situation where we expend our energies towards each other rather than against the outside.

DUKE: Senator Kerrey.

KERREY: Well, I support the striker replacement bill. I think it's a reasonable protection for workers. I don't think it violates the freedom that businesses need.

But I must say, last week I visited Finkle Manufacturing Plant in Chicago, Illinois. Four hundred some jobs there, high-paying machinists jobs, the Machinists Union organized, some \$30,000 a year in employment. And what that plant represents is I think what we all ought to think about when we're talking about trade and what can government do. Fifteen percent of those sales depend upon exports. And what that plant manager said to me was: "The thing that I need from my government is an educational system that will bring me workers. And only four out of 20 people who apply have the skills needed to be able to work on that floor. And what I need is a government that can provide me with the technological research that I need to stay competitive, and there's nothing out there right now in government that provides me with that edge."

DUKE: Let me move now to you, Governor Wilder, and ask you a question relating to education, because here, too, everybody wants to

do something to improve American education, but the public seems unwilling to pay for it. In New Jersey, as you know, the voters repudiated the educational reform plan of Governor Florio. In Missouri, the voters turned down a \$385 million bond issue to make the schools better. So, how do we improve American education? Do we need to turn more to private education, to some kind of voucher system?

WILDER: What we've done, and I think we should do it on a national level, is to involve the private sector, working with government. I've done that in Virginia, what I call "Work Force 2000."

But we need to start early to get our youngsters with more monies for at-risk youngsters; to get involved with prevention in terms of youngsters who are going astray and dropping out of school. And also, when you correlate health care with education, because they're inseparable, you have to do that.

In addition to that, we are finding our young people who are not going to go to college, we're putting them in a mentoring program. If they're going to go into vocations, then we're going to be with them as far as the mentoring section, the private sector's concern. But in doing that, they'll get a certificate, a degree or a diploma.

Then also, you've got to end what we call a disparity in education. I've appointed a commission to do that. And you can't have equal education if you don't take into consideration where that person lives and the economic status of that individual. You can't hold that against them.

DUKE: We'll go to Senator Harkin.

HARKIN: I agree with Governor Wilder, we've got to start rethinking education. And that begins at birth and the preparation for education begins before birth. That means that we've got to start funding early childhood education, quit trying to patch and mend and remedy later on. Let's get Head Start fully funded.

George Bush said in 1988 he wanted to fully fund Head Start. That's under my subcommittee jurisdiction. Under his proposals he sent down, do you know when we'll fully fund Head Start? In the year 2050. That's unacceptable to me, and it's unacceptable to the rest of America.

Secondly, we need to make the federal government a better partner with our local schools in terms of providing the tools, the computers, the technology they need.

The third point I'll make is this. We need better education for vocational training for those kids that don't go to college here in America.

Lastly, let me say this, we can't be defunding education, overcrowding our classrooms, cutting our supplies, and then blaming the teachers for the problems.

DUKE: Senator Tsongas.

TSONGAS: Tom, the reason that the president did not give you the money for Head Start is because he gave that money to Star Wars. So he thinks that we're better off, we're more viable if we're worried about Estonia invading Luxembourg than we are giving kids viability, number one.

Secondly, the only way, Paul, you're going to convince the American people to spend the money is to make them understand the link between economic viability and education. The way it is now, George Bush separates this. All people care about is spending. Our job is very simple. Economics equals education equals economics equals education. That has to be the drum beat. A president of the United States gets up and says, "My fellow Americans, if we have the best educational system in the world, we'll have the best standard of living." That's where the leadership comes from, then in here is where you will see it in January of 1993.

DUKE: Senator Kerrey.

KERREY: First of all, I must say that early childhood education obviously is the key. And I'm definitely opposed to the use of vouchers. I believe it would destroy public education as we know it and, in particular, increase the "savagely inequality," as Jonathan Kozol described it in poor school districts.

But what is desperately needed, I believe, is a new partner with the federal government, the federal government coming to assist the 16,000 school districts in this country that are urgently trying to reform and restructure, for the purpose of increasing the performance of our school children.

Now, there's something wrong in America with our school system, and the biggest thing that I see is that we're just not committed to be able to get the job done. Our Department of Education, in my judgment, has become a regulatory nightmare, a top-down regulatory mechanism, that almost adds no value at all to our school children, and thus we need fundamental change in that Department of Education if we expect to get the job done.

DUKE: Governor Clinton.

CLINTON: I believe I've spent more time in school rooms, raised more money for education, and promoted more reform than any other governor in this country and anyone else who could be running for

president. We raised taxes in Arkansas, but we've also done it in a fair way. Investment is important, but also opportunity is important. We need full funding of Head Start, a national apprenticeship system for the kids that don't want to go to college, full access to college, and lifetime education and training programs. We need high standards, standards for those apprenticeship training programs, standards for what kids should know, and national exams to see if they know it. Then, you need massive national restructuring, more power at the school level, to teachers, principals and parents, less bureaucracy, and really support for innovative change like public school choice, not private school vouchers.

DUKE: Governor Brown.

BROWN: You've got to fully fund Head Start. You've got to start with the kids. One out of five are born in poverty. You've got to make that commitment to national health care so every child comes into the world with a full chance. You've got to make the commitment to putting teachers at the forefront of our society. That's not true. That's not the way it is today. Their pay and their livelihood and their respect is critical. That's why they have to have the tools of collective bargaining to determine what goes on in that classroom.

And I signed a collective bargaining bill and covered more public employees than any other person in the country.

But most important is the full employment economy that comes from investing in this country. Kids could learn if their father and mother have a decent family income; and that, together with the specifics, will put our schools back in the forefront.

DUKE: We've talked a great deal about the inaction at the federal level; but as you all know, some more than others, the states are in a state of financial crisis as well — rising budgets, rising taxes. They're cutting back and they're laying off people. Now, what do we do about that problem? I'll begin with you, Senator Tsongas.

TSONGAS: You talk to any governor — and my state was one of the first states to go through the recession. What happens is, if you have a recession, there are no tax revenues. The problem that the states are dealing with is that their revenues are falling because the environment, the capacity to have people working, has disappeared. You lose thousands of jobs, people are not working, they're not paying taxes, plants go out of business, that's the problem. All these states and all the suffering that you all have gone through is because the country is sinking economically. You can't blame the governors when the bottom falls out of their revenue base. The only way you're going to bring back the states, and the cities, by the way, is to have a growing,

expanding, economic pie; and that's where the president of the United States comes into the picture.

DUKE: Senator Kerrey.

KERREY: I would, once again, touch on health care. I mean, I've got to address your attention to the fact that I do have a single-payer piece of legislation in that completely eliminates Medicaid. And both the governors on the stage can talk about the rising cost of Medicaid at the state level. No American would ever again go into a welfare office and prove that they're poor enough to get health care, as 27 million Americans now do. It is a tremendous relief to the states to be relieved of that particular problem, plus states would not have to worry about negotiating for health care, as all other employers do as well, and have to provide benefits that are also increasing in cost. Unless you solve that particular problem first, unless you have a piece of specific legislation that addresses the rising costs of health care and gets all of this in as a consequence of being an American citizen, I believe the states are going to constantly be struggling to be able to fund the things that they want.

DUKE: Governor Clinton.

CLINTON: We all know this is hardly a partisan issue. If you look at a former architect of the Reagan-Bush revolution, Governor Wilson, a Republican California, raising taxes \$7 billion and cutting spending \$7 billion, former Republican Senator Lowell Weicker in Connecticut having 40,000 people demonstrating against him because he no longer has a printing press, so they have to balance the books, you see what the problem is. You cannot tell the state and local governments that you've got to create the jobs, you've got to educate the kids, you've got to solve the health care problems, and, by the way, here's less money to do it with.

So, there's three things you can do to help state and local government. One, get the growth rate of the country up. Two, control health care costs and give us an affordable national health care plan. And, three, stop sending down mandates that don't have anything to do with helping us invest in this country and making the economy grow again. If you do those things, state and local government can begin to function again and all of us will be better off and we can reduce the rate of increase in state and local taxes.

DUKE: Governor Brown.

BROWN: States are suffering because the economy is suffering and the American people are suffering, and, still, the budget agreement in Congress is frozen in concrete. You can't shake it. \$300 billion for military spending, taking care of Europe and Kuwait and every other

darn place. But not here. Remember, in this country people were selling apples in 1939 on the street and in 1941 everyone was working. What is required is an investment. That's massive investment in infrastructure, technology, energy, transportation, all the things that are needed, and tax cuts that will target innovation and training. We have the money.

The reason why the states don't have the revenue, people aren't working; and even when they're working, they're getting \$7-an-hour jobs when they used to get \$16-an-hour jobs. That's it. You've got to say the enemy is not over there. It's right here. It's ignorance, it's inequality, it's a low-wage philosophy. And that's what we're all about. But to take it back, you've got to break open that gridlock that's in Washington, and that incumbent party is frozen. That's why I say insurgency is the only thing that will unlock it.

DUKE: Okay. A little long. I must go to Governor Wilder now.

WILDER: My state was voted the best financially- managed state in the South for its size than any state larger in the country. But I'm saying, even in doing that, we balanced our budget. We didn't raise anybody's taxes, not one penny. And, likewise, we ended up with the largest surplus in my state's history, \$200 million; and we likewise had a budget surplus of some \$90 million. But it was tough. But people made the sacrifices across the board. But Washington constantly sends down the mandates and sends down the requirements, and accordingly, we have to suck it up. We can't continue to do that unless we're going to have more management over our own affairs, and until the monies that we send to Washington, our tax dollars, are spent more wisely and more fiscally prudent.

DUKE: Senator Harkin.

HARKIN: I think the first thing we've got to do is recognize that we're in a recession and be honest about it. J. Danforth Quayle was recently up in New Hampshire and said the recession was over. Bush is over in Rome, as I said earlier, and said, "There's no recession over there," in our country. You know, we've got a president who has isolated himself from our people and our problems. We are in the worst downward economic spiral since the 1930s. Now, everyone is going around talking about how to jump-start the economy. You know, when my car is dead and I've got to jump-start it, that doesn't solve the problem. I've still got a dead battery. We don't need a jump- start. We need a new battery. And that means we need to get rid of trickle-down economics. We need to invest in job production here and build that infrastructure. It's been estimated that 60 percent loss of productivity in America is because we're not investing in our infrastructure.

Third, as Bob Kerrey said, we need a national health insurance program that covers everyone.

And I'll tell you, last, we need a president who will get tough on trade. That will solve your states' problems.

DUKE: We've heard a variety of issues that have been discussed today; but even so, the Democratic Party has had tough sledding in many ways in recent years and there are people who feel that the Democratic Party has lost touch with many of its traditional values. For example, that it has ignored its core constituency, the middle-class and the working-class whites, and that it's been too concerned about equality and minority rights and affirmative action programs and things like that.

Governor Wilder — I'll start with you — do you think that the Democratic Party has lost touch with these traditional values and really needs top-to-bottom reform?

WILDER: Absolutely not. It has not lost touch. And that was the rhetoric I was referring to after Walter Mondale lost. Everyone said, "Oh, we've got to go back, we've got to throw out this group and take in more of that group, the party is too close to labor, it is too close to minorities." And yet, you look at the victories that the Democratic Party scores. Where do they come from? Those same groups or those same parties that people said throw out. No, the Democrats haven't lost their way. Some pundits on so many occasions who tell us which way we are going have lost their way. I submit, all we need to do is go back, to regroup, and to bring those same forces that made this country great in the Depression, during the 1930s, when Franklin Roosevelt put us back together, but as a people. And we need healing in this country more so than ever before.

DUKE: Senator Harkin.

HARKIN: You know what made me a Democrat, was when I was a kid about nine years old, my dad took me out in his Model A and showed me a building; and on the side of the building was a plaque and it said, "Work Projects Administration, 1939." Now, my dad wasn't ashamed of that. He was proud that he had worked on that building. I never thought about it then, but I thought about it later when I was in Congress. You know, to this very day I have never yet had a person come up and show me the stub of a welfare check and tell me how proud they were of it. That's what made me a Democrat, is because my party believed in jobs and giving people the pride and dignity of work, and not the humility of welfare. The welfare state they accuse us of building, the Republicans are building the welfare state with their trickle-down economics; and that's why I agree with Lou

Harris, the pollster. He said for the Democrats to win in 1992, they need a candidate who is not afraid to attack the Republicans and isn't ashamed of traditional Democratic values. And I tell you, I might know someone who can do that.

DUKE: Senator Tsongas.

TSONGAS: You know, the clever politics today is to do the same thing the Republicans do, which is to divide. When George Bush put Willie Horton in that ad, he knew what he was doing. He was going to divide this country by race for his own political benefit. And a man who would divide the country by race should not be president of the United States.

We have to understand that we're part of one team. How I do and how you do affects all of us. You know, the Japanese understand this, the Germans understand this. Those people who would say to the Democratic Party, "Turn your back on your traditional core," we'd lose our soul. Why would anybody vote for us?

It seems to me, if we do nothing in 1992, we have to put George Bush out and say, once and for all, that "it's your kind of politics that gives us a David Duke." David Duke is the son of George Bush.

DUKE: Senator Kerrey.

KERREY: He's harder to follow than Tom Harkin. Well, to a certain extent all of us have lost touch I think. I must say that the finest thing that this nation ever did was build policies in the 1960s upon what was then called the Great Society, and a great society said that people had dignity and value, whether or not they had the ability to come to Washington in a Gulfstream and influence the policymakers. And as a consequence of those values, said human beings had much more than just something they could attribute to in a poll.

The people of the United States gave me health care and educational benefits as a disabled veteran, not because I signed up with any politician. There wasn't a politician in America that I liked. There wasn't a political party in America that I liked. I made no contributions, other than to say today that I'm grateful to this great country for saying that we're going to build a great society and reach out to those who are bent low and try to lift their sights up. And we've forgotten how to do that.

DUKE: Governor Clinton.

CLINTON: I think we do have to change. This is the longest-lasting party, the Democratic Party, in the history of any democracy, because we have been willing to change consistent with our traditional values; and whether you like it or not, a lot of the members of labor unions in

this country have been voting against Democrats because they thought we were for the status quo, for government as it is, for dividing up the pie differently, for not changing anything rather than being for change and growth and opportunity. And you always clap when people tell you what they want to hear; but the truth is, last year Germany's productivity growth was three times ours, Japan's was four times ours, and we all have to clap when we're challenged to change and do better. And I have fought David Duke and George Bush and all these other buzzards on civil rights in the South, where it's harder. I'll keep doing it. But you should accept as Democrats the challenge to change so all of us can be part of an American economic revival.

DUKE: Governor Brown.

BROWN: Here is what one of your general presidents has said: "Today the Democratic Party is a little more than a fund-raising umbrella for a self-perpetuating club of politicians who feel a greater obligation to their campaign contributors and to other incumbents, regardless of party, than they do to the voters who elected them." And the best proof of that is that they wait up until the middle of the night to pass a pay raise giving themselves \$2,000 a month more and putting them in an income bracket higher than 99 percent of the American people. You bet they are cut off. Until we can bring them back to earth and put them back to grass roots, you're never going to see a damn bit of change.

DUKE: We're now down almost to the closing statements, but I have another question to put to all of you. We've had some tough things said here today about George Bush. We've also had some tough things said about the Democrats. And some of the toughest things have been said by you, Governor Brown. You referred to the "corrupt grip of the few," the "power of the few," the "corrupt status quo today," "incumbents being bought."

So I'd like to put a question to you, Senator Harkin, for this final round. Do you think he is talking about throwing out a lot of Democratic rascals in Washington?

HARKIN: Well, I don't know. You've got to ask Governor Brown what he means by what he's saying. I don't know.

DUKE: Do you think a lot of Democratic rascals should be thrown out in Washington?

HARKIN: Well, what I think is that the Democratic Party needs some strong leadership in the White House. We need a president, once again, like Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy, someone who can go to the American people, who understands how they feel, who knows in their guts what it's like to be an ordinary,

hard-working American, who knows what it's like to struggle and to fight for their family and to work themselves up from the bottom and know what that ladder of opportunity is about. We need a strong president in the White House to take the Democratic Party and to lead it, not to bash it, but to lead it, to make sure I can go to Congress as a strong president and say we're going to have a national health insurance program by the fall of 1993, that we're going to end striker replacement, and that we're going to provide jobs to the American people. That's what the Democratic Party needs.

DUKE: Senator Tsongas.

TSONGAS: It seems to me pretty clear, Governor, that there are good incumbents and bad incumbents, and I happen to be a supporter of the notion of term limits, not the Washington state proposal, but the idea of citizen legislatures, which is what our Founding Fathers began with. There's some very good people in government. Where I think you're right, however, is that the average American believes there's gridlock between the Democrats and the Republicans in Washington and nothing is moving. That's why I have made a point of saying that I'm not going to take PAC money and called upon all of us to make that pledge, so we can go to the American people and say, "We're free from those special interests." And I renew that pledge, I renew that plea today, so at least at the presidential level, the Democratic Party can make it very clear that PAC monies are not going to be part of our agenda.

DUKE: Senator Kerrey.

KERREY: Well, I say that Liza Doolittle said it best in "My Fair Lady." She said, "Words, words, words. If you love me, show me."

I have a specific proposal for health care with progressive taxes attached, specified in the proposal. It changes the world for the insurance companies. I know Governor Brown thinks the insurance companies should be taken on. I agree with him. I invite him to take them on in my behalf as well. I understand that we need to take on vested interests if we're going to make that kind of change for the people of the United States of America. There are lives at stake with this issue. It is not just a question of offering a program up in contrast to George Bush, who has no program. Lives are at stake in America. I quite agree with Governor Brown. We get detached and disconnected and sometimes forget that we're trying to serve for the purpose of increasing the perfection of human beings.

DUKE: Governor Clinton.

CLINTON: I agree that there needs to be a shake-up in Washington, but I don't think a \$100 campaign contribution limit alone will do it.

The \$1,000 limit is less than half of what it was in 1974 in real terms. What we need to do is to reduce the impact of PACs, lower the cost of congressional campaigns, and open the airways to honest debate. The first thing, Congress should live under the laws that it makes. As president, I won't sign a pay raise for the Congress or for the president until the wages of middle class Americans start going up again. When we do our job for them, we can raise our pay for ourselves.

But let me tell you something. There's not been a time in history when the 535 members of Congress changed this country. If you get a president who will lead and be a firm partner and do the things we're talking about doing today, they would turn this country on a dime, because the American people will send them a signal to do it. And that's what this election is about.

DUKE: Governor Brown.

BROWN: People talk about having a single-payer medical plan so you can cover everyone without paying any more money, and that's true. When you say single-payer, you've just knocked out hundreds of insurance companies who are giving tens of millions of dollars to candidates of both parties. That's my point. I don't come here as some academic. I've been the governor of the largest state. It's the biggest government outside of Washington. I raised \$30 million in today's dollars. I know the whole thing inside and out, and I can tell you, the system is tilted and distorted against you. And unless we can undermine the corrupt strangle-hold that's in Washington now, then all our best hopes and dreams will fail. That's why I'm limiting my contributions to \$100. That's why I support term limits. I want to break it open and put you back in power.

DUKE: I'll ask a brief follow-up question to someone in just a moment, but first I'm going to Governor Wilder.

WILDER: Thank you, Paul. Let me say that the answer to the question as to whether — I thought your question was whether Jerry Brown was talking about Democrats in Washington. That's what I thought it was. I heard a lot of different answers.

My answer is, yes, he was talking about them, and for good reason. Because the largest rising party in this country is the party outside of the beltway. There's a two-party system in this country, one inside the beltway and the other outside the beltway. I happen to be a Democrat, but I'm also a member of that party outside of the beltway. And until you change that around — I hear people talking about what they would do about health care. Well, you've been there. The question is: Where were you and what did you do for all those years? Six, I don't know how many. I don't know how many.

But George Bush isn't the only person responsible for this. You were there, too. And to the extent that Democrats were in the predominant control of that Congress for all those numbers of years, the question will be asked by the American people, where were they?

DUKE: And that leads to my follow-up question to you, Senator Kerrey, because, as the governor says, the Democrats have been dominant. Basically, the Democrats have run Congress since the mid-1950s. And so, the final question: Is the system, as Governor Brown was saying — is the system really tilted against you, the people? Is that how you see it now?

KERREY: Well, it does require a considerable amount of effort to make democracy work, no question about it; and, you know, to say that it's a representative in Congress or it's the president begs the question, what is it that we want to do? And when I lay out a proposal that restructures government, I have already heard from a variety of interest groups that say, "We don't want to lose the special relationship that we've got with this bureaucracy, we're not concerned, necessarily, with what the bureaucracy does, but we're concerned about preserving and protecting this relationship." I've heard on health care, I've heard on education, I've heard on other proposals. There's no question that it requires a significant effort in fighting for those things in which you believe, and there's no question as well that democracy doesn't always produce the right outcome. What we're trying to do, it seems to me, in this campaign is give the American people a clear choice of change, when, in fact, there's going to be only the maintenance of the status quo coming from George Bush.

DUKE: Today you've heard from six of the choices loud and clear, I would say. We now are ready for the closing statements, which will be two minutes long.

There was a lottery here and, Senator Kerrey, you won, or lost, whichever the case may be, for the final statement.

KERREY: We'll find out if I win or lose.

I will simply add to what I've said before.

I've got specific proposals on health care, specific proposals on education, technology, on trying to change our communication system to give us a powerful engine in our homes and in our schools to learn and expand economic opportunity that I believe will fuel economic renewal in America.

But I will also say that throughout my own life, one of the things that I have learned over and over and over is that in order to get something done, you first of all have to know where you want to go,

and then make a determined effort to try to get there. But just as important in my lifetime, either in the military in Vietnam or recovering from wounds in the Philadelphia Naval Hospital, or in raising two good children, or in putting a business together, or winning two elections, once for Governor and once for Senate, I have never in my life done anything worthwhile without reaching out to other people and asking them for help.

So of all things that I'm doing here at this particular convention and throughout this campaign is saying to the American people, I want to put together a majority of Americans who are concerned about their future, willing to put it all on the line for the children and risk it all, if necessary — popularity, the election — risk it all on behalf of our future. If we act upon that value, we will build for greatness in this country again.

DUKE: Your closing statement, Governor Clinton.

CLINTON: I thought I was last. That's what they told me.

DUKE: I'm sorry. I misread. I'm looking at the original order. Senator Tsongas.

TSONGAS: My political instincts tell me I don't want to be last.

You know, if you think about our founding fathers and our own ancestors, our parents, our grandparents, and think of all the sacrifice that was made so we could have this great country, they worked hard. Some of them died to give us America, and look what's happened to it. What George Bush and Ronald Reagan have done to this country is to bring this country to their knees.

This is not about ambition. This has to be about purpose. Our ancestors expected more when they put all of this together and gave it to us. We should have a sacredness about how we feel about this country and not squander it. We're only on this earth a short time, and all that work that was done for hundreds of years to give us America, they gave it to us for this time to preserve it, to nurture it, and then give it to our children intact.

It's not about George Bush or the Democrats or the Republicans or management or labor or liberal or conservative. It's something much more noble at stake here; and whether we as the leadership and others in the Democratic Party can go back and take this country back to its greatness so that we can look at our responsibility to the next generation and we can turn it over to them and not feel guilty that we've given them less.

Our children will be the first generation in American history to get a lesser country than what we had. That is a horrible indictment, not

only of the Republicans, but of all of us; and I think what this campaign is about and what we're all going to try to do is to turn to our children and give them the country, give them an America as great as it has ever been, and true to the ideals of our founders.

DUKE: Governor Brown.

BROWN: What happened to us has been going on quietly. It's been building up slowly, the deterioration in the economy, the corruption of the political system.

I know what it is. I've been in 17 different elections. I know what it is to spend your time principally at gourmet cocktail parties with people who give you a thousand bucks, each one, try to make fifty thousand each night. When you do that day in and day out, you begin to be very sensitive to the needs of those people and the rest of the people who would never think of writing a check for a thousand dollars to a politician. They get lost behind.

That's the problem. I come here having thought about it. I left the governorship in '83. I took two years as chairman of the Democratic Party, raised millions of dollars from all the groups that I'm now talking about; and I saw us lose the governorship. I see our registration going down. I see labor getting weaker, and I come up with — this is my best understanding of what needs to be done.

We have to take this government back. We have to cut the umbilical cord to the corrupt money, the corrupt money that is distorting the process in Washington against you, against each one of you in this room and the people you represent.

That's what my candidacy is. It's an insurgent campaign, and, yes, I support the term limits, because I know we need new blood there. Whatever is there is not working, and that leadership has to be challenged; and the way you challenge something is in a campaign, a national campaign, and you have to do it, each one of you.

Please, think about it. Think what you can do. Your awakening, your insurgency, your drawing together in a campaign of true opposition can restore labor, can restore America, and can restore the future. Thank you.

DUKE: Governor Wilder.

WILDER: Thirty-nine years ago this month I was huddled in a little bunker in Korea trying to stay warm, and I was told that we were fighting communism; and I was wondering why I was there, being sent away from a country fighting for freedoms for some people that were going to enjoy far more than I when I came back home to my country,

to my state, to a school — a law school that I couldn't go to in my state. I had to go out of state to be educated.

Yet, a week or two, about a month ago, I went back over to Korea; and I was able to see what all of that meant. I know what it means now for the freedom-loving people everywhere. I know what it means to me, and I can tell you America needs healing now.

You know, I also think about another person. We speak about our forbearers, our ancestors. I think it was Sept. 3, 1838, a fellow was leaving the South. Frederick Douglass was his name. He was a slave, and he was escaping, and as he made his way north in his quest for freedom, I wonder if he ever had it in his mind that just 153 years later his namesake, a grandson of slaves himself — I was named after Frederick Douglass — would not only be governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, but would be seeking the candidacy for the nomination of the presidency of the United States. I wonder how he felt.

I can say to you all of us in this country are blessed with having so much and so many opportunities. I say to young people everywhere yes, we'll find a way to bring it together. Whether it's health care, whether it's education, whether it's jobs. Once we bring the full might of the American people together understanding that we truly are one nation, one people, indivisible, under God with liberty and justice for all.

DUKE: Senator Harkin.

HARKIN: When I think of labor, I think of my family. I think of my father who spent 20 years of his life in the coal mines, had nothing to show for it but black lung disease, no retirement, no health care, nothing. I think of my brother Frank, disabled working 23 years, a United Auto Worker when they busted his union, brought in the scabs and threw him out in the trash heap of life.

I tell you people don't deserve to be treated like that in America. You know that. You've always known it. That's why the labor movement in America has always been in the forefront of every battle to provide dignity and worth and opportunity to American working people.

Now, I want to speak to you plainly and bluntly. There are some who say that you're the problem. Well, I'm here to say you're a part of the solution. You're the ones that are going to help us enact a tough trade policy to keep our jobs in America. You're the ones that are going to help us enact a national health program to cover all Americans. You're the ones that are going to help enact that economic program I talked about to give good jobs to people, jobs where someone can work and make enough money to raise their family, educate

their kids, buy a home, buy a car, take a nice vacation, retire in dignity with good health care. Those are the kinds of jobs we want in America, and we can do it.

We can do it with strong leadership, and I intend to provide that strength, that strength to reclaim the American dream and provide that ladder of opportunity for our children. So I'm here to ask for your support.

I would be proud to have your support because I'm on your side; and I'll tell you this. When I'm president of the United States, every double-breasting, scab-hiring, union-busting employer in America will know that working people of America have a friend in the White House; and that's all there is to it. Thank you.

DUKE: Now indeed it is your turn, Governor Clinton.

CLINTON: Maybe I should have gone first. I want to make two brief points in closing. First of all, something we didn't talk about is what we would all do if we were president tomorrow to jump start this economy. I think there are some things that can be done. We ought to extend the unemployment benefits. This president wanted to have an emergency to feed the Kurds and their children, and I was for that; but I think we ought to feed unemployed Americans and their children too.

Secondly, I think we ought to lower the interest rates on credit cards. That would put billions of dollars back into the hands of consumers. Your interest rates on your checking and savings accounts have been cut. Why not lower your interest rates on credit cards. Why are they at an all-time high?

Thirdly, we ought to speed up the highway bill. We could put \$25 billion in the economy in the next six months, put thousands and thousands of people to work.

Fourthly, we ought to do more in Washington to help middle-class people buy homes by insuring more of the federal home mortgage for middle-class people. That would revitalize the housing margin, help finance some of these failing financial institutions.

Finally, we ought to have a middle-class tax cut. That's what we ought to do tomorrow.

Now, when I was a kid, I lived with my grandfather in a little town in South Arkansas called Hope. My grandfather thought he was going to Franklin Roosevelt when he died. Most of his customers were black, and he fed them if they were good people, even before food stamps in the grocery store that he ran, and that's where I learned all of my politics.

More than half of us then lived at or below the poverty line after World War II. I'll tell you something else. We looked for government to help us, but we also took responsibility for ourselves. We've all told you today — I've told you I'll give you an America that can compete and win again.

I ask you two questions in closing. Do you really believe we can beat the Japanese and the rest of Asia, the Germans and the rest of Europe? Do you believe we can be number one again; and secondly, do you have the courage to lead that charge by changing and doing what it takes to make this a high-wage, high-growth, high-opportunity society, not a hard-work, low-wage society?

I believe you do, and that's why I think we're all going to win in 1992. Thank you very much.

DUKE: Well, that's it. The final word. This has been the first major campaign forum involving all of the candidates, the six major candidates for the Democratic nomination in 1992.

My personal thanks to each of you for being here and taking part in this discussion which I hope has been very enlightening today. Thanks, and now, back to you, Lane Kirkland. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: On behalf of the delegates, I want to thank each of the candidates for what has been a very fine contribution to our own democratic political process. I know that I speak for all of the delegates when I say to you that each of you gave a fine and forceful account of yourselves, and clearly, the Democratic Party has a fine array of candidates going into this political season. I want to thank Paul Duke for a very fine job of moderating this session and keeping it going. (Applause)

THIRD DAY — MORNING SESSION
Wednesday, November 13, 1991

The convention was called to order at 9:48 a.m., President Kirkland presiding.

KIRKLAND: The convention will come to order. I ask Vice President Susan Bianchi-Sand to take the chair.

BIANCHI-SAND: Thank you, President Kirkland. The invocation this morning will be given by the Reverend Anthony Claxton, Pastor of Life Line Christian Center of Detroit. We're especially pleased to have the Reverend with us this morning and have him do the invocation, as he is also the son of our good friend, former UFCW Civil Rights Director David Claxton.

Reverend Anthony Claxton, please.

INVOCATION
REVEREND ANTHONY CLAXTON
Pastor, Life Line Christian Center
Detroit, Michigan

Good morning. It is my privilege to be here. To Mr. Kirkland and Mr. Donahue, I appreciate the opportunity. Shall we bow our heads?

Most gracious and heavenly Father, we thank You for this opportunity to be here on this morning. We thank You, Lord God, for all of the business that has been deliberated over even until this time. We do ask for Your wisdom and for Your knowledge, for Your insight, for Your guiding, for Your strength and for Your power over all of the things that will be deliberated over on this morning.

All of our leaders in any capacity wherein they lead, we ask You to give divine strength. It is a time in this day when the presence of God is needed. People are homeless, without food, without shelter, without clothing. You blessed us to have those things, and we thank You.

We ask You, Lord God, to impart to us wisdom in how we can turn situations around in this country, in this nation, and in our cities. We thank You, we praise You and we magnify You, and we ask for Your blessings continually throughout this day and even as we leave to go to separate places, be with us.

These blessings we ask in the name of Thy dear son, Jesus Christ. Amen.

BIANCHI-SAND: I'll take a moment to go over the morning program. The schedule for the morning will include speeches by Senator Harris Wofford and Congressman John Dingell. The first resolution and debate of the day will be on the topic of the national economy, followed later in the morning by the resolution and discussion on the political process. And following that, we will take up the report of the Constitution Committee.

In accordance with the AFL-CIO Constitution, today is the day for nomination of officers for the next two years.

I'll now return the chair to President Kirkland. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Since time immemorial, the man who I believe has been the senior delegate to these conventions, Vice President Emeritus Richard Walsh, regrettably because of health had to miss this convention. And on your behalf, I would like to ask the delegates from the Theatrical and Stage Employees to convey the greetings of the delegates to the AFL-CIO convention to Vice President Walsh and your wishes for a speedy recovery; and that we hope to see him again very soon in the future.

The senior delegate I believe today is the President Emeritus of my own union, a great friend for many, many years, a Vice President Emeritus of the AFL-CIO. He celebrated this week during this convention his 91st birthday. I would like to ask him now to stand and receive your appreciation. Thomas W. Gleason. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: And he hasn't missed a beat. (Laughter)

Among our international guests are trade unionists representing the free trade union movements of Asia. We will introduce these friends to you now. The following Asian delegates were recognized:

Demetris Kittenis, Cyprus Workers Confederation, Cyprus

Jing-Hua Lu, Workers Autonomous Federation, China

Kai-ming Lee, Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions,
Hong Kong

Subrata Mookerjee, Indian National Trade Union Congress,
India

Umraomal Purohit, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, India

Amos Eran, Histadrut Representative in the United States, Israel

Thaneransjan Karim, All Indonesian Workers Union, Indonesia

Yoshikazu Tanaka, Japanese Confederation of Trade Unions,
Japan

Laxman Basnet, Nepal Trade Union Congress, Nepal

Zahoor M. Awan, All Pakistan Federation of Labor, Pakistan

Robert Flores, Federation of Filipino Civilian Employees
Association, Philippines

Anton Lodwick, All Ceylon Federation of Free Trade Unions, Sri
Lanka

Chao-hsiung Chen, Chinese Federation of Labor, Taiwan

Panit Charoenphao, Thai Trade Union Congress, Thailand

Orhan Balta, Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions, Turkey
(Applause)

KIRKLAND: Brother Park Cheung-kun, President of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, is unable to be with us today. He is in the hospital recovering from a fast in protest over proposed changes to the Korean labor laws, changes designed to weaken union representation. Union members supported this hunger strike with sit-ins across the country.

The AFL-CIO denounced the new labor laws to the Korean government, and sent a letter of support to Brother Park. We were just informed that Korean President Roh Tae Woo has withdrawn the proposed amendments. (Applause)

Brother Park and the members of the FKTU send you their heartfelt thanks. Thank you all for being here with us. (Applause)

I would like now to direct your attention to the video screen.

...At this time a video was shown to the delegation.

KIRKLAND: Will the Escort Committee bring Senator Wofford to the platform? (Standing ovation)

Brothers and sisters, what more needs to be said? I give you the man who is taking our message to Washington, Senator Harris Wofford. (Standing ovation)

HONORABLE HARRIS WOFFORD **Senator, State of Pennsylvania**

Your first Democratic senator in 23 years reporting for duty. (Applause)

I put all my weight behind the "your" senator. Your agenda is my agenda and our agenda is America's agenda. And together we are

going to shake up America and change the course of the country. (Applause)

Lane, thank you. The thank you is to all of you in this room. It's to my international union presidents from Pennsylvania — Rich Trumka and Lynn Williams, Gerry McEntee, John DeConcini, Jim Hatfield — my brothers and sisters of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO — Bill George and Judy Heh and John Vento and Eddie Keller and Anna Burger Price, and too many people here to start listing — but without them and without you, I would not be here. That's a truth that I told to the Democratic senators in caucus, to the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee. John Perkins heard me tell it to the Democratic National Committee assembly of the people in Washington who gave money to give me the fuel to go ahead. But it was the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO, the national AFL-CIO, my union brothers and sisters, who had faith in the beginning, when it counted, and in the middle and in the end. And what you heard on that screen is the truth. We had the strongest Democratic labor partnership that I've ever seen; and when people ask me, "What's the clue, how do you do it, what was the secret," the number one first point is a Democratic-labor partnership. And that's a lesson that the rest of the party and the rest of the country needs to know — (Applause) — if we are going to see that last November 5th, last Tuesday, was the first day of the end of the Bush administration. (Applause)

So, I say, that thank you is sealed in not blood yet, but it certainly was sealed in a gallon of sweat on Solidarity Day 1991. I sweated as a senator should, and I intend to do that with you for our whole agenda as we move ahead.

In the Bible it says that "In the beginning there was the word," but what I've just said as my first word to you, is from the bottom of my heart, that in this senate race, in the beginning there was labor. And, in fact, I have to tell you a further secret, that but for some of the colleagues in this room — Lynn Williams and Rich Trumka, very especially, who immediately started getting in touch with our governor, urging that I get appointed for this — I wouldn't be here either.

So, let's go on from here to the work that's ahead, because the election in Pennsylvania was about far more than electing one senator. It was about sending a message from Pennsylvania to the country, a message that it's time for change, for a fundamental change in this country; and we sent that message from Pennsylvania. And now we have to carry it to the country in the months ahead.

Seven days ago the people of Pennsylvania had what's a rare opportunity in political life. It was one of those moments when your vote

counted, partly because of the fluke that it was the only national election going on in the country, partly because Pennsylvania is so diverse and representative of America, and partly because we had as the opponent the epitome of the Bush administration.

Rolling all that together, the people of Pennsylvania seized the day; and by the power of the ballot, they sent a wake-up call to Washington, to the President, to the Congress, to both parties and to the entire federal establishment.

I'm very lucky to be the messenger, but the important thing is the message. We said in Pennsylvania that we want national health insurance; and we want it now because if criminals have a right to a lawyer if they're arrested, far more fundamental is it for every American to have a right to a doctor if they're sick. (Applause)

Pennsylvanians said it's time for working families to get a tax cut for a change because we're fed up with a tax code that gives big tax increases to most of our working people and big tax loopholes to the top 10 percent.

We said it's time to help millions of Americans by extending unemployment compensation benefits, to help decent, hard-working people who have been laid off in this Republican recession; and it's a scandal that the unemployment compensation trust fund for emergencies sits there, 8 billion full, unused because this President says it would bust the budget if we used it for the purpose people pay taxes for. That's a bookkeeping fraud, and it's not working. It's not going to fool the people of Pennsylvania, especially not from a President who has no trouble in finding hundreds of billions of dollars to bail out the savings and loan crooks and kingpins and finds any amount of money for any kind of foreign emergency that comes. It's time for us to take care of our own people and our own problems. (Applause)

Last Tuesday in Pennsylvania the people of Pennsylvania said it's time for trade laws that uphold American jobs and American workers, American companies and American communities. (Applause)

We said it's time, once again, to throw open the doors of college opportunity to the daughters and sons of steelworkers and secretaries and school teachers and machinists and working Americans. Our colleges and universities should not be the place where if you're very poor, you get a Pell Grant and if you're rich, you can go to Princeton; but the majority of people are left out in the cold. It's time for America to look out for the majority of Americans again. It's time for us to take care of our own, our own people and our own problems. (Applause)

It's time that we had a government in Washington that cared about the hopes and dreams, the concerns of middle class working Americans again.

So mine was not a victory of a single candidate. It was the triumph in one great American state of an idea whose time has come. A moment came in our great nation when it is time to look homeward. As Abraham Lincoln said, to bring homeward the better angels of our nature.

I say that as someone who has been concerned most of my life, including years with the Peace Corps in Africa, with the challenges that are facing the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; but the time has come to bring the spirit of the Peace Corps home to America because as my lost leader and friend John Kennedy said, we can't be strong abroad if we're weak at home.

To be strong at home, we must breathe new life into the American dream, the dream of owning your home if you save, of helping your children go to college if they study, of moving up to a better job if you work hard, of being able to see a doctor if you're sick. That American dream has been moving further and further out of the reach of more and more working Americans in this country.

I know that because I've seen it. I've felt it. I've heard it as I've campaigned all across Pennsylvania night and day; and I felt it in the years before that on the front lines of the Pennsylvania economy as Secretary of Labor and Industry.

I've seen how health benefits have been at the core of most of our labor-management disputes in Pennsylvania and how resources that could have gone to higher wages have instead been consumed by the skyrocketing health insurance premiums; and in our effort to help people move from welfare to work, I've seen how young mothers on welfare are afraid to take the job training opportunities we had available because they feared at the end of the work, at the end of the period of time where we gave them special assistance, the entry-level position they would get would not have the kind of health coverage they now have with Medicaid staying in the dependency system.

So I'm honored to be the messenger for a great message, messenger for the people of Pennsylvania; and I'm glad their message was sent loud and clear.

In Washington where they read election returns very closely, let me assure you that message has been heard. Not only did the President cancel his Asian trip right away in response to those election returns and come home, now he says that he'll have a health care plan before the 1992 election. You may remember the White House said wait until

after the Presidential election, as if people could wait to get sick until after November 1992. (Applause)

Now the President says he's willing to compromise and sign some kind of an extended unemployment benefits bill, and we're going to get that through and put that on his desk just as fast as we can.

Just about everyone in Washington is now talking about a middle class tax cut, but let's not gloat. Turning the rhetoric into reality, making the words become flesh, will not be easy as you all so well know. It's going to be a long, hard battle against the status quo.

On health care, the Republicans still want to tinker with the current system. They still look to the insurance companies to get the answers. They talk about helping the uninsured and spending \$150 billion more and say they don't know where they can find it.

They still don't get it. It's the shadow of fear, not just for those who have no health insurance, but over all working Americans, the fear that they are one pink slip away, one accident, one major illness away from having no health care or of going bankrupt.

It's the medical cost inflation in this country that is burdening all Americans.

When it comes to true comprehensive universal national health insurance system, the Republicans roll out the same old arguments, the same scare tactics they used to oppose Social Security and Medicare and all the great reforms of this century.

People know that we pay more for health care in this country than in any other country, and are getting less and less for their money. They want change. They aren't going to let the Republicans get away with those arguments anymore. They want national health insurance, and we want it now. (Applause)

On family leave, it's the same story. The President still says we should leave it to employers, that government shouldn't be part of the solution. That's exactly what they said about the 40-hour week, child labor laws, workplace safety, collective bargaining; and they're not going to get away with it anymore this time. (Applause)

Those in that list I just gave are some of the fundamental reforms that the labor movement led in this country, and returns from Pennsylvania last week show that we're at a new time when labor can lead again; where labor is not seen as a special interest, but is again recognized as representing the common interest; where your agenda, indeed, is America's agenda. (Applause)

Forty years ago when I went to law school, I thought I would become a labor organizer in the south. I'm working my way back — (Laughter) — to that ambition. (Applause)

I took a different road, but on that road I've been most of the time in the business of lighting fires under those who are satisfied with things as they are. I ran against one such person in Pennsylvania, and lit a fire under him that seemed to work. Because I don't think I have ever been satisfied with things as they are, and I'm not going to get satisfied in the Senate despite all this good attention for this one glorious week that's undoubtedly going to my head. If I ever get satisfied with things as they are, I hope you will vote me out and kick me out, and do it as soon as possible. Because I know that it is within us in this country, and even with us in the Congress, to do better, and we better damn well do it. (Applause)

Our nation has experienced a bonfire of the vanities based on the greed of the high establishment. What we started in Pennsylvania last week was a bonfire of the people, a bonfire of the forgotten people, a bonfire of the middle class and of the American people to burn away those vanities and greed of the American establishment.

I pledge to you, my brothers and sisters, as I did to the people of Pennsylvania, that I will roll up my sleeves and work as hard for my paycheck as you do for yours. And to our brothers and sisters from Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and the world, I want you to know that I am the living example that solidarity works.

I tell you from the bottom of my heart, that we are one. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Thank you, Senator Wofford. The delegates have spoken our full appreciation, not only of the message, but the messenger. Thank you for being with us. I would like to ask Vice President Mike Stone to take the gavel, please.

STONE: Thank you, President Kirkland. I'll now recognize Vice President Lynn Williams for a resolution.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (RESUMED)

WILLIAMS: Thank you very much, brother Chairman. It's my pleasure now to call on Owen Bieber, chairman of the subcommittee of the Resolutions Committee to present the resolution concerning America in Recession.

Vice President Owen Bieber.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE 5

...Subcommittee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 172

America In Recession

This resolution calls attention to the severity of the recession, and the suffering that has resulted for the millions of American workers and their families who are its victims. It criticizes those whose misguided economic policies brought on the recession for failing miserably to ease the pain that the recession has caused. It takes to task an uncaring president who for more than a year denied the existence of the recession, who then declared six months ago that the recession was over, and who now blames consumers for not spending the way to recovery. It notes that these consumers are the very same middle-income working Americans whose good jobs have disappeared overseas, and whose buying power and living standards have declined, due in no small measure to the past decade's disastrous economic policies.

The resolution criticizes the President's veto of the extension of unemployment benefits, and his trickle-down proposal to provide capital gains tax cuts to the rich. It urges the President and Congress to recognize how serious the recession is, to take immediate steps to provide real help to the suffering jobless, and to get the economy moving again. These steps include immediate extension of unemployment benefits, and immediate highway, mass transit and other infrastructure and public service investments. The "peace dividend" should be earmarked to restore cutbacks at the state and local level, and to meet urgent social needs. New housing programs for low- and moderate-income people are called for, including the use of government-held units taken over from failed savings and loans for critical housing needs rather than for speculators' gains.

It is urged that there be tax cuts for the middle class, paid for by increasing the taxes on the wealthiest one percent of Americans who have benefitted so greatly from tax cuts during the last decade.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution 172, and I so move.

STONE: You've heard the recommendation of the committee. Do I hear a second?

...The recommendation was seconded.

STONE: I'll recognize Vice President McEntee.

McENTEE: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and sisters and brothers. The national economy and the recession. In the words of that

great American Yogi Bera, who once said, "It looks like deja vu all over again."

1981 and 1983, a national recession, 20 million jobless, cuts, takebacks, layoffs, all across America. A decade where the rich got richer, the poor got poorer, and the middle class slipped and slid backwards. A tax on workers, a tax on government.

1991, ten years later. Once said in *The Tale of Two Cities*: "The best of times and the worst of times," but not here in America, it is the worst of times revisited with a national recession of 9 million jobless, cuts, takebacks, layoffs.

Look out across this land, witness the sellout of working America. Extension of unemployment compensation, 1.9 million Americans without any check, without any health care, and 300,000 Americans join them each and every month.

Look out to our cities where they have become shooting galleries for drug lords.

Look out where our streets, 61 percent of the roads need repair.

Our schools, where 700,000 high school kids drop out each year, not because they want to, but because they have to.

Look out across America and think of our cities. I thought of two cities. There's one city where now in every fruit market and food market the fruit is fresh, there's Perrier water, the water coming out of the faucets is nice and clean. The auto showrooms are filled with Chryslers and Porsches, Mercedes-Benz, and they're selling them.

And look out across another city where the roads and streets need repair, the water not always clean, the libraries closing, in the summer swimming pools not open to the kids.

One city called Kuwait, the other city called New York City. The message to be sent, if we can spend billions of dollars to free Kuwait, we can spend billions of dollars for New York City, for Detroit, for Chicago, and every city in America. (Applause)

Sisters and brothers, it is time to send the word back to our people. And they say there's no money. Why, right today we still send \$180 billion to defend Western Europe against the Warsaw Pact that no longer exists. We send \$80 billion to Norway so they can defend themselves against Albania, and the Albanians are fighting in the streets among themselves.

Look in Congress where we're going for a space station, and we can't even run our subway stations. It is time for some kind of change. It is time for a new message for America. And maybe, just maybe from

Detroit it's going out. Because just yesterday in Washington, D.C., where some of the power brokers in the Congress of the United States came up with a bill to move a billion dollars in Pentagon spending to the Soviet Union to retrain the Soviet army.

But they got the message. They took the bill to the Democratic caucus and they said, "Are you nuts? Are you crazy with that kind of bill? We're not even retraining American workers. We don't even have unemployment compensation for American workers."

It's time to turn America around. It's time to send the message across this country. Thank you very much. (Applause)

STONE: I'll now recognize Vice President Kourpias.

KOURPIAS: President Kirkland, brother and sister delegates, I rise in support of the Executive Council's resolution on recession. Unfortunately, we meet at a time when many of our brothers and sisters are absent from this hall of labor. Ten million are officially unemployed, but near twenty million are jobless. Thirty-four million live in poverty, and one in ten now get food stamps. And because of the fiscal policies of Reagan and now George Bush, our cities and states are now without adequate funding. And, yes, teachers and other public servants are facing cutbacks or loss of jobs, so the pie shrinks further.

Just in the last 15 months, more than 800,000 manufacturing jobs have disappeared. In my own union, from the first year of Reagan presidency until now, 1,768 IAM plants have closed. And with it all, another stalwart group of working Americans are also finding themselves without work. And I'm referring to the brave men and women who kept this nation strong during the Cold War. Their diligence, their skills, their devotion helped make America's arsenal for democracy the beacon for our brothers and sisters of Eastern Europe who now stand free because of the efforts of our members.

Now, as recession grips our nation, they share only in misery. Major cuts in defense spending will result in the loss of more than 800,000 defense-related jobs between now and 1996. Three hundred thousand of those jobs already have been lost.

And where is the peace dividend for these men and women? It has gone to the savings and loan pirates, and we cannot even get a decent economic conversion program out of this administration. Bush says there is no money for American jobs and for American workers, no money to train and to retrain. And as Gerry McEntee just stated, the Congress is trying to find \$1 billion to help that country which we know as the Soviet Union to convert for production of weapons to alternative and socially useful production, to help rebuild their infrastructure, repair their bridges and highways, and their cities.

But what about American workers? Some 18 months ago Congress approved a paltry amount, not much bigger in the scale of things than Dan Quayle's brain — \$200 million for training and retraining of displaced defense workers. If the administration had used one penny of that money, we have no evidence of it, not to retrain American workers. They can't even get extended unemployment benefits.

How about the communities that are suffering as these defense contractors close their doors? The companies got their financial rewards, but what about the patriotic American workers? Does President Bush care?

Well, sisters and brothers, there is a "Buy American" law on the books that requires the Pentagon and other government purchasers to do just that, and that is to buy American. Yet, every year — and these are the Pentagon's figures — between \$10 and \$20 billion are spent just by the Department of Defense overseas. And while the President insists on security clearances for our workers, he cares nothing about national security when weapons and other materials are produced overseas. And for every billion dollars that is funneled overseas, 30,000 American jobs go with that money, your money and our money.

Well, let's get that money back for us, for American workers. Defense workers can't be treated like a pair of dirty socks used only once by Georgie at a Harvard-Yale game.

And I say to President Bush, do you want to save money? Then, rebuild our merchant fleet, so next time there's a war, you won't have to pay premium rates to foreign carriers to ship our materials and our troops.

Brothers and sisters, we heard the Presidential candidates yesterday on the need to quickly rebuild our nation. When we awake next year, will what is left of our manufacturing base be completely gone? Will what is left of our shipping industry have sunk in the sea of indifference? Who then will be left to pay for Presidential junkets if all of us are taking in each other's laundry?

Sisters and brothers, we are going to finish this job, the job of turning this country around next November. So, let's start with adopting this resolution today. Thank you. (Applause)

STONE: The Chair recognizes Vice President Bywater

BYWATER: I hear a lot of talk about retraining. I have one problem with it. While I'm all for it, where the hell are the jobs to retrain for? We have people unemployed with all kinds of skills that can't find jobs. We have college graduates with master's degrees that can't find

jobs in this country. And the reason is: That our jobs have been stolen from us and given overseas. That's where the jobs are. That's the problem in this country. And unless you resolve that problem, you're not going to resolve the state of the economy that we have in this country today. There's no way we're going to do it.

George Bush says anyone who says anything against the Japanese is a Japanese basher. By God, I want to be known as the number one Japanese basher. They've taken our jobs. And let me tell you something: They're a hell of a lot smarter than the administration we have in Washington, because they protect Japanese jobs. But we don't protect American jobs. We wind up having trade fairs for the American corporations to go to Mexico, to go overseas, to Taiwan, and all over the world. That's exactly what was set up by the Commerce Department, George Bush's Commerce Department, that does that, and does it regularly. And we lose our jobs and we allow it to go overseas.

And they say they're worried about the consumer, because that's where you get cheaper products. Well, the consumer is the same guy who has lost his job. How is he going to consume if he doesn't have a job?

And this economy keeps going down and down and down. Then, I'd like to see Bush, he wraps himself in the flag, the big hero, right? Yet, he allows the Defense Department that has given away over one million of our jobs overseas. And you want to know something? The Defense Department doesn't even know where the work is being subcontracted to, because, for example, GE or some other corporation gets a major contract, they subcontract that work overseas to whoever they want to subcontract it.

Do you know that during the war we had in the desert, we had to get parts from Japan? We had to get parts from France? Do you know the French companies said they didn't want to give us the parts because it would have broken up production they had going at that time? And the government of the United States had to intervene and say to the French government, "You better do something about it, because we need those parts." What kind of a country do we have if we allow President Bush to destroy that production and leave our country so that we're actually at the mercy of some foreign country when we get into a war? There shouldn't be one dollar, not one single dollar of our tax money, used to give defense work to some other country overseas. That shouldn't be allowed. (Applause)

And let me tell you something. You know, we're talking about the auto industry. Owen Bieber can tell you. One-third now of the auto-

mobiles are Japanese automobiles in this country, but try and sell an American automobile in Japan. They know how. They're smart enough. They know how to keep American cars out of Japan. What the hell do we do? We allow them to come in and destroy our economy.

And let me tell you something. Anyone in this room who has a Japanese car, you ought to feel a little guilty, because you're putting Americans out of work. You better wise up. (Applause)

What I would like to see is not a bunch of phonies picked by the White House, rich millionaires to go over and deal with the Japanese. They don't want to deal with the Japanese. They want to make deals with them, that's what they want to do, deals for themselves. And you get some older kids that come out of college, they say over there, and the kids over there, say, "Hey, you know, if I'm nice to the Japanese, I've got a full-time job, maybe a quarter of a million dollars a year, that's what I'm going to do." So, they sell us out. They sell us out for their own interests. And it goes on and on and on. And we allow it to go on like that. We're a bunch of damn fools to allow that to go on. And what I would like to see is a delegation of labor leaders going over to Japan and saying to the Japanese, "Now, you've got twenty days to clean up your act. You open up everything for American products coming over into Japan or else no goddamn Toyotas or anything else comes into the United States." That's the way to do it. (Applause)

Let's start talking tough to those foreigners who are leeches instead of talking tough to the Americans and tell them how much harder they have to work when they're already working hard. I'm sick and tired of Americans being criticized for what they're doing — they're not productive enough when, by god, the more productive workers in the world are the American workers. Give us the jobs and we'll show you what we can do. Don't steal them from us.

George Bush, I'm for a fast track for you, from the White House to your ranch, and get the hell on the train and get down there now. We don't need you anymore. Thank you. (Applause)

STONE: Any other discussion? Call for the question. The question is on the adoption of Resolution No. 172. All those in favor, signify by saying aye. Contrary minded, no. Ayes have it, so ordered. President Kirkland.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

America in Recession

The American economy is in dismal shape.

Private and public employers continue to lay off thousands of workers each week. The official unemployment rate of 6.8 percent — while hovering near its highest level in years — would be almost twice that if it included the millions of Americans who have had to settle for part-time jobs and those who have given up looking for work because there are no jobs available.

Worst of all, those whose misguided economic policies gave birth to this recession now refuse to do anything to ease the suffering of the millions of American working families who are its victims.

After a full year of denying its existence, the president and his advisers now say the recession ended six months ago. They blame consumers for not spending the way to recovery. Yet the bulk of those potential customers — those who haven't fallen into poverty — are middle-income working Americans who are weary from the past decade's policies that shipped millions of good-paying jobs overseas and reduced their buying power and standard of living.

Unfortunately, the president has vetoed the extension of unemployment benefits that would mitigate the hardships for many of the unemployed and get some money into the hands of people who will spend it on basic necessities like food, health and shelter.

Instead, President Bush's prescription for rejuvenating the economy is based on the same old trickle-down economic theories that got the country into this mess in the first place. He irresponsibly proposes to once again open the gates of the public treasury to the well-heeled through a further cut in the capital gains tax and expansion of Individual Retirement Accounts to upper-income individuals.

Nor is there much value in the alternative offered by some members of Congress, which is to jump start the economy by spending the so-called peace dividend on a broad-based tax cut at a time when state and local governments are going bankrupt and there are so many urgent needs in the areas of education, housing, and public infrastructure.

There should be tax cuts for the middle class paid for by raising tax rates on the wealthiest one percent of Americans, who reaped huge benefits from earlier tax cuts that added more than \$1 trillion to the national debt.

The AFL-CIO urges the president and Congress to recognize the severity of the recession and take immediate steps that will provide

real relief to the suffering jobless and working families and get the country moving again.

They should begin with the immediate extension of unemployment benefits to the long-term jobless who so desperately need them. They should expedite passage of the Surface Transportation Reauthorization Act, which will stimulate construction on highways and mass transportation projects, and other measures designed to make much-needed improvements in the nation's infrastructure and public service programs. Defense funds that are still needed should be targeted to production in the United States.

Meanwhile, any peace dividend should go to helping state and local governments restore cutbacks and meet pressing social needs, as well as to basic human investments like education, worker training and infrastructure. New housing for low- and moderate-income people should also be financed, and existing units that the government has taken over from the bankrupt savings and loans should be directed to meet the nation's critical housing needs rather than sold off to speculators.

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KIRKLAND: Thank you, Mike, for another job well done. Will the Escort Committee bring Representative Dingell to the platform, please. (Standing ovation)

Hardly a sparrow falls outside of the jurisdiction of Congressman John Dingell's Energy and Commerce Committee. For many years the chairman has been a major force behind a host of issues of concern to working Americans.

In particular, he's been a major player in trade policy, and he's always standing on guard for the protection of worker and consumer rights in this country.

A fighter for American workers and American jobs, I'm delighted to give you one of Detroit's own chairman, John Dingell. (Standing ovation)

HONORABLE JOHN DINGELL

Congressman, City Of Detroit

Thank you very much, my friend, Lane Kirkland; and thank you all, dear friends, for a very gracious welcome.

I'm delighted to be here with so many of my friends from the House of Labor, and I would like to express my particular thanks to your President and to Secretary-Treasurer Donahue, and also the distin-

guished group of labor leaders, personal friends of mine, who escorted me into this room.

I would like to begin by welcoming you all to Detroit and to Michigan. We are delighted that you are here. It is an honor to speak to you this morning and a pleasure to have you here in a city that was built by and that has prospered because of and with American labor.

This is a city in which labor has always made history. It is a city which has had a part in the history of labor right from the battle of the overpass to the very fine contracts which were achieved by organized labor giving job security, health care and dignity to the American workers and to their families.

I'm proud to say that my personal family has had a great part in the success of labor in this particular city. My father was fired by one of the Detroit newspapers for union activity and sent west to die at Union Printers Home the same day in 1914.

Had it not been for those events, it is possible that he would never have run for Congress. It was also possible that he would never have been one of the sponsors and authors of the Wagoner Act, particularly Section 7a, which was labor's Magna Carta, the provisions which permitted workers to gather together and to bargain collectively over wages, work, and conditions of employment.

In the last eleven years, things have not been good here, and it can be observed that we are able to compare what the Republicans in government have done for us as working men and women here in Detroit and Michigan, and what they've done for labor elsewhere throughout the country.

They have made a few nice noises. The last good thing that they did for us was to hold a convention here in Detroit. That was a convention at which they bashed labor as a special interest. They did something worse for us, though. They nominated Ronald Reagan.

Those have been difficult years for workers; and during that time, they have bashed not only the Congress but, as I have mentioned, labor. They have talked about privilege.

Now, I'm not sure whether George Bush made his speech about privilege from his 747 flying around the world, or whether he did it in the White House, which is taxpayer provided, or whether it was done by him personally, or whether he did it through one of his tax-provided speech writers who all, by the way, come from the far right wing.

It is possible that he did it from his pricey, armor-plated government-provided limousine. It is even possible that the idea or the speech

writing wasn't done in this country, that it was done probably from his private 747 provided him by the taxpayers.

Well, there's an answer to these things. Labor has stood not just for the working man. It has stood for all Americans. That is something that cannot be said about this Administration or the previous Administration.

One of the interesting quotes that I saw recently appeared in an editorial with the headline, "A Diffident Administration." It noted that what we seem to have here is the most aristocratic administration since the collapse of the Federalist Party.

Now, it is interesting to note that that did not come from some left-wing socialist organization or scandal-mongering class warfare sheet. It came from the economist royalists at the Wall Street Journal.

Now, it is interesting to note Mr. Bush grants emergency funding for families in Bangladesh and Kurdistan. He makes foreign aid lavishly available to countries around the world. He forgives the Japanese \$770 million that they owe on Operation Desert Shield, Desert Storm, but he vetoes the extension of unemployment benefits for America's jobless. He opposes education legislation to help the struggling families of America's middle class. He puts American jobs on the fast track for Mexico. But he won't even raise the issue of unfair trading practices with his friend, the Japanese prime minister.

Those are some of the practices that target America's jobs, that sell below cost here, that are denounced in unanimous reports of the International Trade Commission. He won't address the practices of Taiwan and Korea where they ban imports of American goods and services. He won't talk about unfair trading practices in the Pacific Rim or on the part of our European allies.

You know, George Bush promised that he was going to create 30 million jobs in America during his administration. Well, he had better hurry, because today there are 300,000 less jobs in America than there were when he took office. In his campaign for President he promised you something that he's going to have to work very hard to deliver. To keep his promise, he will have to lead in the creation of 100,000 jobs per day between now and election.

The President recently said he did not know there was a recession in the United States. That is a remarkable thing. Perhaps if he stayed home he would have a better appreciation. (Applause)

He is beginning at the request of the Republican Party and with the assistance of his council of economic advisors to come forward with an economic program to address this. He has suggested Americans buy

a house. At least houses in this country are still made in the United States by American workers. It can be observed that this is an easy suggestion for George Bush to make, because he lives in government housing.

One of the great needs of this nation is health care for our people. We have a research program in the area of health that is the wonder of the world. We have hospitals and technology that are, indeed, the wonder of the whole of the world, including our own people. The sad thing is that many of the people here that wonder about that wonderful system and about those wonderful hospitals and about that wonderful health care do not have access to the system, do not have access to health care. There is no health insurance whatsoever for 37.5 American people. There are 30 million people who have inadequate health care, and 13 million of the completely unprotected Americans are children.

The Census Bureau reported this fall that nearly 34 million Americans live in poverty. Many of those were formerly middle class who lost their jobs and watched those jobs move overseas. This, I note, is the first increase in the national poverty level since 1983. What's worse is that the number of poor Americans rose by something like 2.1 million since 1989, and 40 percent of the poor are children. Too many of these that we see now standing in unemployment lines or panhandling on the streets were formerly middle class or were formerly Americans who served their nation in Vietnam, in World War II, or even in the Arabian Peninsula during Operation Desert Storm and Desert Shield. They have lost good-paying jobs in manufacturing. They have lost health care benefits and pensions. These jobs that are lost are jobs that the Administration wouldn't do a damn thing about when they were lost.

The Administration has a program with regard to increasing exports. They're talking with the foreigners, and they talk about export growth. All of us in this room favor export growth, but we do not favor export growth in the areas we have seen it growing in. Because the one biggest area in exports that this country has been undergoing has been the exporting of high-paying, good manufacturing jobs that allowed the American people to live with dignity, to raise their families well, and to assure themselves and their children that their children would not only be better fitted for employment in the future, but that life would, indeed, be better again for the next generation of America.

Now, where is the President when all of this is going on? He's in London. He's in Greece. He's in Madrid, and he's in Rome, anywhere but America. Indeed, there is good news. His Administration has finally pointed out that he really should come home. This is something

that labor has been saying to him for a long time. This is something that the Democrats have been saying to him for a long time. Come home, George Bush, you'll see that there is a recession here. You will see that decent, hard-working American men and women have need of the concerns of their government.

Too many workers and middle class people in this nation have been driven to the wall or pushed to the edge. All they want is to see to it that their government begins to concern itself with the affairs of the American people, with growth at home, with decent jobs, with opportunities for our people, with the ability of our people to have health care and with the ability of our people to have an opportunity to educate their children.

There are friends of labor and working men and women in the Congress. There are friends of the working men and women of this country in the labor movement, and for that I say thank God. These are the people who speak up for labor every day. These are the people who are working to make life better for all Americans. We hope that as the next election comes nearer that George Bush will discover a domestic agenda. As a matter of fact, we can save him the trouble of writing one. The Democrats in the Congress and their friends in labor have a program of this kind. We believe that the government should interest itself in education. We believe that it should interest itself in jobs. We believe it should tell the foreigners that no longer will we tolerate their abuse of the American market here by dumping goods unfairly and improperly, by targeting American industries. And we believe something more. We believe that our government should tell the foreigners that it is time that you open the market. Those are a program for growth in this country, because we will be investing in the future and we will be making effort to see to it that this country does for our people what it should do and what it only has been doing for foreigners in other lands.

I want to thank you for the pleasure of being with you today, for the privilege of seeing so many good friends and so many distinguished delegates and workers in the cause of social justice.

I am grateful that you would permit me to be with you, and I am grateful to you for your support and your friendship over the years. I can only tell you that my old dad would be proud that his son was able to be here with his friends and our friends and your friends in organized labor to utter the thoughts of the people who have been laboring constantly for the good of all Americans. Thank you, and God bless you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Chairman Dingell, on behalf of the delegates, I want to thank you for your many years of fine work as a stalwart champion of the working people of this country, and we look forward to working with you in harmony for many years to come. Thank you, John. (Applause)

The time has now come for the special order of business, the election of officers. I'll now turn the gavel over to Vice President Al Shanker.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

SHANKER: We have now arrived at the time for the nomination of officers of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing two-year period.

For the purpose of placing in nomination the name of an individual for president, I recognize the president of the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots, Captain Timothy Brown.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

TIMOTHY BROWN, Masters, Mates and Pilots: Mr. Chairman, International Vice Presidents, brother and sister delegates. My name is Timothy Brown, and I'm the president of the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots, a proud affiliate of the International Longshoremen's Association. Although I am new to my stewardship to the Masters, Mates and Pilots, it is with great pride that I come before you today to nominate the next president of the AFL-CIO.

The man of whom I speak began his involvement in the labor movement in 1942 at the age of 20. After graduating from the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point in March, 1942, he joined the Masters, Mates and Pilots and sailed as a licensed deck officer in the United States Merchant Marine during the Second World War.

During this time, he sailed aboard merchant ships which carried war materials to the Atlantic and Pacific combat zones. And by the end of the war, he had earned his master's license.

Coming to Washington, D.C. following the war, he enrolled in Georgetown University of Foreign Service, receiving a Bachelor of Science degree in 1948.

Over the next 12 years, he learned many of the intricacies of the labor movement, training which provided him the knowledge to serve as the executive assistant to President George Meany. In 1969 he was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO.

After the passing of George Meany, he was elected to the AFL's top office by acclamation at the 1979 convention. He has been reelected to this post at each AFL-CIO convention since.

During his career, he has held positions in no less than 25 presidential commissions, advisory bodies and non-governmental organizations.

I present to you today the man who has learned the value of leadership, first on the bridge of the merchant ships sailing in World War II and through his life, carving out around the world safe harbors for working men and women and their families. I am honored today to nominate Lane Kirkland for reelection to his sixth term of office as AFL-CIO president, a trust which he holds dear so the American labor workers worldwide have a sustained voice working for affordable health care, human rights and human dignity. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

SHANKER: For the purpose of seconding the nomination of Lane Kirkland, at this time the Chair recognizes G.O. Smoak, president of the South Carolina AFL-CIO.

DELEGATE G.O. SMOAK, South Carolina AFL-CIO: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the sisters and brothers from South Carolina, it is indeed a pleasure for me to second the nomination of a proven great leader and our native son, brother Lane Kirkland, to lead this great organization for the next two years. Thank you. (Applause)

SHANKER: Are there any other nominations? Are there any other nominations? There appearing to be no other nominations, at this time the Chair recognizes Lynn Williams, President of the United Steelworkers of America, for the purpose of making an appropriate motion.

WILLIAMS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In full view of the microphones, I also notice that there are no delegates standing and seeking recognition to place in nomination any additional candidates.

Therefore, I move that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed by this convention to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for the reelection of Lane Kirkland as President of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term. (Standing ovation)

SHANKER: You've heard the motion.

All those in favor, say aye. Opposed, no. It is carried.

DONAHUE: Mr. Chairman, it is my pleasure to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the election of Lane Kirkland as President to the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: I want to thank Captain Timothy Brown, who leads the union that I am proud to call my own, and G. O. Smoak of my native state for their kind words and their good offices.

To the delegates, let me just say that you've once again fulfilled my highest and my only ambition. In the words of a man for whom I worked in the political campaign of 1948 shortly after I quit driving ships for a living, "I would rather be a servant in the house of the Lord than to sit in the seats of the Mighty." Thank you for engaging me again in that capacity. (Applause)

SECRETARY-TREASURER

KIRKLAND: Nominations are now in order for the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term. For the purpose of making a nomination, the Chair recognizes the President of the Service Employees International Union and the Vice President of the AFL-CIO, John Sweeney. (Applause)

SWEENEY: Thank you very much, President Kirkland. Congratulations on your reelection. It was a tough fight. (Laughter)

I want to assure the delegates after hearing the invocation of Monsignor George Higgins the other day, that I've cleared my remarks with him; and while he does not want to become involved in internal union politics, he says that he generally supports what I have to say.

My sisters and brothers, the work that Lane Kirkland has done, the revitalization of the labor movement, is a source of pride, a source of hope, and a source of courage. Together we have endured a dozen years of federal policies that favor the wealthy and the powerful, while scorning the American worker and the American family. But we have emerged not only intact, but more united, more focused and more determined. We have not just survived. We have prevailed. We can now sense the turning of the tide. We can appreciate those among us who urged us to stay the course during these stormy times.

Standing beside Lane Kirkland during these tough times has been a man who, like Lane, never doubted that we would eventually prevail. Tom Donahue knows this movement. He knows each of us. He has stood with us in our struggles. He has encouraged us when we faltered. He has cheered us on in our victories. But most of all, Tom has urged us to do more. He has set a standard for us that can be our only standard. This movement must, once again, grow and grow dramatically; but he has also been someone who knew that we would do so only by taking new paths and trying new ways. He has sought pragmatic ways to reinvigorate our unions, and, thus, alter the course of

labor history. In doing so, he has contributed mightily to our new vitality. These new strategies are today the basis for our resurgence — the full funding of our COPE program, the Labor Institute of Public Affairs, the Organizing Institute, these and many more.

I stand here today, once again, to place his name in nomination for the second-highest office in the labor movement. As George Higgins knows well, I have known Tom Donahue since his days as an organizer for our local union in New York, 32B, 32J, when he bargained tough contracts with the New York real estate barons. I knew him when he was the first vice president of the Service Employees International Union, and when he was instrumental in turning our union to new directions. I knew him when he was the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Lyndon Johnson and, then, when he was assistant to AFL-CIO President George Meany.

During his career, Tom has been at the center of every fight we have waged, whether for labor law reform, civil rights, fair trade, or national health care. As a champion of these issues and countless others, he has always demonstrated a pragmatic grasp of our capacity to affect change and a fiery determination to expand that capacity.

But for me, and for all of us who count Tom as a friend, his greatest strength has been his own personal integrity and values, values grounded in his belief in working people and in their ability to struggle and win justice and decency for themselves and their families. I think this movement is far richer and stands taller because of the leadership of Lane Kirkland. I think that the future of this movement is also on solid ground because we have Tom Donahue at Lane's side.

President Kirkland, it is my privilege to nominate for reelection as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO a delegate from the Service Employees Union, Thomas R. Donahue. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: You've heard the name of Thomas R. Donahue placed in nomination for the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO. The chair recognizes Ed Cleary, President of the New York State AFL-CIO, for the purpose of seconding the nomination. Ed Cleary. (Applause)

DELEGATE ED CLEARY, New York State AFL-CIO: President Kirkland, thank you very much. And from your brothers and sisters, the officers and all the affiliates of the State of New York AFL-CIO, our congratulations on your reelection.

Brothers and sisters and delegates to the 19th Constitutional Convention, it gives me great pleasure to second the nomination of a great leader, a genuine friend, Tom Donahue. As a New Yorker, I am proud to point out how many giants of the labor movement have come from

the state of New York. To mention a few, Sam Gompers, George Meany, Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. I count Tom Donahue among those giants.

Tom has a passion for social justice. He is committed to the advancement of workers. He is an activist. He has immense energy. Along with a personal modesty and a sense of humor, Tom Donahue has a brilliant mind. We rely upon his vision of the future, a vision that he shares with President Lane Kirkland. Tom has harnessed the finest minds of the labor movement to the task of reorganizing our movement as we approach the year 2000. He has taken the lead in charting the future of our movement through his chairmanship of the Evolution of Work Committee. That committee has produced so many innovations. The Labor Institute of Public Affairs and the Union Yes Program are getting labor's message into the mass media. The Union Privilege Benefit Program, New Mortgage Plan, is giving young people their first shot at home ownership. Labor credit cards are saving workers hundreds of millions of dollars that would otherwise go to extortionist banks. Not to mention the Strategic Approaches Subcommittee. Without its support for the "Daily News" strikers in New York City, we may never have turned disaster into victory.

It is too little known that Tom was up to his eyeballs in the Daily News victory through fund-raising, planning, strategic thinking and coordinating.

In this convention we are all concentrating on how to end the long nightmare of the Reagan-Bush, anti-worker Presidencies. The decade of the 1980s was a nightmare for American labor.

The test of a labor leader is not his or her performance in fair weather. It's not hard to lead when you have a friend in the White House, when the economy is booming, when management is reasonable and weather is fair, the sun is shining and you have a good wind at your back. The true test of leadership is when you have an enemy in the White House and management is on the rampage and the economy is failing and there's demoralization in the ranks.

A great leader is one who can chart a course in a hurricane and steer the ship through the storm and bring it safely into port. The storm is still raging; but in Tom Donahue we've got the navigator, along with President Lane Kirkland, who can see us through.

Tom is not only a national labor leader. He is an international leader. The other day at the International Affairs Conference I marveled at his powerful analysis of the need for us to forge the unity of the world labor movement against the multinational corporations.

Tom is a man also who does not forget his roots. I was with him in Ireland in July of 1990 on an official AFL-CIO delegation. When he goes to Belfast and north of Ireland and discusses discrimination with the trade unionists there, he speaks with the moral authority of the whole labor movement in America, which has been grappling with similar issues for so long.

On that trip Tom fulfilled a lifelong ambition when he and his wife, Rachele, tracked down the little farmhouse where his people, the Rileys, lived decades ago.

American labor survived the 1980s; and depending on how effective our political work is over the next 12 months, we have a chance to thrive in the remainder of the 1990s. With Tom Donahue as Secretary-Treasurer, we can do it.

I am proud to second the nomination of Thomas Riley Donahue for the post of Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: The Irish make very fine soldiers when they're led by Scottish officers. (Laughter) The name of Thomas R. Donahue has been placed in nomination and seconded. Are there further nominations? Are there further nominations?

The Chair recognizes Vice President John DeConcini, President of the Bakery and Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union, for the purpose of making an appropriate motion.

DeCONCINI: Thank you, Lane; and they make even better officers when their nomination is closed by an Italian. (Applause) Is that all right, Tom?

Hearing no further nominations and observing no delegate seeking recognition, I move that this nomination be closed and that a ballot be cast declaring the unanimous reelection of Thomas R. Donahue as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Is there objection? Without objection, it is my honor and pleasure to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the election of Tom Donahue as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term. (Standing ovation) Secretary-Treasurer Donahue.

DONAHUE: If you have seen the Scottish officer and the Irish soldier, you know which one wears the pants. (Applause and laughter)

I thank you all; and I look forward to your leadership, sir.

I thank you all for your vote. I thank you all for your confidence and for your support through the years. I thank you all for making this

convention the great one that it has been and will continue to be for another day and a half.

A great convention in Detroit, a city, as John Dingell said, which has a very important place in labor's history and a city which in recent years has become a metaphor for economic woes of our cities and the economic woes of our nation.

It's a city stripped of jobs by our trade policies and stripped of resources by a federal government which would rather give those resources to the rich than to make them available to the poor.

In this city last Tuesday there was an election in one of the adjoining suburbs now known as East Detroit to change its name. Henceforth, it wishes to be known as Eastpointe. That's one word with an "e" on the end of it, just in case you missed the total elegance of it all.

Obviously, people who think that if you change the word, you change the reality; and they've made a mistake.

Last Sunday there was a Peanuts cartoon in the paper. It shows Snoopy with a sailboat, and he's in the middle of the desert; and he puts the boat down in the desert sand, and he recites wonderful poetry to the boat.

He says, "Now is the season of sailing, oh, mariner. Sail with all thy canvas set." And the boat just lays there.

"Hoist up sail while gale doth last." The boat just sits there.

"A wet sheet in flowing sea, a wind that follows fast and fills the white and ruffling sail and bends the gallant mast." And he blows and the boat just sits there. There apparently has been no rising tide in Snoopy's desert, and he proves again that words alone and all the winds aren't going to move the boat.

You obviously can't change the name of places, but it takes a thriving economy to make cities grow and prosper, whatever their name is; and you've got to put water under the boat if you're going to make it sail.

We in this hall have said all the magic words. Now, we have to make this labor movement and this nation move.

Within this movement, we have indeed fashioned benefit programs, streamlined our organization, streamlined our organizing and field service operations. We've built and restructured an Organizing Institute. We've adopted all of the modern techniques of lobbying and political campaigning, and everyone here has seen firsthand the capacities that have been developed in our labor institute of public affairs for using modern communications techniques.

We have to continue to do all of those things, to do all the things necessary within this movement to modernize it; and we have to do all those things in the politics of this nation to make the economic waters flow. Our political figures and the academics can talk all they like about creative and competitive solutions. We ask competitive with whom, with ourselves? Competitive with those American-based companies that have already chosen to ship our jobs offshore and now tell us to be competitive with our dollar and our competition?

Or all of the political figures and the academics can talk all they like about creating high-tech, high-value added jobs. We ask when because what we see all around us is the creation of low-tech, low-value added, low-pay jobs or none at all.

Talk won't move the boat. We need an administration in Washington which will create an economy that will help us to work, to learn, to live in our cities.

This morning's Detroit papers report that President Bush yesterday called on the nation's banks and the financial institutions to lower interest rates on credit cards. Don't hold your breath. The New York Times this morning reports that some of the nation's banks have in fact reduced interest rates as low as 14 and 15 percent, but they keep that secret from all but a select few customers. It's a fascinating set of articles, fascinating to all of us because we used our internal strength a number of years ago to negotiate a credit card, and that card is currently charging 13 percent, going to 12.5, the lowest rate in the nation.

So, you'll excuse us, Mr. President, if we don't wait for the bankers to heed your plea and reduce their rates from 19.5 percent. I think Snoopy's boat is going to sail across the desert before that happens. (Laughter and applause)

For our part, we have to take our boat where the water is. We're going to do that, we're going to spend every bit of energy we have, not in poetry recitals, but in political support for people who share our agenda. And we're going to spend our energy in organizing activities among workers who desperately need our help in their fight for dignity.

To those fights that we all pledge ourselves. Thank you.
(Standing ovation)

OFFICE OF VICE PRESIDENT

KIRKLAND: The next order of business is the election to the office of Vice President of the AFL-CIO. It has been our traditional practice

for many conventions to read the names of those who will be placed in nomination, followed by the names of those people who, if permitted, would have liked to have placed those candidates in nomination.

So, unless there is some objection to passing up the extraordinary exquisite pleasure of listening to 33 nominating speeches this morning, I will read the names of the incumbent vice presidents and the names of the persons placing them in nomination:

Morton Bahr by James Booe

John J. Barry nominated by Jack Moore

Owen Bieber nominated by Bill Casstevens

Moe Biller nominated by William Burris

Marvin J. Boede nominated by Charles Habig

William H. Bywater nominated by Mike Bindas

John DeConcini nominated by Graydon Tettrick

Angelo Fosco nominated by Arthur Coia

Robert A. Georgine nominated by Sigurd Lucassen

Wayne E. Glenn nominated by James Dunn

Edward T. Hanley nominated by Vincent Sirabella

Frank Hanley nominated by N. Budd Coutts

James E. Hatfield nominated by Frank Carter

John T. Joyce nominated by Gerry Carlisle

George J. Kourpias nominated by Tom Ducey

Sigurd Lucassen nominated by Dean Sooter

Jay Mazur nominated by Irwin Solomon

William J. McCarthy nominated by David Sweeney

Gerald W. McEntee nominated by William Lucy

Joyce D. Miller nominated by Tom Rumore

Lenore Miller nominated by Guy Dickinson

Albert Shanker nominated by Sandra Feldman

Jack Sheinkman nominated by Arthur Loevy

Vincent R. Sombrotto nominated by Richard O'Connell

John N. Sturdivant nominated by Bobby Harnage

John J. Sweeney nominated by Richard Cordtz

Richard L. Trumka nominated by Cecil E. Roberts

Gene Upshaw nominated by Doug Allen

Lynn R. Williams nominated by Ed Ball

William H. Wynn nominated by Jerry Menapace

Due to the resignations of Dick Kilroy, former president of the Transportation Communications Union, Susan Bianchi-Sand, former president of the Association of Flight Attendants, and Milan Stone, former president of the United Rubber Workers, there are three vacancies on the AFL-CIO Executive Council. At its meeting this morning, the Executive Council voted unanimously to recommend to this convention the following three candidates. I will also read the names of those who would nominate them.

James J. Norton, President, Graphic Communications International Union, nominated by Guy DeVito.

Jack Otero, Vice President, Transportation Communications International Union, and President of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, nominated by Robert Scardelletti.

Michael Sacco, President, Seafarers International Union of North America, nominated by Roman Gralewicz.

These are the names that have been placed in nomination for Vice President of the AFL-CIO. Are there any further nominations?

...A motion to close nominations was made by an unidentified delegate.

KIRKLAND: Are there further nominations?

There has been a motion that the nominations be closed.

...The motion was seconded by several unidentified delegates.

KIRKLAND: It has been moved and seconded. Are you ready for the question? All in favor, say aye. Opposed, nay.

The motion is approved. Congratulations. (Standing ovation)

It is my pleasure to declare the 33 candidates named to be elected as vice presidents for the ensuing term. With the election of these 33 vice presidents to the Executive Council, I want to ask you to join me in thanking those vice presidents who are now completing their service. I will ask them to stand.

Dick Kilroy, former President of the Transportation Communications Union, who has served on the Council since 1981. (Applause)

Mike Stone, former president of the United Rubber Workers, who has served on the council since 1985. (Applause)

And Susan Bianchi-Sand, president of the Flight Attendants, who has served on the council since 1989.

The newly elected members of the Executive Council are on the dais I take it, or soon will be.

The newly elected members of the Executive Council are on the dais, and I would like to ask them to stand and be recognized:

Jim Norton. (Applause)

Jack Otero. (Applause)

And Mike Sacco. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes Vice President Lynn Williams for a resolution.

WILLIAMS: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I'd like to express, before I call on another vice president, my appreciation for reelection and the opportunity to continue to serve in the American labor movement. In this parade of ethnicity, it's nice for a poor old Canuck to be involved in this, too.

It's now my pleasure to call on Vice President Lenore Miller, the secretary of Subcommittee Two, for the resolution on the Presidential Endorsement Process. Vice President Lenore Miller.

SUBCOMMITTEE SECRETARY LENORE MILLER: Thank you, Lane, Tom. As one who can wear both pants and skirts, I stand here representing those people who can rule the world. (Applause)

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE TWO

Resolution No. 171

Presidential Endorsement Process

... Subcommittee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

This resolution states our belief that increasing the participation of union members in the entire Presidential selection process is labor's best hope for nominating and electing candidates who share the basic values and aspirations of working men and women. We will not stand on the sidelines while others name the candidates and determine the issues without full participation of workers and their unions.

United political action has served the labor movement well in the past and should be continued in 1992. The Executive Council has now adopted voluntary guidelines similar to those used in the previous two Presidential elections. They adapt and update the guidelines of the Summer Executive Council pledging that:

1. National and international unions should not make public endorsements of any Presidential candidates before the Executive Council or the General Board has acted.
2. National and international union officers and staff should not participate on Presidential candidates' committees or solicit funds on behalf of Presidential candidates, but they may provide funds or other resources to announced candidates prior to action by the Executive Council or General Board.
3. Unions are encouraged to extend equal courtesy and cooperation to all announced candidates for the Presidential nomination.
4. Unions are urged to use their own methods of determining the views and preferences of their members.
5. Each 1991 national and political event should be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. Generally, each international union is urged to ask its delegates to such conventions, conferences or other functions to vote their individual preferences so that such votes are not viewed as the position of any national or international union.
6. The major purpose of these guidelines is to maintain the unity of the labor movement during the political process.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliates will try to fully inform union members about candidates and their positions on the issues that concern working people. Plans are now under way to disseminate the views of President Bush, assuming that he is the Republican candidate.

If, after affiliates use their own methods to determine the views of their members, it becomes apparent that there may be a consensus, the General Board will be called in order to determine whether there is a sufficient two-thirds majority for a Federation endorsement.

In the meantime, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education will continue to work with affiliates to train union members on the delegate selection process, with the goal of securing the maximum number of union delegates to the political party conventions.

As in so many of labor's historic pursuits, the interests of working people and their families are greatly advanced by labor movement unity and solidarity in the political process. The basic objective of our collective approach is not the AFL-CIO endorsement of a candidate in the 1992 Presidential election, but rather the continuation and further improvement of a system that has a proven record of bringing millions of trade union members into closer contact with their government.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 171 on the Presidential Endorsement Process, and I so move.

...The recommendation of the committee was seconded.

KIRKLAND: The motion is to adopt the resolution. The Chair recognizes Vice President Jack Joyce.

JOYCE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters. It was in the early 1980s, shortly after Lane Kirkland became President of the AFL-CIO, that we began this new process of involvement in the Presidential campaigns. And at a very early point in the process, Lane Kirkland promised that we're going to keep doing this, he said, until we get it right, while yesterday showed that we're getting a hell of a lot better at it. Speaking for myself, I know, I was surprised to find that I learned more about each candidate's views and I came to a fuller appreciation of the qualities of each as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

And, incidentally, I think we initiated our 1992 Presidential effort in a way that was not simply interesting and informative for us. My hat's off to those who conceived and developed yesterday's program, because it managed to do three other things as well.

First, it put the AFL-CIO, the American labor movement, into the Presidential election process at a very early juncture in a very positive way, and that is as the sponsor of a public service, the first forum for the candidates to present themselves as a group to the American electorate.

Secondly, it pointed a way for the candidates to actually learn from each other. I had the feeling — I hope not mistaken — that the candidates were communicating with each other and not just arguing with one another.

And, finally, it provides an excellent departure point for us, an excellent way to begin the task that lies just immediately in front of all of us.

I suppose it was inevitable that people would oversimplify what we were doing as a process by which we decided whom to endorse as our candidate for the presidency, but it's important that we keep in mind that the question of whether or not we endorse someone is only one tactical question in a much larger, much more important effort. That effort, of course, is to elect a President responsive to the needs of working men and women and their families, responsive, that is, to the overwhelming majority of the American people.

Now, we are going to be doing that in two ways — by drawing more members and more union family members into the presidential elec-

tion process, and by more fully more completely shaping our union, the institutional part of our movement, into an instrument through which our members can shape those forces that affect them as working people.

In the days, weeks and months ahead of us over the next year, we need to educate our members on the political public policy issues that are central to them as workers. We need to inform them on the political views of each candidate on these issues. We need to determine or develop, as the case may be, a consistent candidate, if that's at all possible.

And, finally, we need to stimulate and focus the political energy of our membership and bring that membership to bear on that faithful day in November of 1992.

The committee's report on Resolution 171 points us in the right direction. Essentially, what we need to do is to take the video tape of yesterday's forum, supplement it with the other AFL-CIO materials that are going to be prepared, and the materials that we prepare that are tailored to our own organizations. With these materials, take the issues, the candidates and the elections to our members, by whatever means makes sense within our individual organizations. Whether it's meetings, questionnaires, polls, studies, study circles, focus groups, we must take the pulse of our members and feed that information back to the AFL-CIO.

With that information, President Kirkland can decide whether to call a meeting of the General Board of the AFL-CIO, either before or after the nominating conventions of the two parties. The General Board, as you know, consists of the principal officers of each AFL-CIO affiliate. The purpose of the General Board meeting would be to determine whether or not the two-thirds majority needed for an AFL-CIO endorsement actually exists.

In any event, whether we endorse or not, COPE will continue to work with all of our AFL-CIO affiliates to train union members on the delegate selection process for the conventions of both parties. As the Committee Report notes, the goal is to secure the maximum number of union delegates to the political party conventions.

Now, to do all of this, there is one fundamental prerequisite included among the six elements of the guidelines outlined in Resolution 171, and that is that no AFL-CIO affiliate should endorse or appear to endorse any presidential candidate prior to action by the AFL-CIO Executive Council or a General Board meeting. The reason for this is clear, but it's, nonetheless, made explicit in Item 6 of the guidelines contained in Resolution 171. And I quote: The major purpose of these

guidelines is to maintain the unity of the labor movement during the political process.

And this leads me to the note on which I'd like to conclude. There's an old, witty, wise, ironic Jewish saying distilled out of centuries of experience and observation. The strong take from the weak and the smart take from the strong. Well, we're not weak and we're not dumb, so let's make sure we don't act as though we are.

Brothers and sisters, I urge your support of the Committee Report on Resolution No. 171, which is to adopt the resolution. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The delegate at mike 3.

DELEGATE DANNY DONOHUE, AFSCME: Mr. Chairman, I'm executive vice president of CSEA AFSCME, Local 1000, New York. I rise in support of this resolution, because this resolution really goes to the heart of this convention. It goes to the exact reason why we're here. As the words on the wall say, "In solidarity we are one." For the labor movement to have any effect in the next election, it must speak as one voice and move as one organization.

Our enemies out there tend to deliver the idea that labor is a house divided against itself. I subscribe to the philosophy that we just may be in separate rooms in that house and not always in the same room. But there is no question, if we want to have an impact on the November elections next year, it can't be by being divided by our enemies out there. And they're more than willing to do that to make us look like we don't know what we're doing. We may not always agree; but if this labor movement has any future, any hope, it's got to start acting as one union, in solidarity, and, then, we will be one next year making a difference. I thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Is there further discussion? Are you ready for the question?

All in favor say aye.

Opposed, nay.

The motion is carried.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Presidential Endorsement Process

Since the advent of labor's unified Presidential endorsement process nearly a decade ago, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates have continuously strived to refine and enhance this procedure so as to maximize

the influence of the trade union movement in the election of the President of the United States.

Every step of the way, the goal of an AFL-CIO endorsement has been subordinate to the wider objectives of better political education within our ranks, increased membership involvement and consultation, and greater solidarity among our affiliated unions.

The ongoing development of this system has been guided by the belief that increasing the participation of union members in the entire Presidential selection process is labor's best hope for nominating and electing candidates who share the basic values and aspirations of working American men and women. Our continued solidarity makes it clear that we will not stand on the sidelines while others name the candidates and determine the issues without the full participation of workers and their unions.

It was the pursuit of greater unity that led the Executive Council, prior to the 1984 election season, to ask affiliates not to make any Presidential endorsements until a General Board meeting could determine whether the entire federation was prepared to support a specific candidate for the Presidency. In the meantime, affiliates were encouraged to employ meetings, surveys, polls and other methods for obtaining the views of their members.

This method led to the endorsement of Walter Mondale at the 1983 convention and, thanks to the participation of thousands of union members in the subsequent delegate selection process, his eventual nomination as the Democratic candidate. In the general election, union members voted for Mondale in higher proportions than the electorate-at-large.

At the 1985 AFL-CIO Convention, we noted that the question of future endorsements must necessarily depend on the specific circumstances and conditions we face in any given Presidential year.

The process of membership education and consultation was improved for the 1988 election cycle with the Executive Council's adoption of the "Democracy at Work" program. In mid-1987, all 13 Presidential candidates from both of the major parties responded to a set of questions on issues of importance to union members. One question was answered on videotape, of which thousands of copies were sent to national and international unions for use by their locals, while the responses to written questions were published in the AFL-CIO News and many other union publications. Affiliates were then encouraged to use their own methods of gauging the preferences of their members.

As in the 1984 election cycle, affiliates were again asked to refrain from public endorsements, fund-raising or other activities on behalf of any particular candidate until an attempt at consensus was made. When it became clear that an early endorsement was not in the offing, the Executive Council modified its guidelines to enable individual union members to participate in the party delegate selection process in their states and to be supported in those efforts by their unions.

In the end, no candidate attracted the consensus support of trade union members necessary to produce an endorsement in the primaries, and the AFL-CIO's endorsement was withheld until after the political party conventions.

United political action has served the labor movement well and should be continued for 1992. The relatively late start of the current campaign cycle, however, has again forced us to study the particular circumstances surrounding the campaign and tailor our approach, particularly with regard to informing members about the candidates and gauging their preferences.

The Executive Council now has adopted voluntary guidelines similar to those used in the previous two Presidential elections. In response to the conditions that prevail in the current election cycle, these guidelines have been modified and now read as follows:

1. National and international unions should not make public endorsements of any Presidential candidates before the General Board has acted on these guidelines or they have been modified by the Executive Council.
2. National and international union officers and staff should not participate on Presidential candidates' committees or solicit funds on behalf of Presidential candidates, but they may provide funds or other resources to announced candidates prior to any AFL-CIO endorsement or modification of these guidelines.
3. Unions are encouraged to extend equal courtesy and cooperation to all announced candidates for the Presidential nomination.
4. Unions are urged to use their own methods of determining the views and preferences of their members.
5. Each 1991 national and political event should be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. Generally, each international union is urged to ask its delegates to such conventions, conferences or other functions to vote their individual preferences so that such votes are not viewed as the position of any national or international union.

6. The major purpose of these guidelines is to maintain the unity of the labor movement.

These guidelines shall continue to apply until modified by the Executive Council or the General Board.

As in the past, the federation and its affiliates will strive to fully inform union members about the candidates and their positions on the issues that concern them. Plans are now underway to disseminate videotapes and transcripts of the 1991 AFL-CIO Convention's Democratic candidates' forum to the federation's affiliated national and international unions and to state federations and local labor councils. A separate attempt will be made to record and disseminate the views of President Bush, assuming that he is the Republican candidate.

If, after affiliates use their own methods to determine the views of their members, it becomes apparent that there may be a consensus, the General Board will be called in order to determine whether there is a sufficient two-thirds majority for a federation endorsement.

In the meantime, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education will continue to work with affiliates to train union members on the delegate selection process, with the goal of securing the maximum number of union delegates to the political party conventions.

As in so many of labor's historic pursuits, the interests of working people and their families are greatly advanced by labor movement unity and solidarity in the political process. The basic objective of our collective approach is not the AFL-CIO endorsement of a candidate in the 1992 Presidential election, but rather the continuation and further improvement of a system that has a proven record of bringing millions of trade union members into closer contact with their government.

To the extent that the success of this program has helped working people become the authors, rather than the victims, of events in the world, we can have no higher calling.

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President John DeConcini for a report of the Constitution Committee.

REPORT OF THE CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DeCONCINI: The Executive Council submitted two supplemental reports to the convention proposing amendments to the constitution. Both of these reports were referred to the Committee on the Constitution. The committee has reviewed the Council's proposal and now favorably recommends each of these matters to this convention.

The committee consisted of myself as chairman, John T. Joyce of the Bricklayers as secretary, Tom Ducey for the Machinists, Arthur Loevy from Clothing & Textile Workers, Frank Hanley, Operating Engineers, M.E. Nichols from the Communications Workers, Jake West from the Iron Workers, Guy Dickinson, Retail, Wholesale & Department Store, Ed Ball from the Steel Workers, James Norton, Graphic Communications, George Leitz, Transport Workers, John Barry, Electrical Workers, and R.V. Durham of the Teamsters.

For our report, I'll call on our secretary, John T. Joyce, president of the Bricklayers International Union.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY JOYCE: The Executive Council's first supplemental report states, and I quote: Four years ago the 1987 AFL-CIO convention voted a per capita tax increase. There was no such increase at the 1989 convention. Time has now taken its toll on the AFL-CIO's finances. Despite the most vigorous and conscientious cost control efforts, a conservative budget projection for 1992 shows that if this convention were not to increase per capita, the Federation's expenses would run out its per capita income by more than 5 million. The projected shortfall for 1993 is over \$7 million.

Such a two-year deficit of over \$12 million is plainly unacceptable. The Executive Council is, moreover, convinced that any attempt to balance the AFL-CIO's books by cutting back its present program would seriously weaken the Federation at the very time American workers need a strong labor movement.

Against that background, the Council has concluded that there is literally no choice but to continue the AFL-CIO on its present course and to do so while maintaining its financial soundness. The smallest per capita tax increase consistent with that aim is three cents per member per month in 1992 and two cents per member per month in 1993. The budget projections show that such an increase would produce a probable \$750,000 deficit in 1992 and a \$500,000 surplus in 1993.

Now, based on the foregoing, the Committee on Constitution, in accord with the Executive Council, recommends that Article XV, Section 2, be amended to read as follows:

"Section 2. For the period ending with per capita payments for the month of December, 1991, each national or international union and organizing committee shall pay on or before the 15th day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of 35 cents per member per month. Beginning with per capita payments for the month of January, 1992, each national or international union and organizing committee shall pay on or before the 15th day of each month, for the

preceding month, a per capita tax of 38 cents per member per month, and beginning with such payments for the month of January, 1993, the per capita tax shall be 40 cents.

Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of this amendment.

...The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY JOYCE: The Executive Council's second supplemental report notes, and I quote: The state central bodies continue to face serious financial difficulties. The major source of these difficulties is the relatively low rate of state body affiliations. To date, neither the national affiliation fee nor the other AFL-CIO and state body efforts to encourage new affiliations have produced the desired results.

The Executive Council continues to believe that a concerted, coordinated effort to increase the affiliation rates of the national and international unions not yet participating in the national affiliation program can have a positive effect. The Council has, moreover, come to the conclusion that this effort is more likely to succeed if targeted state central body affiliation levels are established and if an affiliate's failure to achieve the targeted level results in a required payment of an additional one-cent per member per month in per capita tax.

Such an approach would create a fund to be used for assistance payments to state central bodies and thus would go part of the way to assuring that each AFL-CIO union pays its fair share of the increasingly important work done by the state bodies.

The one cent added per capita for failing to meet the target would in turn provide a spur to unions with a low affiliation rate to increase their affiliations.

By focusing attention on this matter, the Council will continue to work at the task of maximizing state central body affiliation levels. Because doing so will require a period of time, it is recommended that the Executive Council be authorized, if the council deems it necessary, to set target affiliation levels, the effective date for their achievement and the effective date for a one cent per capita tax payment for those affiliates failing to meet the target level.

The Executive Council, therefore, recommends that Article XV be further amended by adding the new Section 3 and by renumbering the present Sections 3 through 9 accordingly.

The Executive Council shall have the authority by a two-thirds vote to establish a target state central body affiliation level for any calendar year beginning with January, 1992, and to increase the per capita tax specified in Article XV, Section 2, by one cent per member per month

for the succeeding years, provided that said increase shall be payable only by a national or international union or organizing committee that was not paying the national affiliation fee provided for in Article XIII, Section 2(b) and, did not achieve a level of affiliation with the appropriate state central bodies specified by the Council as reflected in its AFL-CIO per capita payments.

The council shall determine the method for computing the target affiliation levels of the national or international unions and organizing committees.

Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Constitution Committee's amendment.

KIRKLAND: Motion is on the recommendation of the Constitution Committee to adopt the described amendment.

The delegate at mike 4.

DELEGATE DAVE ARIAN, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU): Lane, I didn't move quick enough to get up here on the first motion; but just to go on the record for our International that we are opposed to a per capita increase, not because it's not needed. I'm sure it is. We're all facing the same problem; but within our own International, we've been forced to set up three different levels of per capita payment to our International because some of our locals just can't pay any more.

They've lost so many members. They've had to cut staff. A lot of the jobs have gone to Mexico. A warehouse local of 12,000 has been reduced to 4,000. A warehouse local of 6,000 has been reduced to 1,800; and they've cut — they do the best they can.

It's hard for them to pay additional per capita, and so we've made adjustments in our union to take care of those that are making money, those who are in the middle category, and those who are really hurting, so that everybody pays; but they pay according to their particular situation.

As an International, we have some workers who make good money; and that's those of us who work on the waterfront. We have a lot of other workers who are not, and we have to take that into consideration when we talk about a per capita increase.

I'm obligated to get up and speak against the per capita increase, although I understand how necessary it is to be able to run these organizations; and you need money, but I think we have to consider that the labor movement is not increasing in numbers. In the main, the trade union movement is decreasing; and that has to be taken into consideration.

And maybe we've got to pare down on top a little bit or on certain other places, but we cannot continue to tax the existing workforce more. I'm opposed to the per capita increase.

KIRKLAND: That will be duly noted in the record.

I should note that this is a constitutional amendment requiring a two-thirds vote. In the opinion of the Chair, there was a sufficient majority on the preceding vote and that it carried.

Are you ready for the question on this amendment?

All in favor, say aye.

Opposed, nay.

The motion is carried.

Chair recognizes Vice President Williams.

WILLIAMS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It's my pleasure now to call on Joyce Miller, Chairman of Subcommittee 4 of the Resolutions Committee, to present the resolution on occupational safety and health. Vice President Miller.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE 4 (Resumed)

Resolution No. 21

Occupational Safety And Health

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 44, OSHA Reform

Resolution No. 96, Occupational Health and Safety Protections

Resolution No. 130, Occupational and Environmental Safety and Health

Resolution No. 184, Reform of OSHA

... Committee Chairman Joyce Miller read the following:

The resolution reviews the current state of worker safety and health and the range of job safety problems facing workers. It notes that the recent fire in Hamlet, North Carolina, which killed 25 workers underscored the failure of the OSHA law to protect American workers. The resolution supports comprehensive reform of the OSHA Act through legislation which would mandate worker safety committees, safety programs, extend coverage to all workers and strengthen OSHA enforcement. Legislation on construction safety is also supported to

address the particular problems in this dangerous industry. The resolution calls for new standards on chemical process safety, ergonomics and other hazards. It calls for continued observance of Workers' Memorial Day and other actions to educate and organize workers around safety and health issues.

The committee recommends amending the resolution as follows:

At the end of paragraph 4, add the following:

"We will also continue to lobby the Congress for more inspectors, stronger enforcement and additional funds to make every workplace safe for all workers."

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 21, as amended, and I so move.

KIRKLAND: The question is the adoption of the Resolution 21, as amended. Before we open discussion, I would invite your attention to the screen for a video on this issue.

(A video presentation regarding worker safety and health was shown to the delegation.) (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The chair recognizes Vice President Williams.

WILLIAMS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Twenty years after the passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act, workplace injuries and illnesses still claim a terrible toll on American workers. Every year, as we've just heard, more than 10,000 workers are killed on the job. That's one worker every hour. Twenty years after the Congress promised every American worker the right to a safe job, we still have workplaces like Imperial Foods where 25 workers were killed in a fire trapped behind locked doors in Hamlet, North Carolina. This non-union plant had never been inspected in its eleven years of operations. Workers had never been trained about safety and health hazards. They were afraid to complain about conditions for fear of losing their jobs. They worked for an employer who cared more about the chickens than he did about the workers.

Hamlet showed what we in the trade union movement have known for some time our national job safety laws and job safety program are failing to protect the lives and limbs of American workers. Hamlet showed that we still have employers in this country that have no regard for human life or the dignity of workers. We have a system where it takes five to ten years to issue standards on major hazards like asbestos and poor job design. There are only enough government inspectors to inspect this nation's workplaces once every 79 years.

We can't wait for OSHA inspectors. We need to change the law to give workers the power and right to be involved in safety and health problems at the workplace, to deal with problems before workers are injured or made sick.

We now have an OSHA reform bill that would give the workers the rights and power they need to change conditions on the job. It would require joint safety and health committees and give workers a clear right to refuse to do a job that threatens their lives. It would expand OSHA to cover these workers who are currently excluded from the law's protection.

Passing the bill, as Bill Ford said, won't be easy. Businesses will oppose it and the administration will say it's not needed. We need to organize our members, and let the Congress know that workers are tired of being hurt and injured to earn a day's pay.

We owe it to the workers of Hamlet and all the other 10,000 workers who are killed every year, and the thousands more who are injured on the job, to do everything we can to get this legislation passed. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The chair recognizes Vice President Georgine.

GEORGINE: Thank you, Lane. I just want to make a few comments in support of the resolution, particularly with reference to the construction industry. I think that the video did a very graphic and dramatic job of explaining the problem, and so I'm not going to reiterate that or reiterate what Lynn has already said will be in the bills.

But I just want you to know that in the construction industry we have tried for 20 years, the 20 years that OSHA has been into effect — and you must remember we had the Construction Industry Safety Bill before that — we have tried for those 20 years to administratively get the kind of assistance and help that we need in construction. And our record in construction with regard to fatalities, with regard to accidents and injuries, has grown worse over those 20 years, not better. We have tried every way we know how. We haven't been successful in getting the changes that we need within OSHA to address the problems of the construction industry.

You heard we have 2500 deaths. A more realistic way of looking at that is if you think about it, every normal working day in the year when I wake up, I know that there will be an average of ten construction workers that would have died as a result of a workplace accident or injury on that given day. That's a lot of workers. It is the most of any industry in this country.

So, we need your help. It isn't going to be easy, but legislation is the only way that we can get the relief that we need. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Delegate at mike 1.

DELEGATE TAMMY McFADDEN Connecticut State AFL-CIO: I rise this morning to urge the delegates in the hall to support this legislation. We in Connecticut had our safety consciousness raised several years ago with the collapse of the L'Ambiance Plaza. We have been very fortunate since that time to be able to pass legislation that begins to address these issues. We have the right-to-know legislation which last year we were able to enforce somewhat by seeing that employers pay a hundred percent worker compensation to any employee who is injured or becomes ill because the employer failed to notify him of his exposure.

We have this year been successful in the first national right-to-act legislation. This legislation calls for an employee not only to be able to refuse to do work that violates OSHA regulations, but also to notify other employees that they are exposed. We have been able to pass occupational clinic legislation which connects our labor department, our health department, and worker compensation in a united system that should be able to identify illnesses and track them and maintain statistics.

This legislation was important enough to our governor, our new governor, who this year had to make billions of dollars in cuts in the budget, maintained our budget for our occupational clinic, and we were very pleased to see that.

We urge the delegates to pass this legislation. It is unconscionable that public employees should not be covered under the same federal legislation that other employees are covered under, and I urge your support. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President Bill Wynn.

WYNN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Naturally, I support this resolution. As the union that represents poultry workers and packing house workers, some of the most unsafe jobs in America, we wholeheartedly support this resolution.

But in particular, let me advise the delegates of the Imperial Plant in Hamlet, North Carolina. I went to that plant after the fire, I went with Rev. Jesse Jackson and I went with Vice President Moe Biller. Yesterday we heard Vice President Sheinkman talk about the plant conditions that existed in Honduras, and we feel very sorry for those workers in Honduras and for those terrible conditions. But let me tell

you, you do not have to go to Honduras to find some of the unbelievable situations that exist in this industry.

You take a plant like Imperial, it had no exit lights to any of the doors. But it didn't make any difference they had no exit lights because the doors were locked from the outside anyway. But it had no exit lights. The only door that was open was the front door. And the reason why those workers could not get out the front door is because the fire was between them and the door.

The only reason that only 25 people died is because of the fact that one individual after a long time was able to kick one of the doors open.

In the name of those workers in Hamlet who died this disgraceful death, we have to get this legislation. We have to reform OSHA.

Let me give you an example in North Carolina. They have 242 fish and game inspectors. They have 22 OSHA inspectors. It's apparent that North Carolina cares more about bears and fish than they do about people. And in that respect, North Carolina is not alone. The 22 OSHA inspectors with 50,000 new employers in the state of North Carolina in the last decade, if they had their full implementation of 77 OSHA inspectors in the state of North Carolina, it would take them 30 years to inspect every plant that has not been inspected in that state.

We cannot leave this up to the employers to voluntarily take care of health and safety conditions in their plant. In the name of the Hamlet workers, let's do not let them die in vain, let's reform OSHA. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 4.

DELEGATE JIM SOMMERHAUSER, Professional & Technical Engineers: Mr. President, I rise to support the resolution, but to point out one small part of that OSHA reform law you may not be aware of. 2.1 million workers of this country don't have the blessings of coverage of that law today. They are federal workers. As the Congress does not provide for coverage to itself, it also does not provide for coverage to the workers of our government.

3,400 federal workers have died without that protection since the law went in place. We can't allow it to continue.

The current arrangement provides for the employer to police itself. The fox is guarding the hen house. I ask your support of the resolution. My members thank you for it. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Delegate at mike 3.

DELEGATE GEORGE POPYACK, AFSCME: I rise in support of Resolution 21. During the convention, we've addressed some really

critical issues having to do with the political and economic life of our members. The issue that we discuss now, however, has the ability to render all of that meaningless, for what difference does it really make what the hourly rate is, what the benefit package is for one of those 10,000 workers who was killed in this country last year at the workplace.

It seems to me that we need good jobs, we need well-paying jobs. But most of all, we need safe jobs, jobs that aren't killing our workers. And that next year we won't have six million people hurt on the job in this country.

Do we really do justice to our members to save their job, only to have it kill them?

My union represents public workers. Half the states have no OSHA protection for public workers. Over eight million public workers have no OSHA protection in the United States. And those that do, of course, like everyone else, even those in the private sector, even those that do have OSHA protection aren't really protected if the laws aren't enforced. And as hundreds of new chemicals and toxic substances are introduced into the American workplace every year, what we have now is we're not only hurting ourselves and getting sick on the job, we're taking it home in our tools and our clothes. We're polluting our families, we're poisoning our air in our communities. It's time now to strengthen the OSHA to broaden the protection and make sure every American worker is safe when they go to work, that our communities are safe, our families are safe, and I urge your support of this resolution. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Are you ready for the question?

All in favor, say aye.

Opposed, nay.

The motion is carried.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Occupational Safety and Health

This past September the nation was horrified by the tragic fire that killed 25 workers trapped behind locked doors at a chicken processing plant in Hamlet, N.C. It is an outrage that the same kind of conditions which killed 146 workers in the Triangle Shirtwaist fire in 1911 still exist in America today.

Two decades after the enactment of federal job safety and health legislation, the right to a safe job remains just a promise, not a reality. Every year, more than 10,000 workers are killed and more than 6 million injured by job hazards. Construction safety hazards and toxic chemicals remain serious problems. Poor job design, infectious diseases and office hazards have emerged as major safety and health concerns for millions of workers. The cost of workplace injuries alone is staggering, estimated at more than \$80 billion a year.

The Hamlet tragedy has demonstrated that the Occupational Safety and Health Act is failing to protect American workers. A renewed commitment and new solutions are in order. The law must be changed to prevent such tragedies in the future.

The AFL-CIO is committed to comprehensive reform of the Occupational Safety and Health Act and legislation to address special safety problems in the construction industry. We support legislation that would mandate employer safety programs with full worker and union participation through safety and health committees, extend coverage to all workers, enhance OSHA enforcement authority and expand injury and illness reporting. We will continue to work for improved construction safety legislation to establish a system of safety management on construction sites, improve OSHA's ability to address construction safety hazards and expand worker safety training. We will also continue to lobby the Congress for more inspectors, stronger enforcement and additional funds to make every workplace safe for all workers.

Strengthening regulations and enforcement of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the Mine Safety and Health Administration are also top priorities for the AFL-CIO. Standards are needed on ergonomic hazards, video display terminals, methylene chloride, lead in construction, environmental monitoring and medical surveillance. Pending standards on infectious diseases, confined space entry, chemical process safety, butadiene, asbestos and cadmium should be issued promptly. In the mining industry, a new regulation on diesel exhaust is a priority along with updates of existing rules.

Strong, consistent enforcement is necessary for standards to be effective. The AFL-CIO will push the Bush administration to fully utilize the higher OSHA and MSHA fines now provided by law and seek changes in OSHA policy and practice to grant union representatives full participation in settlement discussions on enforcement cases.

In recent years state and local governments have launched initiatives to improve worker protections. While the AFL-CIO continues to support a strong federal OSHA program over state plans, state initiatives like "right to know" have broken new ground and forced federal

action. We urge all affiliates and state AFL-CIOs to support state initiatives on worker safety and health training programs, worker clinics, VDT use, "right to act" and criminal prosecution of employers for workplace injuries, illnesses and fatalities.

Health and safety in the workplace can only be achieved through strong union programs and an informed and active membership. The AFL-CIO will continue the April 28 Workers Memorial Day observance to call attention to job hazards and to build support for improvements in workplace safety and health. We will assist member unions in their efforts to seek increased rights and protections through collective bargaining and to address the health and safety concerns of unorganized workers.

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KIRKLAND: The chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Donahue for announcements.

DONAHUE: The Late Resolutions Committee recommends that the convention accept for consideration a resolution which would be numbered 203 on the subject of Statehood for the District of Columbia. This resolution is submitted by the Washington, D.C. Central Labor Council. I move acceptance of the resolution for the convention's consideration.

KIRKLAND: The recommendation is adopted.

Text of the late resolution follows.

Resolution No. 203

Statehood for the District of Columbia

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has officially endorsed Statehood for the District of Columbia and has expressed its longstanding commitment to the enfranchisement of Washington's nearly 650,000 citizens; and

WHEREAS, the citizens of Washington, D.C. have no voting representatives in Congress, and are thus denied their democratic rights in the highest representative body in the land; and

WHEREAS, The movement and support for Statehood in the U.S. Senate and U.S. Congress has significantly increased in the past year, due in great measure to the efforts of Senator Jesse Jackson (D-DC) and the National Rainbow Coalition; and

WHEREAS, The Senate will introduce a Statehood Bill on November 21 of this year and the House will commence hearings on Statehood on November 14; and

WHEREAS, Washington D.C. has more people than five states (Vermont, North Dakota, Alaska, Wyoming and Delaware), pays more taxes than ten states, and sent more of its youth to the Persian Gulf than twenty states, thus affirming its commitment to full American citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The movement for self-determination and democracy is sweeping Eastern Europe, and the United States has expressed its commitment to self-determination in other nations such as Kuwait. In every one of the 115 industrialized nations with an elected national legislature, the citizens of the capital have a vote in that legislature, except in the United States; and

WHEREAS, D.C. statehood is not for D.C. only. Two Senators from Washington would be an asset to working people, women, and democracy everywhere; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its longstanding support for Statehood for the District of Columbia and pledges its support for the campaign to enact Statehood legislation. The AFL-CIO urges all Senators and Representatives to vote for the legislation, and urges the President to sign it.

DONAHUE: The AFL-CIO Committee on Labels will meet immediately on the adjournment of this session in the Renoir Room, level 4.

Escort Committees for this afternoon's speakers, the Escort Committee for Kazimieras Uoka: Vice Presidents Bieber, Fosco, Sweeney and Joyce.

The Escort Committee for John Vanderveken, Secretary General of the ICFTU: Vice Presidents Joyce Miller, Sheinkman, Trumka and Williams.

The Escort Committee for Mrs. Yelena Bonner: Vice Presidents DeConcini, Georgine, McEntee, Lenore Miller and Shanker.

The Associated Actors and Artistes of America and the George Meany Center for Labor Studies cordially invite all delegates to join them this evening in an evening with the performing arts, to be hosted by Theo Bikel, the President of 4A's, an evening featuring the music of Motown tonight at 9:00 o'clock in the Columbus Ballroom. All delegates are invited.

KIRKLAND: The convention will stand in recess until 2:00 p.m.

...At 12:34 p.m., the convention was recessed to reconvene at 2:00 p.m.

THIRD DAY - AFTERNOON SESSION

Wednesday, November 13, 1991

... The convention was called to order at 2:30 p.m., President Kirkland presiding.

KIRKLAND: Among our international guests are trade unionists representing the free trade unions of Latin America. We will introduce these guests to you now.

... At this time President Kirkland introduced the following:

Enrique Terny, Executive Board Member
Confederation of Argentine Workers
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Leroy Trotman, Deputy General
Barbados Workers Union
Bridgetown, Barbados

Ottiwell Simmons, President
Bermuda Industrial Union
Hamilton, Bermuda

Francisco Pegado, President
General Confederation of Workers
Sao Paulo, Brazil

Jose Joaquin Melendez, President
Confederation of Workers Rerum Novarum
San Jose, Costa Rica

Maria Rozas, Vice President
International Affairs Unitarian Workers Central
Santiago, Chile

Mariano Negron, General Secretary
National Confederation of Dominican Workers
Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic

Julio Chang, General Secretary
Ecuadorean Confederation of Free Trade Unions
Quito, Ecuador

Joseph Pollydore, General Secretary
Guyana Trades Union Council
Georgetown, Guyana

Andre Joseph Lafontant, Organizing Secretary
National Confederation of Haitian Teachers
Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Jean Robert Edma, Vice President
Federation of Unionized Workers
Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Francisco Guerrero, General Secretary
Confederation of Honduran Workers
Tegucigalpa, Honduras

Jose Espinoza, Acting General Secretary
Confederation of Trade Union Unit
Managua, Nicaragua

Aniano Pinzon, General Secretary
Confederation of Workers of the Republic of Panama
Panama City, Panama

Selwyn John, President
Trinidad and Tobago Labor Congress
Port of Spain, Trinidad

Anibal Cabera
Confederation of Venezuelan Workers
Caracas, Venezuela

Ernesto Dias
Former Cuban Labor Leader and Ex-Political Prisoner

Kertist Augustus, Secretary-Treasurer
Caribbean Congress of Labour
Bridgetown, Barbados

(Applause)

KIRKLAND: Our next speaker began his trade union career when he was working in the Panama Canal Zone and became active in Local 907 of AFSCME. He rose to the presidency of that local and went on to become general secretary of the Confederation of Workers of the Republic of Panama. He comes to us today as the general secretary of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, known by its acronym ORIT, which counts as its members the trade union federations of North and South America and the Caribbean nations, including the AFL-CIO.

Please welcome Brother Luis Anderson. (Applause)

LUIS ANDERSON

General Secretary

Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers

It's good to be here, Lane. It's good to be in the house of labor in this great nation. My mother language is Spanish; but with the permission of my Latin American brothers and the delight of my colleagues and friends of the English-speaking Caribbean, I'll address this convention in English.

Sisters and brothers of the AFL-CIO, it gives me great pleasure to salute this 19th Convention of the AFL-CIO and to express to you delegates warm and fraternal greetings for more than 25 million workers in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Four years ago in Miami I said to this convention that our major effort, our main concern, was our struggle to establish and strengthen functional democracies in our countries.

Today, despite those significant changes that have occurred since that makes Cuba and Haiti stick out as a sore thumb—being the two remaining dictatorial regimes that negate freedom, democracy and self-determination in our hemisphere—the old struggle still continues, although with new and other challenges.

Yes, we do have governments elected by the people. But because we believe that free elections are absolutely germane to democracy — but by themselves do not guarantee the existence of a true democracy — we now confront governments lured by the apologies and promoters of Thatcherism and Reaganism that have undertaken a crazy race towards the marketplace in search of the solutions of economic grandeur and total well-being.

They leave in their wake more than 170 million persons living in abject poverty, 50 million children that are undernourished from their mother's womb, less schools and hospitals than those that existed at the beginning of the eighties, the ugliest ghettos and slums that the human civilization has ever witnessed, widespread disease, hunger and unemployment.

We recognize that those problems can only be resolved through the construction of a sound, strong economy, combined with a policy of fair distribution of the wealth that is generated. We also recognize the present global and interdependent nature of economics, finance, technology and trade.

We acknowledge that there is a need for the Americas, this hemisphere, to get its act together, for it to meet head-on and with the possibility of success, the competition of the ever-expanding European

common market and the so-called strongly emerging Asian tigers. Hemispheric interdependence is a fact of life. Together our countries have a potential market of more than 600 million producers and consumers. The question is, then, what road do we follow to achieve this goal. We, Latin America and the Caribbean, have no illusion about trickle-down and supply-side economics. A tragic history of exploitation and poverty from the colonial times to the present is a result of making the rich richer, awaiting for the gravy to spread evenly and justly among us, the workers, that have, in fact, produced all the work.

While you're committed to eradicate the 59- and 33-cents-an-hour wages that Senator Harkin denounced yesterday, we do not believe that in order to establish fair trade and resolve our problems, we must witness the devastation of the quality of life and the hard-earned benefits of our brothers and sisters in the United States and Canada.

Through the years, for many years, ever since I can remember, workers and unions in Latin America and the Caribbean have received the general solidarity of the AFL-CIO. With your help, the organized unions in our countries, we fought off the multi-national corporations, the right- and left-wing dictatorships, the death squads in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Colombia. We conducted trade union organization activities, we formed co-ops, and also strengthened our political action programs. We know first-hand that solidarity works.

I'm here to say today that we're prepared not only to recognize in gratitude those actions that have given true meaning to the concept of solidarity, but that we are also prepared to give back that solidarity. We will not become, we will not be used as scabs against our brothers and sisters of the United States of America and Canada. (Applause)

The Bush initiative for the Americas notwithstanding, our dire need to build free and democratic and just societies will not lead us to accept the logic that the foundation of a prosperous Latin America will be built on the ashes of the dreams and the aspirations of the workers in this great country of Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Hubert Humphrey and John Kennedy.

As it was recognized a week ago in Costa Rica during our continental conference on integration, development and democracy, we are in this struggle together against common adversaries. We shall go ahead together. Together we shall endure. Together we shall overcome.

Carry on with a successful convention. We have high hopes that with your unity and your strength, together with the people of the United States of America, you will elect in 1992 the leaders that this great society needs and deserves. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: I call your attention again to the video screen.

A video presentation on the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was shown to the convention delegates.

KIRKLAND: Will the Escort Committee bring John Vanderveken to the platform, please. (Standing ovation)

Under John Vanderveken's leadership, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has been a strong voice for human decency and labor union solidarity in our complex and tumultuous world.

Democratic revolutions, led by working people and their unions, are sweeping tyrants from their thrones. And these popular movements, from Poland to Zambia, have been able to count on the staunch support of the ICFTU under John Vanderveken's leadership.

And just as he stood alongside Solidarnosc in the Gdansk shipyard, he was there in the coal regions of Virginia helping the Pittston miners in their struggle for justice.

Now, John Vanderveken, against our stern and fierce opposition, has announced his upcoming retirement from the labor movement that he served all of his adult life. The democratic trade union movement could not have had a more decent and effective leader than John Vanderveken. We could not have had a better friend.

He has earned our deep respect and our abiding sense of trade union fraternity.

Brothers and sisters, join me in honoring someone who has been faithful to the ideas of free trade unionism and democracy, John Vanderveken. (Standing ovation)

JOHN VANDERVEKEN

General Secretary

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

Thank you very much for this very warm welcome. I'm, of course, very honored and pleased to have been invited to address this convention on behalf of the ICFTU.

Of course, the last time I was here, it was in August, a bit more of you around. That was during Solidarity Day, which I was happy to attend.

That rally was a powerful witness to the American labor movement's commitment to the ideals of international solidarity that are the driving force behind the free trade union movement.

It should also serve as a strong message to those who are telling the world that that movement is on the edge of extinction.

Of course, big business has always been well-known for the way its representatives keep such a firm grip on reality. This enables them to correct the many misconceptions that working people fall prey to.

You know, workers in Central and Eastern Europe, for instance, might be under the impression that they are unemployed, but that is not so. They are merely undergoing a period of structural adjustment.

Anyone walking around the empty factories and machine shops in America's industrial areas might suppose that these places have been closed. Of course, they are wrong. They've been rationalized.

And that's not a headline you can see stretching around the block, it's a flexible labor force.

There may be even some trade unionists in America who think that they have been fired after going on strike, but that's ridiculous, of course. They have been permanently replaced. They've not been fired, never.

Friends, sometimes it's hard to think of anything to say to the free marketeers other than, "How are things on the planet Zarg?"

Unfortunately, they don't live on the planet Zarg, they live right here. They're scurrying all over Central and Eastern Europe now, telling workers that they didn't risk their livelihoods, and sometimes their lives, for democracy, for trade union rights, or for social justice. No, they did it for the privilege of becoming cheap labor in a free market.

We must resist this ideological coup d'etat not only to protect the well-being of workers and their families, but to stop democracy itself from being discredited by mass unemployment and poverty.

We must make sure that the real lesson of the 1980s is hammered home; that democracy works, that social justice is not a brake on the engine of economic growth; nor is it a luxury that can be bolted on as the engine is steaming down the track. It is, in fact, a necessary precondition of efficiency and of prosperity.

We in the international free trade union movement have always understood this connection. That is why we have always kept faith with our ideals, because they are not simply pious declarations of intent, but the building blocks of free societies and of a free world.

It is our members, inspired by those ideals, who can claim much of the credit for the collapse of dictatorship in Europe, and for the spread of democracy throughout Latin America.

It is our members who are fighting to bring democratic change to Africa and who have brought the apartheid regime almost to its knees.

We know all too well that there is often a terrible price to pay in these struggles. Our brothers and sisters were rotting in jails in Central and Eastern Europe while international financiers were queuing up to bankroll the jailers. They were dying in Chile while economists were singing Pinochet's praises. And their blood was scarcely dry on Tiananmen Square before big business was beating a path to Deng Xiao Ping's door, checkbooks at the ready.

And they're still dying today. It is still open season on trade unionists in some parts of Latin America. And little is being done to bring the killers to justice, or even to weed them out of the security forces that they infest. Trade union rights may be respected on paper, but on the streets it's a different story.

So there is still a long road to travel. And even as we advance, we have to guard our rear. The Pittston strike showed just how far the union-busters are ready to go, even in the free world. I number myself among those who will be a long time forgetting the images of armed National Guardsmen confronting trade unionists in the United States.

But that strike also showed that we too have learned. We have learned to think globally and act locally. In the world today, borders are little more than lines on maps — administrative fictions that are ignored by multinational companies and international finance. We can deplore this fact, but we cannot change it.

In fact, we can turn it to our advantage — as was done during the Pittston strike — a textbook example of solidarity in action.

The lesson from that and other disputes is being hammered home every day. It will guide this convention, as it will guide the ICFTU's World Congress in Caracas next March. And that message is a simple one: No trade union anywhere in the world can stand alone these days. And no union has to. Because from now on, every day is Solidarity Day. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: John, I want to thank you very much for your remarks, and on behalf of the delegates, I would ask you to please accept his gift as a token of our admiration and respect. Thank you for being with us and for all of your work. (Applause)

I would like now to direct your attention again to the video screen.

... At this time, video presentation was shown to the convention. (Applause)

Our next speaker represents the unions of the Asian-Pacific region of the world. Roberto Flores is the President of the Filipino Civilian Employees Association in the United States' facilities in the Philip-

piners. An active union member for 22 years, he serves as a National Vice President of the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines.

Will you please welcome Roberto Flores. (Standing ovation)

ROBERTO FLORES

President, Filipino Civilian Employees Association

Thank you. President Kirkland, officers and members of the Executive Council, delegates and fellow foreign guests:

On behalf of the representatives of the democratic trade unions from the Asian-Pacific region, including my own Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, may I express our collective appreciation to the AFL-CIO for the kind invitation to us and, at the same time, to extend our sincerest congratulations to all the officers and delegates of the AFL-CIO's 19th Constitutional Convention.

It is indeed an honor for me to address you on behalf of my colleagues. The Philippines and the United States have enjoyed a special relationship for almost one century. During that time the fraternal ties between American and Filipino trade unions have widened and deepened.

My country has recently suffered a series of national calamities that have caused great suffering to a large number of our workers. The eruption of Mt. Pinatubo has displaced some 650,000 workers and their families and 80 percent of the houses of my union members. A serious earthquake in 1990 killed some 2,000 people, and the recent typhoons have killed over 7,000 persons.

These calamities have resulted in an unemployment rate in many areas of over 50 percent. In these disasters, the AFL-CIO responded quickly by providing help to the Asian-American Free Labor Institute of affected workers. I would, therefore, like to take this opportunity to thank the working men and women of America for their general assistance for the victims of these natural disasters, in addition to their traditional support for democratic trade union activities in my country (Applause)

I note that the theme of your convention is "Solidarity Works." I cannot agree more. Our people demonstrated this in 1986 when in the face of the guns of a dictator, our people, armed only with the firm and unwavering belief in solidarity, which weakened people power, unseated the dictator and brought democracy to our country. (Applause)

During my time here, I have had the opportunity to talk to many of my brothers about the pervasive anti-labor practices of the multina

tional corporations. We must and can work together to strengthen our international ties, to combat the abuses committed by these companies. We can assure you that you can count on your Asian brothers in that effort.

Solidarity forever, or in my language, Sama-Sama, may I say this: Mabuhay to President Kirkland. Mabuhay to the AFL-CIO. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: For nearly a century since the days of Samuel Gompers, the American trade union movement has maintained official fraternal ties with our brothers and sisters in the British Trades Union Congress, making it the oldest such fraternal relationship anywhere in the world. It is part of that tradition for a TUC delegate to address the AFL-CIO convention.

This year, we are fortunate to have with us Ada Maddocks, who began her trade union career when she joined the staff of the National and Local Government Officers' Association. In September, she completed her service on the TUC General Council after 12 years. Please welcome sister Ada Maddocks. (Standing ovation)

ADA MADDOCKS

Sororal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress

President, sisters and brothers, would you please accept the very warm greetings and best wishes of eight million trade union members in the TUC in Britain? I am proud, personally, to follow in a tradition of exchange of delegates between the United States and the British trade union movement, which goes back to 1894. I am very pleased, particularly, to be the sororal delegate to your convention, and I am very glad that through Joyce Miller and Susan Bianchi-Sand, who were delegates to the British TUC, you were trying to practice what you preach in terms of equality. The TUC is catching up with my presence here, but we still have a long way to go.

Delegates, the common struggle for equality and the elimination of discrimination on grounds of sex, creed, race, or ethnic or national origin is only one of the many struggles in which we stand shoulder to shoulder. Most of you will not know what a great pleasure it is to be with your president in the meetings of the ICFTU, the Trade Union Advisory Committee, and the International Labor Organization in work to extend trade union freedoms and trade union influence around the world. Lane is an inspiration, especially, if I may say, in these busy days when independent trade unions are emerging in countries

in all parts of the world which until barely two years ago seemed condemned to totalitarian oppression for decades more.

It is your president who most eloquently and forcefully spells out the message that there is no necessary connection between democracy and the uncontrolled play of market forces. It is he who points out most convincingly that, on the contrary, abandoning the devastated economies of Central Europe and the Soviet Union to the unfairness, greed, and heartlessness of the free market system runs a great risk of blighting the whole of stable democratic institutions.

The danger is the greater, given the build-up of bitterness and rivalries in countries as far apart as Poland and Zambia. However, we can take pride in the international trade union movement that staunch and brave trade unionists have been elected to the political leadership of both countries. The supporters of political democracy need the support of the free trade union movement, and we need their support.

True democracy is only one of the needs which find no place in the market. Unrestricted competition has never led to full employment or extended to all the right to work. It has proved powerless to prevent massive and possibly irreversible damage to the environment, both physical and moral. And the free market is woefully and damagingly inadequate in fairly distributing to human beings' life chances in education and health care, even within nations.

We were delighted with the success of your Solidarity Day on August 31. We share your concerns, and we face many of your problems. May I say I was particularly interested in the debate yesterday on health because for many years of my trade union life, it has been spent in representing workers in our national health service. I sympathize and support entirely your demand for fairness in health care here for action to insure that basic human needs are met, especially for the poor and underprivileged. Don't be sidetracked by the false arguments used against you.

In Britain, which has suffered from 12 years of blind devotion to the market, the election campaign is well underway, though we have no polling date yet. But all of the main parties have decided that they need to prove to voters that they will maintain and strengthen our national health service, which is overwhelmingly financed from national taxation.

The main argument so far has arisen from the charge of the Labor Party that the Conservative government wants to privatize our hospitals and health care system under the guise of a reorganization; and the government is desperate now to show that it has no such intention. I have a feeling the fact that it has lost several by-elections in recent

months for election to our Parliament on this very issue must have had a great effect on them.

Friends, British people are not less healthy than Americans. Life expectancy in general is slightly better for both men and women in the United Kingdom. Everyone is assured of treatment, and the treatment, especially of the most urgent and most serious cases, is among the most advanced in the world. That treatment is free at the point of need.

British workers do not run the risk of financial catastrophe as a result of prolonged illness, a fate which can descend on any family anywhere. And if you take national expenditure on health as a proportion of all expenditure, you will find that the British system, with 6 percent of GNP, is much more economical as well as being immeasurably more fair than, say, the system in the United States which, as was reported yesterday, spends about 11 percent of GNP on health care. So the costs per person for health care is almost three times as much in the United States. Our experience, I hope, will be of use to you in your campaign and will sustain you.

I will always treasure my memories of this convention and of the particular kindness and hospitality shown to me. Thank you very much indeed, and may I wish you a healthy and rewarding future in all your endeavors. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Sister Maddocks, thank you very much for your kind remarks. Please accept in the name of the delegates this token of our appreciation. Thank you. (Applause)

We will next meet the representatives of the free trade unions of Africa.

...The following representatives of the free trade unions of Africa were introduced to the delegation as follows:

Bianco Adiko, General Secretary
Ivory Coast Trade Unions
Ivory Coast

Bakary Karambe, General Secretary
National Union of Malian Workers
Mali

Mahjoub Benseddik, General Secretary
Morocco Trades Union Congress
Morocco

Madia Diop, General Secretary
Senegal Trades Union Congress
Senegal

Kandeh Yilla, General Secretary
Sierra Leone Labour Congress
Sierra Leone

John Gomomo, President
Congress of South African Trade Unions
South Africa

Cunningham Ngcukana, General Secretary
National Council of Trade Unions
South Africa

Muleli Sangol Katalay, President
Zaire Trades Union Congress
Zaire

Alec Chirwa, Assistant and Acting General Secretary
Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
Zambia

Bruno J. Mpangala, General Secretary
East African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council
Tanzania

Vincent Kubwimana, President
Organization of Trade Unions of Central Africa

Laouali Moutari, General Secretary
Organization of Trade Unions of West Africa

KIRKLAND: One of our African guests who was to have been with us at this convention was our old friend Brother Frederick Chiluba, the recently elected president of Zambia. Brother Chiluba, former head of the Zambian Trade Union Democratic Trade Union Movement triumphed against great odds in defeating Kenneth Kaunda and putting Zambia in the ranks of democratic nations. (Applause)

We wish President Chiluba well and promise our support and solidarity to the workers of Zambia.

Representing the delegation of African Trade Unionists is Hassan Sunmonu from Nigeria. (Applause)

He began his career in the labor movement by heading the nationwide student union movement. A civil engineer by training, Brother Sunmonu has served as president of his own union, the Civil Service Technical Workers Union of Nigeria, and as President of the Nigeria Labor Congress.

Currently he is Secretary-General of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, the umbrella organization for the trade unions of Africa. Please welcome Hassan Sunmonu. (Standing ovation)

HASSAN SUNMONU
Secretary-General
Organization of African Trade Union Unity

Brother Kirkland, distinguished members of the AFL-CIO, brothers and sisters of the AFL-CIO, ladies and gentlemen: It is for us, African guests of the 19th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, a special honor to be invited to this historic convention taking place in this equally historic city of Detroit.

Our presence at your convention is for two main reasons; first, to thank you for your all-around assistance and practical solidarity to our unions and members; and secondly, to draw inspiration from your struggle against injustice and corporate greed in your country.

Your assistance to us has strengthened our unions in the struggle for democracy and social justice in Africa. Apartheid is on the way out in South Africa. (Applause)

A multi-party system and democracy are replacing military dictatorships and one-party governments. History was recently made in Africa, where less than two weeks ago in Zambia, a charismatic trade union leader, Frederick Chiluba, defeated one of Africa's veteran political leaders, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, by winning 80 percent of the votes. (Applause)

The Malian trade unions led the democratic forces in that country to overthrow the corrupt and repressive military regime of Moussa Traore. Trade unions were in the vanguard of the democratic processes that are now taking place in the Congo and Niger republics.

The process for democracy and multipartism is now irreversible in Africa. It is our intention, as workers and trade unionists, to be part of that process. We know we can count on you for your invaluable support and solidarity. We should all remember that the game is not finished until the last whistle is blown. The struggle for freedom and democracy in Africa cannot end until apartheid is dead and buried in South Africa, and there is a non-racial democratic majority rule in that country. (Applause)

The game will not end until democracy based on popular participation, the empowerment of the people and accountability takes root in every African country. And the game will not end until social and economic justice become the order of the day in our continent.

It is only when these three major tasks are accomplished in Africa that we can say that our tasks are accomplished. Even after that, we shall maintain an eternal vigilance which is the price all of us have to pay for freedom.

Of recent, there has been pronouncements of leading political figures on the New World Order. Let us join forces together to work for a New World Order that is based on social and economic justice, that will guarantee for all countries, north and south, developed and developing, and to all peoples all the fundamental human, trade union and economic rights.

Anything that is unjust will not get divine blessing, so we, too, as working people, should not lend our support to such a thing that is unjust. I would like to assure you of the solidarity of African workers in your fight against the hiring of scabs to replace strikers and for national health insurance to cover all American people.

I would like to express, in the name of African workers and trade unions, our gratitude to the AFL-CIO for the technical assistance the African-American Labor Center has been rendering over several decades to the African labor movement. We also pay homage to the working people of the United States for their support for liberty and justice throughout the world.

Finally, Lane Kirkland, we wish this convention successful deliberations. We also wish you success in your social, political and economic struggles. We hope when we come to your 20th convention we will find a Democrat in the White House. (Applause)

Long live the solidarity between Africa and the United States of America. Thank you very much. God Bless. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Thank you, Brother Sunmonu. I want to say to all of your brothers from South Africa, how delighted we are to have them with us.

Will the Escort Committee please bring Yelena Bonner to the platform, please. (Standing ovation)

Few who follow the course of events in our rapidly changing world can fail to be moved by the recent events in Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania and other republics of what we used to call the Soviet Union.

And few people have been more central to those events than our next speaker, Yelena Bonner.

When the voices of democracy were banished to the permafrost of the gulag, Yelena Bonner dared to speak out for human rights. When her husband, Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov, was sent into forced exile and lived under house arrest, Yelena Bonner waged a fight to win his freedom.

And when workers were under attack for pressing their rights, Yelena Bonner dared to speak out for trade union freedoms. And she

was on the barricades of the Russian White House during the coup in August.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome a true hero of democracy, Yelena Bonner. (Standing ovation)

Yelena Bonner addressed the delegation through an interpreter as follows:

YELENA BONNER

I am deeply grateful to the leadership of this congress for the opportunity to talk in front of you. It strengthens our long time friendship with the congress of American labor unions. And our deep appreciation are from Russia and the former Soviet Union for the constant help which we received from the American labor movement.

I hope you'll excuse me that I will not talk about specific labor issues but will address some issues which are common for all the people in the world. Something absolutely unbelievable, something like a miracle did happen. Without the third world war, one of the most totalitarian states in the history of humankind disintegrated. This is the state about which its leader said about the previous state which he replaced, that Russia is the prison of the people. This state became a prison of people after 1917. It remained a prison after the Second World War, but it acquired on the way about half of Western Europe. And we said goodbye to the state only recently.

We always have to remember with gratitude of the steps or the way which we took on this road, and we should remember those who didn't arrive with us today. We should remember Berlin of 1953, Budapest of 1956, Prague of 1968, Solidarnosc in December 1981. We also should remember the fall of the Berlin Wall, and finally, the events which took place recently in Moscow. (Applause)

It doesn't mean, however, that everything that could have happened happened and we can rest. Yes, indeed, the state which existed for 74 years and which was a monster threatening the whole world, this state doesn't exist any more. The space which occupies one-sixth of the world land doesn't have a name today. It doesn't have a legal or lawful government, because the members of the Supreme Soviet, which used to be the center, have never been elected by anybody.

If thousands of American lawyers will try to figure out the legitimacy of Gorbachev's power, they will not succeed. At some time he hasn't been elected by the popular vote but was appointed by the Congress. And in August of this year, he dissolved this congress which elected him. And, therefore, legally he denied the existence of his

position. But he continues to occupy his position, and that is another sign that the unlawfulness so typical for our state continues today.

So what do we have today? We have some new states, and some of them are not so democratic. But we should help those new states, and the West continues to help those states. And the question is, what is the criteria for help to those states.

There is a very precise and very constant criteria for help. This is human rights, this is the criteria for help which democrats all over always used for help.

But in this new time in the new situation which exists right now, the understanding of what human rights is should be changed. It shouldn't be done flippantly, understand, and should be done very precisely and the framework accepted by the world organizations on human rights.

In the 1936 constitution, "extremely wise" Josef Stalin united two principles. Those principles are the constancy of the borders and self-determination of people. The first principle, constancy of the borders, has to do with the rights of state. The second one has to do with the right of people.

Because of Stalin, this definition found its way into the international politics; and until we divide these two principles and separate them, we will continue to experience tragedies such as the tragedy of Kurds and Yugoslavs. As an example, the international community defended the borders of Kuwait, and, therefore, supported this principle of constancy of borders; but by not defending the Kurds and Shiites in the south of Iraq, the international community, therefore, betrayed its principle of the right to self-determination. The same thing is happening today in Yugoslavia, in Azerbaijan. It happens in Azerbaijan, as well, when Azerbaijani deport and destroy people in the Nagorno-Karabakh.

The same is done by Georgia to the Ossetian people in Southern Ossetia.

And all of here in America, in Europe, in the Soviet Union betrayed democracy when they so easily forgave the Chinese government for what they did in China. (Applause)

International workers' solidarity, solidarity of workers' organizations, always was the basis of the democratic society; and while I'm not denying the importance of defending the rights of workers, defending workers' families, children, dealing with the problems of education or medicine, I think one of the most important people is the difference of human rights.

It's natural that people associate some very important events—both their emotional events and events on the outside—with the end of the century.

Indeed, the most important event in the transition from the 20th to the 21st century already happened. Those events are the fall of the Berlin Wall, which divided two societies, and the fall of 1991 in Moscow. And just as we defended the rights of human rights before with the same bravery, we should continue to defend the rights of people of nations.

Andrei Sakharov, in the proposed constitution that he was writing, said that all people, no matter how big or small they are, have the right for the equal representation. The right to defend a territory, regardless of territory of the nation, regardless of what the state say about it, is the right which is recognized by the United Nations. Today, I think it's our goal to arrive to the point where the right of self-determination of people is recognized as widely as human rights. Thank you very much. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: On behalf of the delegates, I would like you to accept this gift as a memory of this convention, as a sign of our love and respect for you and for all that you're doing. (Applause)

MRS. BONNER: Birds are always free, and I hope that people will also be free.

KIRKLAND: But you have to be an eagle. (Applause)

Once more, I'd like to direct your attention to the video screen.

... At this time a video was presented to the delegation. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Would the Escort Committee please bring Brother Uoka to the platform. (Standing ovation)

PRESENTATION OF THE George Meany Human Rights Award

KIRKLAND: Brothers and sisters, I am delighted and honored to present the 1991 George Meany Human Rights Award to a brother trade unionist whose courage and dedication to human liberty inspires us all — Kazimieras Uoka.

Brother Uoka. (Standing ovation)

Brother Uoka, the deck is yours.

KAZIMIERAS UOKA

Lithuanian Workers Union

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-Treasurer, distinguished colleagues, brothers and sisters:

In 1989, shortly before I came to your last convention, when I was a deputy in the Soviet parliament, a group of Lithuanian deputies decided not to participate in the election of Mr. Gorbachev as president. With my unused ballot, I approached my colleague, Mr. Andrei Sakharov, and explained the position of the Lithuanian delegation not to participate in the election of a new Russian czar. Sakharov took my unused ballot and wrote on it, "If I were a representative from an occupied country, I would act in the same way, A.D. Sakharov." This honored note I cherish as proof that the ideas and goals of mine and those of the honored Mr. Sakharov were the same.

Today, I come to your convention, two years later, from an independent and free Lithuania — (Applause) — whose freely elected president may address the AFL-CIO convention. We have a long road to travel to overcome the effects of the horrible Soviet occupation, but we are now free to do so.

All of the Eastern European countries are coming to the world community with unique and difficult problems. Western European and American specialists come to us with their policies, but they are of little help, since the western countries have not traveled the same road. They have not had the opportunity to resolve the problem of overcoming communism, of reconciling all the social and economic problems that arise from privatizing the fully state-controlled farms and property. The Eastern European countries are going through this process themselves, and each are choosing their unique path.

There is no more sensational news coming from Eastern Europe. We have now started the really difficult work. To get to this stage, we needed your help, and to get to the next stage of a democratic Eastern Europe, we need your continuing support.

Workers' unions in Eastern Europe are having great difficulty organizing.

Because the whole concept of the unions was so compromised by communism, which used trade unions as a political and social tool, that people now have a hard time believing or trusting in the new trade unions.

Sensing the political mood and difficulties, the old party-controlled unions are trying to reorganize themselves with new names to achieve their own self-interest. Their goal and interest is now to take control

over the economy through illegitimate but legal means, to destroy the people's trust in the new democratic, freely elected government and to heighten fear for the future in people's minds. The recent results of the Polish election show how the communists can be successful in fragmenting the society to still achieve their political ends. This game is being played out from Vladivostok on the Sea of Japan to Tirana on the Mediterranean coast. All of this is being directed by the same hand in preparation for the second step in the game.

You will begin to see demonstrations of dissatisfaction by masses of people in front of parliament buildings. All of the previously appointed communist leaders will try to take advantage of this public mood to take control over property through legal means. In this manner the communists will be able to once again have control, this time as legal owners.

If these post-communist forces all had in their countries the same subservient unions, their plans would be more easily achieved; but thank God this is not the case. (Applause)

In all the Eastern European countries, new and independent trade unions are being established and are having success in challenging the old order. We must still warn you of working with the old unions under new names, as some trade unions in Europe are doing, and to urge you to work with the truly new free and independent unions.

The worst fear of ordinary citizens and workers of Eastern Europe is that the former Communist Party apparatchiks take over the state property now being privatized and in this way gain political control. This is their worst fear and concern.

Poland, Byelorussia and Russia have been less successful in preventing the communists in gaining private control of state property. The Czechs and Slovaks are having slightly more success in regulating privatization. Lithuania's situation is also under greater control where privatization is going on within a more legal process.

The Lithuanian Workers Union delegated me to the government in order to help regulate the privatization process as comptroller of the state of Lithuania. Everyone's role or work in bringing Lithuania out of communism and into democracy has been a difficult one; and we have not yet been successful in bringing all of the people from their knees. But I believe that we will be ultimately successful. I believe that in the future Eastern European countries will be more successful because they have very deep historical roots and cultures.

But we still need your help. We thank all the Americans who are helping us and especially the American trade unionists and the AFL-CIO, which stood by Lithuania and the other Baltic countries, Latvia

and Estonia and all the other countries subjugated under communism. (Applause)

And I want to thank the AFL-CIO for this honor to receive the 1991 George Meany Human Rights Award. I receive it not for me but for the Lithuanian Workers Union. (Applause)

Good luck to you, and I wish you a successful convention. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: I would like to invite Bill Bywater to join me on the platform.

The IUE headquarters building is located across the street from the Soviet embassy. Last January after Soviet tanks rolled in the streets of Vilnius, the IUE flew the Lithuanian flag outside its headquarters as a sign of solidarity with the Lithuanian people and their struggle for freedom.

Brother Bywater has with him the Lithuanian tri-color that flew over his building, and I invite him now to present it to Brother Uoka. Bill. (Standing ovation)

Is Viktor Utkin back there?

As freedom and democracy increase their foothold in the former Soviet Union, two exciting developments are taking place in Russia. One is the emerging sovereignty of that nation, and the other is the establishment of a free and independent trade union movement as a guiding force in Russia's national affairs. Viktor Utkin has played a critical role in both of these developments.

A coal miner from the Arctic city of Vorkuta, Brother Utkin is chairman of the Inter-Republican Independent Coal Miners Union, which unites the Independent Trade Union organization representing miners in many different areas of the former Soviet Union, including the Donbass region of Ukraine, the Kuzbass of Western Siberia, and the Karaganda Province in Kazakhstan.

Brother Utkin is also a deputy in the Russian Parliament and a close associate of Boris Yeltsin. During the coup in August, he took his fellow miners out on strike in support of democracy.

Please welcome this brave trade unionist, Viktor Utkin. (Standing ovation)

... Viktor Utkin addressed the convention through an interpreter as follows:

VIKTOR UTKIN

Inter-Republican Independent Coal Miners Union Russia

Ladies and gentlemen, please allow me to greet you on behalf of the miners of Russia, Byelorussia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan, who are united in a confederation of free trade unions called the NPG or Independent Miners Union.

My friend Anatoly Malykhin and I have been given the great honor of representing at this convention our trade union, which was born in the course of a bitter struggle with the totalitarian communist system.

It is hard to convey how much suffering and grief the communist plague brought to our people. Not even the bloodiest regimes in human history have brought as much suffering as did our communist regime, because these other regimes didn't attack the most sacred thing of all, the human soul.

The totalitarian communist system corrupted people's souls and it will take several generations before we are completely free of this terrible sickness.

The Lord God chose us, the miners, as a force capable of igniting the spark of freedom in the souls of our people. We understand the responsibility given to us, so we will continue to fight, and we will win this fight, because we constantly feel your support, brothers and sisters, and the support of all free people.

We admire your courage to carry on the struggle for your rights. This courage inspires us and supports us. We are strong when we are together. God will not desert us, and we will be victorious. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: The chair recognizes Vice President Lynn Williams for a report of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

WILLIAMS: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

It's my pleasure to call on Vice President Al Shanker, Chairman of Subcommittee 1, to present the resolution on Labor and the World.

Vice President Shanker.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEE 1

... Subcommittee Chairman Shanker read the following:

Resolution No. 174

Labor And The World

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 33, Labor and the World

Resolution No. 62, Justice for Northern Ireland

Resolution No. 63, Arab-Israeli Peace

Resolution No. 128, Haiti

Resolution No. 129, China

Resolution No. 174 provides a comprehensive approach to international affairs and is based firmly on the labor movement's commitment to freedom of association as a bedrock principle of democracy.

The resolution notes the significant changes occurring throughout Africa, opening new opportunities for democratic trade unionism, and democratic government. In South Africa, it pledges that the AFL-CIO will persist in the fight to end all vestiges of apartheid, and in support of all peaceful efforts to construct a non-racial democratic society.

The resolution notes that for the past two years anti-democratic forces in Asia have been on the ascendance, with governments promoting corporate interest at the expense of workers' basic rights and standard of living. The resolution reaffirms AFL-CIO support for, and solidarity with, workers living in Asian autocracies and their struggle to build free unions and promote democratic rights. The resolution makes special note of the enormity of the Chinese government's human and worker rights abuses since the Tiananmen Square massacre, and calls on the U.S. government to rescind Most Favored Nation status and other trading privileges.

Concerning the Middle East, the resolution reaffirms its support for Israeli democracy, and in particular its support for our fraternal trade union federation, Histadrut. It calls upon the U.S. government and governments in the region to address the lack of democracy and worker rights in the Middle East. It expresses support for the Middle East Peace Conference, and especially the hopeful bilateral negotiations begun between Israel and the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

The resolution notes the unprecedented democratic revolution taking place in the Soviet Union, the Baltic States and Central and Eastern Europe. It notes, however, that there is a tendency by leaders in Central and Eastern Europe to believe that unregulated free markets are a panacea, and states that commitment to free market economies must be tempered by a dedication to social justice, fairness and compassion. It states the AFL-CIO will assist the emerging free trade union movements there, while continuing to refuse to work with the discredited appendages of the old communist order.

Concerning the Western Hemisphere, the resolution takes note of several situations in Latin America and the Caribbean, with particular reference to Cuba, El Salvador and the anti-union practice of Solidarista associations. The resolution condemns the recent vicious military coup in Haiti, and supports the trade embargo imposed by the Organization of American States and supported by the United States.

Concerning Cuba, the AFL-CIO calls upon free trade union confederations and democratic governments throughout the world to show their solidarity with Cuba's oppressed workers, publicize the deplorable situation there, and condition any aid or trade with Cuba on the right of Cuban workers to organize, bargain and strike.

Concerning Ireland, the AFL-CIO notes with dismay the continuing circle of violence in Northern Ireland and encourages all peaceful efforts to bring about an end to that violence.

It reaffirms the AFL-CIO's support for the continuing talks involving Britain and Ireland with representatives of both communities of Northern Ireland — which is still the best hope for Irish unity. It also reaffirms the AFL-CIO's relationship with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, and the federation's support for the MacBride Code, which seeks to put an end to discriminatory practices against the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland.

Concerning international worker rights, the resolution notes the enormous growth in child and prison labor and other forms of worker exploitation being practiced by multinational corporations and enforced by dictatorships. It calls upon the U.S. government to enforce and improve worker rights provisions in American trade law.

Finally, the resolution notes that the AFL-CIO has consistently insisted that spending for national defense be determined by a single consideration — the nature and extent of the external threat to our national security and that of our allies. Because of the radical decline of the Soviet threat and the dramatic changes which have occurred in East-West relations, the resolution urges reductions in military spending, commensurate with the reduced threat to our and our allies'

security. It calls for the savings from these defense spending reductions to be applied to meeting America's urgent and growing social problems. Workers and communities, adversely affected by cuts in defense, must be provided with all of the federal assistance necessary to counteract their economic losses.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 174, and I so move.

KIRKLAND: The motion is to adopt Resolution No. 174. The Chair recognizes Vice President Shanker.

VICE PRESIDENT SHANKER: Mr. President, this AFL-CIO convention is meeting at a really remarkable time in terms of the worldwide movement toward democracy. Two years ago we would scarcely have believed what was about to happen in the weeks to follow our last convention. Mainly, the revolution throughout the East Bloc.

Those of us who grew up and lived through times of the rise and fall of fascism and through then World War II, and then the rise and consolidation of communism, did not dream of the collapse of that empire, much less the collapse in the face not of armies or guns or bombs, but in the face of peaceful pressure for change by millions of its own citizens who had lived under tyranny for 40, and in many cases, 70 years.

People rose up, they had no guns, they had no tanks, they had only their voices and their feet, and they faced their rulers, and it was the rulers who gave up. It was a miracle of democracy and a demonstration of a strength of human solidarity, and proof, if any was needed, of the universal desire of all people for freedom and democracy.

Every delegate in this hall and every member represented in this hall should be proud of the role that this labor movement played in supporting democracy during all the years when very few people believed that this would happen. We can be proud in our support of trade unions, real trade unions in those countries which have been part of the basis of this amazing change. It's no accident that before us came President Landsbergis of Lithuania, President Havel of Czechoslovakia, President Boris Yeltsin of Russia, President Corazon Aquino of the Philippines, President Violeta Chamorro of Nicaragua, President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, President Lech Walesa of Poland, and perhaps the future president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela. These and other world leaders have come to the AFL-CIO and its affiliates for support during hard times, and we never turn them away. And when they have won, this was the first place that they usually came to thank us for our support for freedom and democracy and for trade unionism.

We have heard from them at this convention how important that help was. I don't know about history textbooks, when they're written, whether the AFL-CIO's role will be mentioned in those books. But we in this room know what that role is, and all those who have appeared before have testified to it. And I hope we go back and talk to our fellow trade unionists and our families and our children and tell them with great pride of the role that this union movement has played in bringing about the extension of freedom throughout the world. It is one of our proudest achievements.

Now, a lot of people will undoubtedly ask now that communism is dead, what is there left for the AFL-CIO to do around the world. Well, we certainly have won a great deal, but let's remember, communism is not dead in Asia; 1.1 billion people are still living under it in China; millions more in Indochina and North Korea; 6 million in Cuba living in inhumane gulags. The fight for freedom continues there, and we need to be there to help those people bring about the same changes as have been brought about by the victorious leaders who have appeared before us.

That fight goes on, and it goes on not only in communist countries. We need to be in places like Thailand and Haiti, where human rights are repressed.

We have got a slogan up here, "Solidarity Works." It's the theme of this convention, and it's also the theme of our international programs. Let's not forget the connection between our efforts to bring about freedom around the world and many of the other issues that we've been talking about at the convention. Today, China has the highest trade surplus with the United States of any country. And a good deal of that trade is built on prison labor and the powerless. Our members are affected when U.S. takes an inordinate share of these imports, and that's something that we've got to work on. We've got to continue to work internationally, or otherwise the Marc Riches of the world will continue to be successful in places like Ravenswood Aluminum.

Now, there's a danger today that as we concentrate on the problems at home — and we certainly have a right to and ought to, and we certainly should continue to criticize the president of the United States for his neglect of our problems at home — we must not forget that part of solving our problems at home is to help develop free trade unions, decent labor standards, decent environmental standards, decent safety conditions, throughout the world, and that all these are connected and that the AFL-CIO has not stopped with these great victories. We're going to continue until the job is done in all these other places as well. (Applause)

BILL LUCY, AFSCME: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Let me, first, congratulate the AFL-CIO and the various institutes on the success of their program across the world. If I may, I'd like to just say a few words on Africa in general and southern Africa in particular.

The recent elections in the Republic of Zambia are clear indications of the desire of people across the continent for the right to participate in free and democratic elections. The movement towards multiparty participations and the principle of one-person/one-vote is a very sound principle and a basic principle certainly the American labor movement must and will continue to support.

That same principle must be the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. We must push the DeKlerk government, our own government, to insist that any negotiated solution involves the concept of one-person/one-vote.

A few of us just a few weeks ago were a part of a large delegation to South Africa representing some unions within the affiliation of the AFL-CIO — the United Auto Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers, Service Employees, the United Steelworkers, and our own union. We had the opportunity while there to visit both with President Nelson Mandela and representatives of the African trade union movement. They asked us, if we would, to extend an appreciation to the AFL-CIO for the support that we have rendered to their affiliates as they move towards a freer and more democratic society.

They asked if we, also, would suggest to you that the current position of the AFL-CIO with regards to the sanction issue not be changed until they themselves suggest to you that the time is right to make that change. They believe that the existence of sanctions is the only thing that is bringing the DeKlerk government to the table to bring about any degree of change whatsoever.

Secondly, they asked if the AFL-CIO would use its good offices with Congress, and certainly with the White House, to see if we can apply more pressure to the DeKlerk government to bring an end to the township violence which really in and of itself impedes progress in the discussions that are now taking place.

Thirdly, they asked is that we would share with you their concern that the liberation forces, if they are to win the loyalty of the citizens of that country, need to be able to deliver some very tangible things to people of that country. They talked to us about the issue of rural development and the role the affiliates of the AFL-CIO could play in assisting not only in securing the resources for that, but exchanging of

skills, technology and development to help them participate fully in that process.

They asked if we would share with you their concern about the development of infrastructure, so that housing, electrification, roads and streets are built. That would be a leverage to the training of hundreds of thousands of South African workers with the skills necessary to play a meaningful role in the life of that country when democracy comes.

Let me say to the unions who participated at the request or on the invitation of President Mandela, he asked us to deliver to you a warm thank you for your support and certainly the continued support of the AFL-CIO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 2.

EDGAR ROMNEY, ILGWU: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. During the past few years and months and weeks, we have seen people from all over the world stand up for democracy and for freedom. From the beginnings of the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa to the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, people have stood up and said that "We want to change, we want freedom and we want democracy."

In the Soviet Union, the power and principles of democracy have people in that country looking for new freedoms, including free trade unions.

Several months ago, when Boris Yeltsin visited the United States, we in the ILG had an opportunity to host him and take him to a visit in a garment factory. As he moved around and said hello to workers, he stopped at one of the sewing machine operators, and he actually sat down and took two pieces of cloth and sewed them together. As he finished, he stood up and he said to the operator, "How much do you earn for doing this kind of work?" She looked and she said she earned \$400 a week and that she got holidays and she got health coverage and she got other benefits from the union. And he laughed, and we didn't know what he was laughing at when he was saying that. And when the translator interpreted, he said that Mr. Yeltsin had said that this sewing machine operator here in this factory earned more money than he did.

He also said that hopefully one day as a result of what he hoped would happen in his country, that workers would be able to experience and know what it's like to belong to a free trade union, and someone responded to him and said, "Yes, Mr. Yeltsin, and perhaps you might be able to get an increase in wages as well."

The list goes on, from other countries in Eastern Europe to the most recent call for democracy and freedom that we've just recently expe-

rienced in the last few weeks. And we've heard about it already here on this floor today, and that is the election of Brother Chiluba in Zambia. But one of the places that there hasn't been a success of freedom and democracy has been in the People's Republic of China. We all remember just two and a half years ago Tiananmen Square, where students and workers stood up and said that, "We had enough, that we want a change, that we want freedom and we want democracy." They were met with a great deal of resistance from the military of that country, which said to them, "No, there is no way that you're going to experience that here in the People's Republic of China." Many people were killed. Thousands were injured, and many, many more incarcerated and put in jail, without being charged to this very day. Yet, our government, along with other nations, continued to conduct business as usual.

This week our Secretary of State James A. Baker will be visiting the People's Republic of China, and that will be sending the wrong message to the leaders of that country. They certainly will be talking to him about extending the most favored nation status. And, again, if that happens, it will certainly be deplorable. It is wrong for our country to do that. We have learned that the most favored nation status and other measures of quiet diplomacy has not worked in that country and certainly will not work in that country. And that, again, it is wrong for us to send the wrong kinds of signals to the leaders of that country. (Applause)

Part of this resolution, as it relates to the China part of it, calls for specific areas. One, that we should deny the extension of the MFN status to China until the release of all the activists that got up and spoke out for democracy, specifically, members of the Beijing Autonomous Workers Federation, an end to the use of prison labor. And many workers in that country that are in prison work for wages that are unbelievable, that are exported to this country and to other industrialized nations of the world, which, again, is also wrong. They produce goods which are sent to other parts of the world. It is important that we continue to do everything that we possibly can to help those people in that country.

We've been speaking out for a long time against those injustices of oppression and repression. We know the problems of the people in that country and we know the struggles that they are enduring, and we must continue to fight hard until they, too, can experience freedom and democracy. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The delegate at mike 1.

DON JUDGE, Montana State AFL-CIO: Thank you, Mr. President. I would first like to report that the great state of Montana in 1991 legislative session added its name to the role of those states calling for the application of the MacBride principles for fair employment in Northern Ireland, and calling for a review of the investment of our public pension monies to see if we could, indeed, stop the in-flow of those monies to investments in Northern Ireland.

But I'd like to take just a moment to read a couple of letters that I received, and they're very short. I was recently given the privilege of addressing two sixth-grade classes in Helena, Montana, and one of the topics that we discussed with those classes was the boycott of China-made goods. And the children responded by sending me some very short notes of appreciation, and I think that perhaps they say better than I could say and many of us could say how they felt about the boycott. And so with your leave, I'll read just a couple of these.

"Dear Mr. Judge, I really enjoyed your talk when I heard about children at the age of seven having to work. I was surprised also when I learned about boycott. I asked my mom not to buy any toys made in other countries, and she said yes. Thank you for coming."

"Dear Mr. Judge, thank you for coming to talk to us. I think that the boycott is a really neat idea because I would not want to work for long periods of time like that and then have to go down to a dorm and sleep with two other people. I think China should have better child labor laws or the parents should form unions. Thank again." (Applause)

"Dear Mr. Judge, thanks for the time out of your busy day. I was fascinated to find out that the toys I buy come from 11-to-13-year-old kids. That was a neat thing to learn. I also learned that a boycott would help the kids over there. Count me in." (Applause)

"Dear Mr. Judge, you came to my social studies class at Helena Middle School. I wanted to thank you for coming and giving such a wonderful presentation. I especially liked it when you talked about child labor laws. I thought it was unfair to make children work hard for little or no pay. I'm all in favor of the boycott. I think that it's a wonderful idea. Well, thanks for coming. I've got to go now."

Perhaps last, Mr. President, "Dear Mr. Judge, I enjoyed your speech so much. I was amazed when you said children were making the toys in China for the boycott. Now I can tell my family not to buy China-made toys."

I would just like to hold up this picture. I don't know if the cameras can see it, but the young lady drew a boycott with a little teddy bear on the letter. (Applause)

I think perhaps these children say and reflect the hearts and minds of Americans as deeply as they can possibly be said. We just need to get our message out there. The future is there. We can win the issues. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 2.

AL GRUHN: President Kirkland, I only wished that this hall was full when we had these speakers from Lithuania and other places and from Russia.

KIRKLAND: Al, your name for the record.

GRUHN: Al Gruhn, delegate, Sonoma Mendocino-Lake Central Labor Council in California.

You know, as a young member of the labor movement back in '34 when I joined, I received a bunch of documents from a group, a William Z. Foster, the Communist Party of the United States. They tried to convert me into becoming part of the system of the Communist Party and the dictatorship and the proletariat as they called it.

Well, you know, from those days in the '30s, you've got to be eternally vigilant. I've seen our native communists here in the United States who thought everything was wonderful over in the Soviet Union who would infiltrate and try to take over some of our unions and they did.

You know how many people attend union meetings. Six, seven or eight of those people together and a handful of the membership attending, they can take over these organizations. I've seen that happen in my own home community in Humboldt County, California; and I've known these people to attack Bill Green, attack George Meany and there are certain ones that have attacked Lane Kirkland for their positions in fighting the communist movement, a worldwide movement.

They were meddling everywhere. A lot of our people got sucked into the Communist Party because, you know, our corporate guys and our capitalists, they deal with anybody. They don't believe in democracy. They deal with the communists if they can make a fast buck.

That certainly doesn't help us in this worldwide fight. The thing that's going on in Europe today and where freedom is developing, they'll do the same thing; and many workers will look for some panacea, and the communists were offering them a panacea throughout the world.

We can solve the problems of the degradation and exploitation of workers; but thank God, we had people like Bill Green and George

Meany, Lane Kirkland, to give the leadership in the fight against the communist totalitarian dictatorship.

And, Lane, I would recommend to all of you in this convention that you get — if you haven't read it yet, read the copy of the International Affairs Department of the month of December, the last page, "Labor in a Changing World," and where Lane pointed out that the freedom of association is so important, that we keep that in the forefront and that we help build a strong, free trade union movement throughout the world.

Don't think that these problems are solved. There are always dictators waiting to take over. Hell, Hitler and Mussolini were supposed to be friends of the workers; and then they turned around and crushed the trade union movement.

So the only thing we have going for us in this world, it's not the capitalists. It's the free trade union movement who believes in human dignity and decency and freedom and democracy. So let's never forget that. Let's teach our younger people coming along in the movement that that's the name of the game; and if you don't do that, we can very easily lose our freedom.

Nothing is for sure. Eternal vigilance is our only way. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 1.

BILL LEE, ILGWU: I just want to say my union represents garment workers throughout the United States and Canada. Many of these workers are Caribbean immigrants, including Haiti.

For many years the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has maintained a close relationship with the Haitian community. We've fought for labor and human rights for Haitian workers.

For the past two years our union has engaged in an organizing campaign in a company called Domsey Manufacturing in Brooklyn, New York. Many of you have heard about Domsey. Domsey employees 300 workers, and its employer exploits these workers to the nth degree.

The vast majority of these workers are Haitian workers, and we feel that the Haitians need all the support we can give.

We were outraged at the overthrow of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Haiti. He was Haiti's first democratically elected leader.

When we heard this news, we acted immediately. Our members and our staff joined the Haitian community in demonstrations in New York, in Washington, D.C., at the OAS building.

The military coup that was against President Aristide is an attack on the democratic gains in the republic. It jeopardizes democratic process as well as the economic development for the Haitian people.

We pay tribute to the Haitian people, among them, many workers who lost their lives in the defense of democracy. These heroes must not be forgotten.

The American labor movement must not allow Haiti to fall into oblivion. We must keep the issue of Haiti alive and continue to demand for the return of democracy.

The AFL-CIO and the international labor movement must support Haitian trade union movement in order to improve the lives and working condition of Haitian workers. We fully support the OAS embargo aimed at reinstating the Caribbean nation's first democratically elected leader. We appeal to the United States government and the world community to continue suspension of all economic, commercial, diplomatic and military assistance until democracy is restored.

We also urge that every effort be made to deliver humanitarian aid to the people of Haiti—food and medical supplies. We think this can be accomplished if we use the social organizations and the trade union movement in Haiti. In this way we can make sure that this aid gets to the people of Haiti.

We want to make sure, as it says, that solidarity works, that solidarity works universally. Let's support the Haitians. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Are you ready for the question?

Question is on adoption of Resolution 174.

All in favor, say aye.

Opposed, nay.

Motion carries.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

LABOR AND THE WORLD

Africa

Significant changes are occurring throughout Africa, opening new opportunities for democratic trade unionism. Marxist regimes are toppling, and the autocratic, single-party ruling establishments throughout

the continent are acknowledging the need for a transition to democracy characterized by multiparty parliamentary systems.

Most African governments have bent before the winds of change by nominally legitimizing opposition groups and announcing parliamentary reforms. Some continue to deny the legitimacy of the opposition. In a number of African states, the conflict over accepting a pluralistic political system unleashed bloody civil wars. In others, however, concessions to a multiparty democracy have been made.

In certain countries, the trade union movement has been in the forefront of the struggle towards a pluralistic society. Support for trade unions in these countries helps to ensure progress toward a democratic system in which all citizens and all workers can benefit.

The AFL-CIO will continue to:

- Promote the growth of free and democratic national trade union movements throughout Africa to bring about social justice for the working people.
- Cooperate with regional and pan-African trade union organizations to confront common regional problems, coordinate activities, and secure equal terms and conditions of work.
- Forge union-to-union ties between African and American trade union counterparts.
- Press for full trade union independence from governments and political parties, and for securing and protecting worker and human rights.

South Africa

In South Africa, the AFL-CIO will persist in its support of the fight to end apartheid and construct a non-racial, democratic society. Parliamentary repeal of apartheid legislation must take root on the community level. Peace accords must be followed by national compliance and vigilant enforcement. Multiparty conferences must be expeditiously convened and impasses resolved through negotiations. A government representative of all South Africans must be in place to determine national issues and persevere in establishing an equitable society.

The AFL-CIO will continue to support the black trade union movement in South Africa. We urge the United States Congress and the administration to use all measures at their disposal to urge the DeKlerk government to end the township violence, which constitutes the greatest threat to progress in South Africa.

Asia

The past two years have seen a confluence of anti-democratic interests in Asia. Some governments are run by communist parties—China, Vietnam and North Korea. Others are ruled by military juntas, as in Burma and Thailand, while old-fashioned strongmen hold sway in places like Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. All these states seek to promote corporate interests at the expense of their workers' basic rights and livelihood. Their common contention is that promotion of democracy and trade union rights by outsiders constitutes interference in their nation's internal affairs and that western concepts of democracy and human rights simply do not apply. Evidence of a resurgent independent labor movement in countries such as Indonesia and underground organizations in China demonstrates that workers do not agree.

The AFL-CIO affirms its support for and solidarity with the workers living in the Asian autocracies in their struggle to build unions and promote labor and democratic rights. It also reiterates its support for those workers who are struggling to build and defend the fragile democracies in countries such as Bangladesh and the Philippines. By doing so, the AFL-CIO plays an important role in defending workers, including women and children, against the exploitation of multinational and foreign national corporations, against forced labor, and, by extension, continues the fight for the rights of workers here at home.

China

Two years and five months since the military crackdown in Tiananmen Square, hundreds, possibly thousands, of pro-democracy activists remain behind bars. Information obtained by the AFL-CIO, Asia Watch and other human rights organizations indicates continued and blatant abuses of worker and human rights by the communist dictatorship. It is believed that between 16 and 20 million prisoners, many of them political detainees, are being used as forced labor in the production of textiles, clothing, footwear, toys and other products for export to the United States and other countries.

Meanwhile, it has been business as usual between Beijing, the U.S. government and the American corporate community. With the implementation of Reagan and Bush trade policies, imports to the United States increased dramatically in the 1980s.

Because of its size and the enormity of the repression there, China is a crucial test of the United States commitment to human rights. The AFL-CIO calls on the Bush administration to deny Most Favored

Nation (MFN) trading status to China until the following conditions are met:

- The release of all pro-democracy activists, specifically all members of the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation (WAF);
- The establishment of human and labor rights practices that conform to international standards, including the right of workers to form and join unions of their choice;
- The cessation of violations of the terms of China-U.S. bilateral textile and apparel trade agreements, such as re-labeling and transshipping goods through third countries;
- An end to the use of prison labor for the production of export goods, a direct violation of U.S. trade laws and ILO Conventions.

The Bush administration should focus, not simply on the Chinese government, but also on U.S. and foreign firms doing business there.

The AFL-CIO also encourages private groups and consumers to participate in international pressure campaigns to democratize Chinese society. For example, the AFL-CIO supports the national consumer boycott of made-in-China toys (the "Toycott") launched by Frontlash and pro-democracy Chinese and Tibetan organizations. This and other grassroots initiatives are needed to persuade governmental and corporate policymakers to pay attention to human rights issues.

The Middle East

Early in the year, a broad alliance of countries under the auspices of the United Nations turned back Iraq's aggression in Kuwait. Unfortunately, despite defeat in war, Saddam Hussein perpetuates his rule, which has meant continued suffering on the part of Iraq's people. Nearby, the suffering of the Lebanese people has been compounded by a more direct Syrian occupation.

For trade unionists, the war in the Gulf focused well-deserved attention on the sorry state of democracy, the general lack of worker rights and the extreme exploitation of migrant workers in the Middle East. The AFL-CIO calls for the U.S. government and governments in the region to address these pressing problems, while the situation is still fluid and amenable to reform. Until these issues are addressed, the community of nations that fought to restore Kuwait's sovereignty cannot claim any final victory.

One positive result of the Gulf War has been the creation of an environment in which a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute may be found. In this context, the AFL-CIO reiterates its support for

Israel's democracy, and in particular its fraternal trade union organization, Histadrut, representing all Israeli workers, Arab and Jewish. The AFL-CIO expresses its support for the Middle East Conference, now underway, and in particular the hopeful bilateral negotiations begun between Israel and the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. We call on all parties to take the concrete steps that would lead to a lasting peace, ensuring the right of the state of Israel to exist within safe and secure borders and the implementation of a just solution for the Palestinian people.

Soviet Union, Baltic States and Central and Eastern Europe

Throughout Central and Eastern Europe, countries that were totalitarian in their political and economic structures for nearly half a century are engaged in an unprecedented revolution: the creation of societies with a democratic political framework and free market economic policies. Such a wholesale reorganization of society necessarily creates insecurity and tension as the economic rules and guarantees around which working people ordered their lives are removed or dramatically altered.

By protecting the interests of working people, and by playing a full role in the debate over social and economic policies, unions protect democratic values. There is a tendency by leaders in Central and Eastern Europe to believe that unregulated free markets are a panacea. As workers in countries with market-oriented economies have learned, however, freedom and democracy do not flow automatically from the free market. A commitment to free market economics must be tempered by a sober dedication to social justice, fairness and compassion.

The attempt and failure of the August 1991 coup is a sign of the growing power of democratic ideas throughout the unravelling USSR. The coup failed in large measure thanks to the steadfast resistance of workers in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, Moldavia, and the Baltic States. The essential role of working people was underscored by Boris Yeltsin in the first hours of the coup when he called on workers to stage a general strike against the illegal takeover of power.

Predictably, the official party-controlled General Confederation of Trade Unions (VKP) ignored Yeltsin's call and instead offered a justification for an iron hand to save the country from impending chaos while urging workers not to disrupt economic production.

The aftermath of the coup has seen the continuing disintegration of the Communist Party, the discrediting of its puppet institutions, the collapse of central power, and the restoration of independence for

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Power, now, is devolving to the republics with proposals to radically restructure the USSR as an economic commonwealth, modeled on the European Community.

In all these transformations, the AFL-CIO will continue to be guided by one fundamental principle: only a strong democratic trade union movement will be able to ensure a stable democracy in whatever takes the place of the former USSR.

The AFL-CIO, for its part, pledges to assist the emerging free trade union movements in the republics and in the newly free states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. We will make every effort to respond with material and technical assistance, channelling such aid through the vibrant democratic trade unions that are emerging to give workers an authentic voice, while refusing to work through discredited appendages of the old Communist order.

The outcome of the fight for democracy and social justice in Central and Eastern Europe will have a profound impact on the future of workers in the United States. The AFL-CIO is committed to this struggle, at home and abroad, through its continuing support for free and independent trade unions in Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic States and the Soviet Union.

Latin America and the Caribbean

Haiti

The AFL-CIO condemns the recent vicious coup by the Haitian military. We express our solidarity with the people of Haiti in this time of crisis, and mourn the many lives that were lost by the supporters of democracy.

We note the world's positive response to the appeal for international solidarity from deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haiti's first democratically elected president, and the legitimate leader of his country. The United States and the rest of the world, particularly the international trade union movement, must not remain silent while Haiti suffers.

The AFL-CIO pledges its continued support to the Haitian democratic trade union movement, and commits itself to work closely with democratic trade unionists in their efforts to restore democracy and the rule of law to their country.

The AFL-CIO supports the trade embargo imposed on the Haitian regime by the U.S. government, in concert with the Organization of American States, as well as the suspension of all economic, commer-

cial, diplomatic and military assistance, with the exception of food and medicine provided to people directly in need; these should remain in force until democracy is restored, and President Aristide is restored to office.

Solidarista Associations

Employers in Central America, with the collaboration of several conservative governments, are promoting the formation of "Solidarity" associations that are clearly intended to replace free trade unions. These company unions eliminate collective contracts, wage negotiations, and grievance procedures. On occasion, U.S. taxpayers' money has been used by the Bush administration to promote the creation of these organizations. The AFL-CIO opposes any recognition of Solidarista associations as being representative of labor, and urges Congress to assure that U.S. public funds are no longer used to promote the Solidarista concept.

El Salvador

Peace talks between the government and rebel sides in the Salvadoran civil war, being held under the auspices of a United Nations mediator, offer considerable hope for an end to that tragic conflict. The AFL-CIO suggests that there be very substantial reductions in the size of the Salvadoran military, as well as the disbanding of the FMLN guerrilla armies, and that such reductions in size be monitored by the United Nations.

At present, the Salvadoran military continues to rage out of civilian control, committing atrocities against the nation's citizenry in general and all-too-often against worker and peasant representatives in particular. Of particular pain to the AFL-CIO is the fact that a decade after the murders of our trade union brothers Rodolfo Viera, Michael Hammer, and Mark Pearlman, the killers go unpunished. The establishment of an effective judicial system is so crucial to the development of democracy in El Salvador, and the subordination of the military authorities to that judiciary so important, that until these requirements of democracy are achieved, the AFL-CIO continues its opposition to any military aid to El Salvador.

Cuba

It is time for Castro to go the way of the fallen communist tyrants of the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe. The AFL-CIO

Labor Committee for a Free Cuba has documented that government labor fronts are imposed on the workers in place of free trade unions, partisan and ideological discrimination is openly applied in hiring decisions, workers are compelled to work extra hours without pay, and those who have dared to try to form free trade unions remain imprisoned under inhuman conditions.

The AFL-CIO calls upon free trade union confederations and democratic governments throughout the world to show their solidarity with Cuba's oppressed workers, publicize the deplorable situation there, and condition any aid to or trade with Cuba on allowing full exercise by Cuban workers of their rights to organize, bargain and strike.

Ireland

The AFL-CIO notes with dismay and sorrow the continuing circle of violence in Northern Ireland, and the recent promotion of vigilantism. The lives claimed mount purposelessly.

The AFL-CIO encourages all peaceful efforts to bring about an end to the violence, and reaffirms its solidarity with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU). We note and express our support for the continuing and tireless work of the ICTU in its pursuit of social justice, human rights and peace.

The long and fraternal relationship between the AFL-CIO and the ICTU is a reflection of the friendship between the American and Irish peoples, and of our recognition that the ICTU is one of the few all-Ireland institutions that provides a framework for the people of Northern Ireland to act in concert with their fellow workers in the Republic of Ireland.

Notwithstanding the passage of the British Fair Employment Act, sectarian job discrimination versus the Catholic minority in the North continues. The technical difficulties which had arisen and made full enforcement of the act impossible may hopefully be overcome by changes in the law. The AFL-CIO continues to support efforts to ensure compliance with the McBride code, a standard for American corporations doing business in Northern Ireland which promotes equal opportunity, fair employment practices and the observance of basic worker rights. As an official AFL-CIO delegation to Ireland reported to the Executive Council in August 1990, the continuing talks involving Britain and Ireland with representatives of both communities in Northern Ireland still represent the best hope for resolution of the fundamental issue — the restoration of Irish unity — and the elimination of violence, repression and discrimination.

International Worker Rights

Prison labor in China, child labor in Bangladesh, the discharge of union members by a U.S. corporation in Malaysia, crass exploitation of migrant workers in Saudi Arabia, are all examples of the growing victimization of working men, women, and children in today's global economy. Because of the growing vulnerability of workers in the international marketplace, the AFL-CIO dedicates itself to the struggle for international worker rights on every possible front.

The decision to extend or withhold trade privileges is an especially useful lever in this struggle; the federation will continue its efforts to persuade the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government to enforce and improve worker rights provisions in American trade law.

Under the provisions of the GSP law, our government grants trading privileges to countries unless private U.S. organizations, through a system of petitions, can persuade the president that workers in those nations are indeed being denied their trade union rights. The administration has leaned over backwards to not take countries off the GSP even though strong cases have been presented against them. The AFL-CIO believes the present procedure needs to be improved so that firmer action and a quicker response is taken by the executive branch in countries where workers' rights are not observed. The inclusion of worker-rights provisions in the contracts signed by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and U.S. companies investing abroad can also provide important protections for workers abroad.

Both the U.S. government and intergovernmental agencies must improve their collection of information about what is happening in the international labor market, especially regarding working women and children. Such information is woefully inadequate for South Korea, Malaysia, and other Asian countries playing large roles in the global economy.

National Defense

Repeatedly over the years, the AFL-CIO has insisted that spending for national defense, and the configuration of our military forces, should be determined by a single consideration: the nature and extent of the external threat to our national security. We correspondingly argued that levels of social spending should be driven by social needs and that the two should not be confused.

The radical changes that have occurred in East-West relations dramatically reduce the threat to U.S. national security and now allow fo

significant reductions in military spending. We are encouraged by the substantial cuts in military arsenals and manpower undertaken by both sides.

The Federation urges that reductions in military spending be applied to meeting our urgent and growing social problems at home. Job opportunities and appropriate training must be provided for workers adversely affected by cuts in defense spending, and communities hurt by base closings must receive Federal assistance to help them get back on their feet. The administration must commit itself to convert abandoned military facilities into socially useful enterprises.

The AFL-CIO's Committee on Defense will continue to monitor closely the government's shifting policies on defense, their budgetary consequences, and their impact on American workers.

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KIRKLAND: We have another video.

...At this time a video presentation regarding child care and family support was shown to the delegation. (Applause) The chair recognizes Vice President Williams.

WILLIAMS: It is my pleasure to call on Vice President Bieber, chairman of Subcommittee 5 of the Resolutions Committee, to present the resolution on work and family issues. Vice President Bieber.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE 5

... Subcommittee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 27

Child Care And Family Support

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 51, Child Care and Federal Block Grants

Resolution No. 93, The Needs of Working Families

Resolution No. 101, Child Care Workers

Resolution No. 191, Federal Block Grants and Child Care

Resolution No. 199, Working Families and Their Needs

The resolution calls attention to the problems created by the lack of national family policy. It urges adoption of family and medical leave legislation. It also calls for implementation of the recent child care legislation, and for efforts to assure maximum eligibility for and utilization of the newly expanded earned income tax credit.

The committee recommends the following amendments:

On page 42, strike the last sentence of the last paragraph and substitute the following:

“We also call upon national and international union affiliates and state and local bodies to continue to seek solutions at the workplace through collective bargaining, lobby for progressive change in policies affecting working families at the state and local level, and pursue all possible community-based remedies.”

On page 42, add the following at the end of the second paragraph:

“The AFL-CIO will work to insure that the final regulations issued by the Department of Health and Human Services reflect the full intent of the law and that Congress appropriates the full amount authorized in the legislation. We also will work to insure that the final regulations do not allow sectarian providers to discriminate against employees and children they serve through the use of vouchers or certificates. The AFL-CIO also will continue to oppose the administration’s efforts to relax enforcement of health, safety and training standards for programs receiving funding under the Act.”

On page 42, add the following to the last line of the second paragraph:

“We also will continue to work for adequate wages and benefits for child care workers.”

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 27, as amended, and I so move.

SECRETARY WILLIAMS: Vice President Miller.

VICE PRESIDENT JOYCE MILLER: Thank you. Secretary Donahue, brothers and sisters, I rise in support of this resolution, because it calls on each and every one of us to work in Congress, in our states, at the bargaining table, and in the community for policies that help working families. These are our members.

At this convention there has been a call to take back America, and we must also take back our families from employers, from politicians and from those that oppose our objectives. The AFL-CIO and many individual unions have been supporting the Family and Medical Leave Act since 1986. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers has negotiated family leave in our national clothing and cotton contracts.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women held the American Family Day Celebration in 1986 which was attended by thousands of trade unionists to show support for family and medical leave and child care legislation.

Well, finally the Family and Medical Leave Act was passed by both houses of Congress in 1990, only to be vetoed by President Bush. The new version should be voted on this week. As usual, the president is opposing this on the grounds that governments should not mandate benefits.

Well, we've heard that argument played over and time again to oppose minimum wage, oppose health and safety standards, and oppose national health insurance. The Chamber of Commerce is whining that this would place such a burden on employers that they would not be able to compete in the international marketplace. Well, this is ironic since the United States is the only industrialized country in the world without some form of job-protected leave for workers to attend to family leaves. Most advanced industrialized countries such as Canada, Germany, France and Japan have policies to provide for longer leave periods — I just got back from Hungary, and even in Hungary there is a three-year paternity leave policy. In all of these countries there is some wage replacement.

It is astounding that 12 weeks of unpaid leave has met with such resistance by the Republican Party.

Brothers and sisters, let's look at reality. Forty-five percent of the U.S. work force is comprised of women, 56 percent of them with children under the age of five.

Only 15 percent of all women workers make more than \$25,000 per year, and 65 percent of women workers earn only the minimum wage, and 75 percent of these women are employed full time.

George Bush says we should just let the marketplace determine benefits. Only one-third of all employers in this country have some kind of parental leave, and the small group of employers who do provide family leave report that they did not increase their operating costs or have to reduce benefits.

It is much more costly not to have job protected family leave than it is to have it. The lost wages to workers who have to quit to care for an elderly parent, a sick spouse or a new baby are enormous. The lost wages for new mothers alone is \$607 million a year. And more and more families are in a sandwich generation, caring for small children while they care for their elderly parents while, at the same time, patching together dependent care and paying astronomical health care bills. This causes enormous stress, absenteeism and loss of productivity.

And where is our national leadership? George Bush and his administration have been great on lip service. But when it comes to the

well-being of American family, he vetoes the act and doesn't give even a minimum amount of help to American families.

The families of two of the workers killed in the fire in Hamlet, N.C., reported sorrowfully that the only reason that their relatives were working at that plant was because they had been fired from other jobs for taking just a little time off to care for some seriously ill relatives.

Family and medical leave should be a minimum labor standard. Knowing your job is still there while caring for your newborn, nursing your wife back to health after a heart attack, or helping your father when he broke his hip can go a long way toward financial security and peace of mind. If business won't provide this on their own, it is up to the federal government. The future of our families may depend on it.

In closing, I would just like to take one second on a personal note. I myself was a single mother and raised three children while I was working full time, and I'm proud to say that my kids have turned out well, at least so far. I had a good job, I was on the staff of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers in Chicago, so I could afford help to stay with my kids, and I could take time off if it was needed. But even with all this support, it was a tremendously difficult and stressful life, as the women in this room can tell you.

Delegates, I strongly urge you to pass this resolution. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The delegate at mike 3.

MARILYN LeCLAIRE, AFSCME, Michigan: Almost 60 percent of mothers with children under age 6 are either working or looking for work. Seventy-five percent of women with school-age children are working. Both parents are working in 60 percent of our families with children under 18. These facts demonstrate that the traditional family of father at work, mother at home is no longer the norm. But workplace policies do not reflect the dramatic changes that have taken place.

At the other end of the number of workers with responsibility for taking care of their aged parents has also grown substantially. Employers have not responded with policy that take these situations into consideration. Very few offer either a child care benefit or elder care. It can't be left up to the employers to change voluntarily.

As the resolution demands, we must have the legislation that would allow workers to take time off for the birth or adoption of a child or illness of a family member. Family and medical leave legislation is a must. We must not forget those who provide child care and care for the sick and elderly either. The average wage for child care workers is only \$10,000 per year. This is disgraceful wages, and it virtually

mandates that we cannot recruit or retain qualified workers for the care and development of our young children.

Last year's child care action must be looked at as only the first step, not a total victory. I urge you not only to support this issue here, but, more importantly, get your legislators to support it in Washington so there will not be a question of Bush trying to veto a leave bill.

And on a more personal note, I too am a single mother. But I had to quit my job when I became pregnant, and I wasn't allowed to go back to work until my daughter was 3 months old.

And then the reason I had to go back is because we didn't have enough health insurance to take care of her rare genetic disease, and there was no way, unless I went back to work, to get a life insurance policy. That was the only way we could do it, because Medicaid didn't cover her bills. We made \$600 every six months over and above our house payment and our car payment that was supposed to take care of any medical needs she had, even though her formula was \$125 a month. This doesn't cover very far.

In the state of Michigan, the employer I worked for decided that you couldn't be pregnant and work at the same time. Now, that's changed, but it's taken a long, long time. If it wasn't for the union I belong to, and many of you here, the state of Michigan would still have that policy. So I urge you very, very much to support this leave bill. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike I.

WALTER JOHNSON, San Francisco Labor Council: I'll be very brief, but I think it's very important that we send forth the message from this convention, as we have in many other issues. We have a president that is so far above the roar of comment and the screams of the wounded society he doesn't hear those cries. He's an insulated president. He may have a thousand points of light, but we know that he has no batteries. And we have to make sure that the power is here in this room to get that message across. And by not only passing this resolution, but the other ones, we can send that message, because the women and children out there need our support. They need to have that word of encouragement and, above all, the care and concern that we need to show. So, let us pass that, send a message to Bush and go on to victory. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Are you ready for the question? The question is on the adoption of Resolution 27 as amended. All in favor, say aye. Opposed, nay. The motion carries.

The committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 27, and I so move.

...The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Child Care and Family Support

For two decades, the AFL-CIO has been urging Congress to address the needs of working parents and their children by enacting a comprehensive child care program. One of the most significant accomplishments of the 101st Congress was the long-overdue passage of a landmark child care bill targeted toward low-income workers, along with broadly expanded assistance to moderate-income parents through the earned income tax credit.

Now the challenge to labor is to ensure that the new law is implemented so that full- and part-time workers receive the free or subsidized child care to which they are entitled, and that families who are eligible for the expanded tax credit benefit take full advantage of this assistance. The AFL-CIO will work to insure that the final regulations issued by the Department of Health and Human Services reflect the full intent of the law and that Congress appropriates the full amount authorized in the legislation. We also will work to insure that the final regulations do not allow sectarian providers to discriminate against employees and children they serve through the use of vouchers or certificates. The AFL-CIO also will continue to oppose the administration's efforts to relax enforcement of health, safety and training standards for programs receiving funding under the Act. We also will continue to work for adequate wages and benefits for child care workers.

Responding to the lack of a national policy that would allow workers to take unpaid time off for the birth or adoption of a child or serious illness of a family member without jeopardizing their jobs, the AFL-CIO has joined with other groups calling for the enactment of family and medical leave legislation. Although some union contracts and a few company policies provide protection, the vast majority of American workers, when faced with those real-life responsibilities, must meet them at the risk of losing their job. We will continue the fight for family and medical leave legislation as a necessary minimum labor standard, just as we have fought for wage and hour and workplace safety laws.

The AFL-CIO will continue to seek legislative solutions to the problems of workers who are caring for children and elderly rela-

tives while fulfilling their job responsibilities. We also call upon national and international union affiliates and state and local bodies to continue to seek solutions at the workplace through collective bargaining, lobby for progressive change in policies affecting working families at the state and local level, and pursue all possible community-based remedies.

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KIRKLAND: Before we wind up today, I just want to make a couple of comments. I want, first of all, to compliment the delegates who stayed in their seats and stuck to their duties as delegates of this convention. (Applause)

Those who did not, I think missed a great deal. They missed one of the great lessons in trade unionism this afternoon when we heard from people who risked their lives and their liberty for the sake of trade unionism. (Applause)

And I do not believe it reflects well on any organization that leaves their seats empty so conspicuously. And I hope that those of you who have staked out the tables to keep your delegations informed will call that to the attention of the people who are elected and designated here to serve as delegates to this convention to do the work of this convention. (Applause)

The chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Donahue.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

...At this time, Secretary-Treasurer Donahue made announcements concerning the times and locations of various receptions.

DONAHUE: There are three Escort Committees for our speakers tomorrow. The Escort Committee for Patrisha Wright is made up of Vice Presidents John DeConcini, Lenore Miller and Vincent Sombrotto, along with Delegate Jim LaSala.

The Escort Committee for DeVon Woodland will consist of Vice Presidents Wayne Glenn and James Hatfield, along with Delegates Jerry Menapace, Jim Weingert and Bill Casstevens.

The Escort Committee for Benjamin Hooks is made up of Vice Presidents Bill Bywater, Joyce Miller and John Sturdivant, along with Bill Lucy.

That's all I have.

KIRKLAND: The convention will stand in recess until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

... At 4:10 p.m., Wednesday, November 13, 1991, the convention was recessed, to reconvene at 9:30 a.m., Thursday, November 14, 1991.

FOURTH DAY — MORNING SESSION

Thursday, November 14, 1991

The convention was called to order at 9:47 a.m., President Kirkland presiding.

KIRKLAND: The Reverend Opal M. Simmons of the Fellowship Chapel of Detroit will deliver the invocation. Would you please rise.

INVOCATION

REVEREND OPAL M. SIMMONS

Fellowship Chapel

Detroit

It is good to come together in the spirit of unity. It is good to pause and give thanks. Therefore, in that spirit let us bow our heads for our invocation.

Kind spirit, creator of the universe, we thy creation approach you in thanksgiving for our many blessings as we call upon your omniscient guidance for this fine body of conventioners as they begin another day. May they seek your wisdom before making decisions. May they be in agreement with Proverbs 24, 3 and 4 of scripture that states that by wisdom a house is built, by understanding it is established, and by knowledge the rooms are filled with all precious and pleasant riches.

Therefore, we ask that you warm each heart here today with clear thinking, that they may have a blessed and profitable meeting, and by so doing, close out this 19th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO with having accomplished its goal to move this fine organization to its greatest heights.

And further, dear Lord, we ask that you bless the food that we are about to receive, that it may be used for the nourishment of our bodies as you our creator are nourishment for our souls.

May it be done, may it be so. Amen.

KIRKLAND: At this time, we will greet our guests who represent the free trade unions of Europe.

(The following foreign delegates from Europe were introduced to the delegation):

- Mr. Egerem Kavaja, International Affairs Director
Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Albania
- Mr. Konstantin Trenchev, President
Confederation of Labour - Podkrepa
Bulgaria
- Ms. Marjaana Valkonen, Head of Organizational Development
Confederation of Finnish Trade Unions
Finland
- Mr. Jean Limonet, Confederal Secretary
French Democratic Confederation for Labor
France
- Mr. Dieter Wagner, Executive Board, International Department
German Trade Union Confederation
Republic of Germany
- Mr. Pal Forgacs, President
Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions
Hungary
- Mr. Tom Douglas, President
Irish Congress of Trade Unions
Ireland
- Ms. Aldona Balsiene, President
Lithuanian Workers' Union
Lithuania
- Mr. Jan van Hoof
Confederation of the Netherlands Trade Union Movement
Netherlands
- Mr. Eugeniusz Polmanski, Director of International Affairs
NSZZ Solidarnos
Poland
- Mr. Miron Mitrea, President
Independent Trade Unions Confederation
Romania
- Mr. Eugen Tudose, General Secretary
15th of November Trade Union Confederation
Romania
- Mr. Anatoly Malykhin, Council of Workers
Committees of the Kuzbass
Russia

Mr. Viktor Utkin, President
Independent Miners Union
Russia

Ms. Ines Ayala, Confederal Secretary
General Confederation of Labor
Spain

Mr. Jose Miguel Leunda, President
Solidarity of Basque Workers/Spain
Spain

Mr. Jaroslav Kendzor, Chairman
Lviv Region Trade Union Federation
Ukraine

Mr. Branislav Canak, President
Independent Trade Union of Journalists
Yugoslavia

Mr. Milan Krivokuca, Director
Independent Transportation Union of Yugoslavia
Yugoslavia

KIRKLAND: A word, if I may, about Brother Malykhin. In August, when the tanks rolled in the streets of Moscow and the Russian White House was under siege, Brother Malykhin was there alongside Boris Yeltsin. He was carrying a submachine gun and wearing the camouflage T-shirt of the United Mine Workers of America. (Applause)

After the coup failed, Brother Boris Yeltsin appointed him as special representative to the coal-mining regions of Central Russia, and we're honored to have him and all of his colleagues. Thank you very much for being here. (Applause)

Yesterday afternoon Charles O'Leary, president of the Maine AFL-CIO, faxed me a message that I believe should be read to the delegates. That message is from Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell to the Maine AFL-CIO convention, where Charlie is presiding this week.

Senator Mitchell's message reads as follows:

"S. 55 is legislation that is necessary and fair, particularly in the face of the economic challenges that our nation must confront in the remainder of this decade. We owe it to America's working men and women and to our nation as a whole to promote equal collective bargaining in the greatest spirit of cooperation between labor and management to meet the challenges of the 1990s and beyond.

"S. 55 is an important step in that direction. I have decided to co-sponsor S. 55." (Applause)

The Chair recognizes Vice President Joyce Miller for a final report of the Credentials Committee.

FINAL REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

JOYCE MILLER: Mister Chairman, your Credentials Committee has examined additional credentials and recommends the 26 additional delegates be seated.

This is the final report of the Credentials Committee. We have examined the credentials of 755 delegates, 536 delegates representing 81 international unions, nine departments, 46 state bodies, and one directly affiliated local union and two fraternal organizations, and recommends that the delegates indicated in this report be seated.

The names of the delegates the committee recommends to be seated and their organizations are appended to this report and will appear in the printed records of the convention. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: May I have a motion to approve the final report of the Credentials Committee? All in favor say aye. Opposed, nay. It's approved.

Will the Escort Committee please bring Patrisha Wright to the platform? (Applause)

Recently, the Congress passed and the president signed the Americans with Disabilities Act, which will extend basic civil rights to the millions of Americans who have disabilities. It was the culmination of a long struggle for a coalition of labor and its allies, which has long fought for enactment of the ADA.

Our next speaker was the leader of that coalition. She is the director of governmental affairs for the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund. We are also pleased to work with her in her capacity as a member of the executive board of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

We are proud of her work and we're delighted to have her here. Will you please welcome Patrisha Wright. (Applause)

PATRISHA WRIGHT

Director of Governmental Affairs for the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund

Thank you very much for the invitation to speak here today. As I was just introduced, my name is Pat Wright; but before I speak a little, I'd like to tell you a little bit about myself so you understand where I come from. I'm going to start when I was 3 years old, and don't worry, it goes quickly.

(Laughter)

When I was 3, I decided what I wanted to be in my life was an orthopedic surgeon; and so throughout my childhood when my parents gave me money to go get a haircut, I would send away in a catalog for a fetal pig and take it apart in my basement, trying to determine what it was that made it work. I was one of those kids who was a very smart kid. I graduated from high school when I was 12 years old. I took a year off and then tested out of all my undergraduate work; and at age 14, went into medical school. That's right. I'm the living Doogie Howser. (Laughter)

I never had to deal with the fact that I was a woman in medical school or that I was young, because I was so outstandingly smart that no one ever talked about it, except I did have a couple of people who I was operating on, when I entered the room, asked me — thinking I was a candy striper — asked me to go get a newspaper for them.

At the end of my residency, I noticed that I was developing double vision, and I started to think that it was as a result of the horrendous hours that I was keeping and I was being exploited by the health profession in working 48 hours straight without any time off. But I soon found out that, in fact, what was going on was that I had developed a degenerative muscle disease of my eyes and that I was told that I would be legally blind by the time I was 30.

My life fell apart, and I did what I guess most people on the East Coast do when your life falls apart. I moved to California. (Laughter and applause)

And after spending a number of years there doing hot tubs and wine, I started to realize that what I, in fact, needed was a job; and so I went to seek employment. And I had to confess that I could no longer read cursive, and so I needed some assistance in my employment. Nobody would hire me. Here I was an outstanding, exceptional person. At this time my age was catching up with my intelligence, however. But that I was all of a sudden determined to be useless by the American system. I was useless in the medicine profession. At that time they told me I

couldn't continue being a doctor. I could not get a job anywhere because you had to read to be able to get a job.

So, I started thinking a lot about how we treat people with disabilities; we either look at people with disabilities as inspirational or we have pity on them. We talk about people who have overcome their disabilities. You hear reports on the news about blind sailors, paraplegic mountain climbers, U.S. senators, concert violinists, who because they excel at whatever they do, people do not talk about their disability. There's very few people who would talk about Senator Dole, the senator with the withered arm, or Congressman Tony Coelho, the epileptic. But every time you use an adjective when you talk about homeless people, you talk about mentally ill people or beggars with no legs. The assumption is that most disabled people cannot work. It is these attitudes that have shaped our public policy towards people with disabilities.

Over the last 100 years, we have created a culture of obsolescence. If you're a worker who gets old, we throw you out. If you are a worker who gets injured, we let them go, whether or not they feel like they can continue to work. This has created the national public policy of uselessness towards people with disability, a policy that supports isolationism, segregation and separate but equal. In other words, second-class citizenship for people with disabilities. If you were disabled in America, you were entitled to a separate school, separate transportation systems, separate housing, separate recreational programs and separate employment. There isn't a person in this room in 1991 who would say to any woman or any racial minority that "We support a policy of separate but equal." Yet, this is what we have said to 43 million people with disabilities for the last 50 years, thinking that this is what is best for them, that we are taking care of them and we are protecting them.

That was not the treatment the Vietnam vet or the Persian Gulf vet felt that they deserved after losing their limbs in the war; and it was not the treatment that the mother wanted for her disabled child; and it certainly was not the treatment I wanted as a disabled adult.

But segregation, isolation and separate but equal was our national policy. It is a policy that has forced 68 percent of the job-ready, job-eligible people with disabilities to be unemployed; but it was never talked about because we were providing for them. It is a policy that found disabled men making 63 cents on a dollar, disabled women making 26 cents on a dollar, and disabled minority women making 12 cents on the dollar — but no one said anything because we will take care of them.

In 1990 the disability community, the civil rights community, the unions and the Congress banded together and said this so-called national public policy has got to stop. On July 26, 1990, when President Bush signed the ADA into law, he marked a new era of challenge and opportunity for all America. It is not a perfect piece of legislation, but it will open the doors to America for all Americans, including those 43 million people with disabilities.

I have often said that in the drafting of the legislation, it was incorrectly named; it should not be called the Americans with Disabilities Act. It really should be called the Dare to be Mediocre Bill, because for the first time we do not have to be inspirational in order to get a job.

The act has five main components: employment, public services, transportation, public accommodations and telecommunications. Simply stated, it seeks to end the second-class citizenship of people with disabilities.

The public accommodations provision goes into effect on January 26, 1992. It states that no longer will we be able to build a building in this country that is inaccessible. (Applause)

It asks all existing buildings and businesses to look at themselves and to do what they can to make their facilities accessible. The new term is called "readily achievable," not only for this one year, but they have to come back every year and do something. The public services provision states that all aspects of cities', counties' and state government have to be made accessible, including their transportation systems. The employment provisions will become effective on July 26, 1992, for employers with 25 employees or more, and on July 26, 1994, for employers with 15 employees or more.

The act specifically defines employers as persons engaged in industry affecting commerce, including employment agencies, labor unions and joint labor-management. Since the passage of the act, my agency, the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, has trained over 5,000 persons with disabilities in their rights under the law. The success of this act will be if we can create an army of barrier-busters sweeping across this country, putting an end to discrimination.

I stand today before you to ask for your help. Shop stewards will play a key role in the success of the employment provisions. They will have the responsibility to assist the disabled worker in obtaining the accommodation they might need to do the job.

I'm training my community, not only in the law but in empowerment — but this is a group that for the most part has been the receiver

of the services, not the bearer of rights. So, therefore, few of them have advocated for themselves.

In order to entice you into more action, I'm here also to inform you that my agency has developed a new 800 number for technical assistance. Our trained staff will be able to forward technical assistance information to assist shop stewards in any negotiation as it applies to disability and the law. For those of you who have your pencils and paper ready, the number is 1-800-466-4-ADA.

Before closing, I would like to personally thank the transit workers and their unions for their help in the passage of the act. Without their letters of support and statement of the problem and technical assistance to me, we would have lost the issue on lifts on buses for over-the-road coaches, known in the disability community as the Greyhound battle.

I would also like to personally thank the Washington lobby and civil rights staff of AFL-CIO, who for years have walked the halls for disability rights when it was not "in" and it wasn't presidential. Thank you for this opportunity and thank you for all the years of support and work. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Thank you very much, Sister Wright; I assure you that the AFL-CIO will be working hand in hand with you in our efforts to making the principles of this act not just a piece of paper but a reality.

Will the Escort Committee please bring DeVon Woodland to the platform, please. (Applause)

DeVon Woodland is a lifelong farmer and rancher who hails from Idaho, where he lives on a farm that was homesteaded by his grandfather. He comes to us today as president of the National Farmers Organization, which is engaged in the struggle to preserve America's family farms.

He has been a close ally of labor, and we are proud and delighted to have him here. DeVon Woodland. (Applause)

DEVON WOODLAND

President, National Farmers Organization

Mister President, it's a pleasure for me and an honor for me to be here with you in your convention. It gives me a great deal of pleasure to recognize friends — President Owen Bieber, who has addressed our convention on several occasions, and a very close friend, Bill Casstevens.

It's an honor to recognize a world leader in your president, Lane Kirkland, and an organization that champions the cause of people. And as I saw the impressive array of visitors from foreign countries, we have to recognize our responsibility to them in helping them as American corporations begin to relocate themselves in many of those countries of the world. We have to make sure that the workers and the farmers are protected as they begin to array themselves in that part of the world.

I am an active farmer and active rancher. Last week, I took my several hundred head of cattle down the trail for four days in excess of a hundred miles through snow and rain. I understand the pains, I understand the concerns of those who farm and ranch, and those who are workers, labor we consider ourselves as such, laborers in the cause of people. I'm here to represent rural America in your meeting. And on behalf of the American Agriculture Movement, on behalf of the National Farmers Union, I bring greetings to your convention on behalf of all three organizations. (Applause)

American agriculture is the most productive of its kind in the world. And yet one out of six farm families lives below the poverty level. It's difficult times in rural America, as it is difficult times for labor. And as we look at the unemployment figures — 6.8 the last time I checked — we have lost millions of jobs, some 2,000 plus per day. John Deere only announced the day before yesterday that 4,200 are going to be encouraged to take early retirement. I'm not here to bore you with the problems of rural America, but we have so many things in common, I think that we must discuss them very briefly.

We become interdependent. We are major, major consumers of goods of each other. And as we look at the statistics since 1950, we had 6 million farmers out there; today, we have 1. This means that 5 million farm families have migrated from rural America into the inner cities and the urban areas. With an average family of four, that's 20 million people who came into the labor force from rural America. And there are more on their way, and it appears as though that we will have a repeat of 1982 as we look at issues facing rural America.

Production costs for hogs are 43 cents; today's market is 37 cents. Production costs on milk are 16 a hundred; today's market is 12. Production costs on corn are 3.10 a bushel; the market is 2.25. Production costs on wheat are 4.25; the market today is 2.50. We have 1978 markets trying to pay 1991 bills, and it can't be done. You can't do it, we can't do it. So, that migration, unfortunately, forced migration, I might add, will continue.

Not to our liking — we'll reverse it if we can. We will with help. We can't buy new cars; we can't buy new pickups; we can't buy new tractors; we can't buy new combines; we can't buy new homes or build. That's the reason in many, many cases labor and rural American have a common cause to fight.

The American dream is that we make and provide better for our families than we ourselves have, and in rural America, that American dream has turned into a nightmare. Our goal is to keep families together, provide for them a home, hope, dry bed, health and the other comforts of life.

As a youngster, I was told to diversify in agriculture — have hogs, have cattle, have grains. Today, that is not diversification in the terms of the think tank corporate planners. Diversified agriculture today is to have a farm and then have off-farm income. And if you can't move to the cities, we'll take the industries to you, because they know, under these markets I've just mentioned, that the farmers must have off-farm income. And there you see industry begin to migrate to the rural communities — and to exacerbate the situation, we have a free trade policy. That free trade policy is not for people, it's for industry, for corporations where they can move beyond the borders and there produce by exploiting people. Then those exploited people cannot buy the goods, so they will transport the goods back into and displace workers in this country.

We have bad farm policy. Only yesterday, we pulled the plug on the dairy bill — it was worthless, scuttled it, nothing there, and dairy men are back in the soup again because of bad farm policy. The farm bill in the '20s and early '30s was designed to keep family farmers on the farm. Today, it's guilty of driving them from rural America and off those farms. The academic community, the economist approach, has no regard for the social impact on people. The antitrust laws have been violated, the massive mergers that are taking place in corporate America and in rural America now have the buying power in the hands of two, possibly three producers of major agriculture goods. You can look at grain, you know them. You can look at livestock, you know who they are. You look at dairy, three massive consolidations in violation of the antitrust laws. There are three phases in corporate America with regard to food. One is production, one is processing and one is distribution. They have the processing, they have the distribution and they are frantically trying to get hold of the production of food in this country. God have mercy if in fact that takes place.

President Bush in his most recent statement says "let's jump-start the economy, let's go out and buy cars, let's go out and buy homes, let's jump-start." Too many of us can barely pay the bills. One recent

request is lower interest rates on credit cards so you can borrow more. Our problem is we've borrowed too much. We need to set up a system whereby we can pay for, we can retire debt, not increase it. (Applause)

The Bush budget is the biggest budget deficit ever in the history of the world in any country in the world, and it goes on and on. It's tearing our country apart. Those solid-thinking people are frantic. They're wringing their hands, they're scared because of the appearance of the end outcome.

What must we do? We have developed in the inner cities a latch-key generation of youngsters. We must return to where the income from a single working person or a one-income family will provide the necessities of life and the standard of living so that parenting can become a more vital part of the home environment. And the latch-key generation is now creeping into rural America, with industry moving there and enticing because of need, desire or want, the question of the two-family income to pay the bills, to provide for the needs of a family. We must develop a people's agenda for America. And in that agenda, the AFL-CIO, the National Farmers Organization and other agriculture organizations work together, and in the process of developing a people's agenda for America, we take in and make some needed changes in the corporate-mentality think tanks that are running America.

You can take the administration and their economic advisers, put them in a barrel and roll them down the hill and you'd have a bastard on top all the time. Thank you very much. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Thank you very much, DeVon Woodland. As you so pointedly observed, we do indeed share your problems, we share your concerns and we share your goals, and we look forward to working with you as we move ahead to achieve those goals. Thank you for being with us. (Applause)

We have a video on organizing.

... At this time a video on organizing was shown to the convention.

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President Williams for a report of the Resolutions Committee.

LYNN WILLIAMS: Thank you, Mister Chairman. It's my pleasure to call on Vice President Lenore Miller, Secretary of Subcommittee 2 of the Resolutions Committee, to present the resolution on organizing.

Vice President Miller. (Applause)

... Subcommittee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEE 2

Resolution No. 4

Organizing

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 48, Volunteer Organizing Committees

Resolution No. 100, Nursing in the Nineties

Resolution No. 131, Commitment to Organizing

Resolution No. 141, Meeting the Challenges of Organizing

Resolution No. 4 states that a primary objective of the labor movement is to bring the benefits of trade unionism to every worker. The AFL-CIO will continue its commitment to organizing at all levels. The AFL-CIO Department of Organization and Field Services will work to increase cooperation among affiliates in organizing and to expand use of state and local central bodies and cooperative organizing programs.

Rank-and-file union members should be encouraged to join volunteer organizing programs within their own unions and local central bodies. International organizing strategies, including activity in international trade secretariats and strengthened relations with trade union organizations in other countries, can help us in dealing with foreign investors in the United States and American employers abroad.

New and creative approaches to organizing can come through use of the "Union Yes" campaign, the Organizing Institute, the Labor Institute of Public Affairs, Union Privilege and the Department of Organization and Field Services.

The AFL-CIO will continue to seek labor law changes to encourage and protect workers' rights to organize and collective bargaining.

The committee recommends addition of the following paragraph after the first bullet on page 10:

"A recent U.S. Supreme Court decision provides new opportunities for organizing health care workers. We encourage unions to develop organizing programs to target health care workers and to develop programs to meet their specific needs."

The committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 4, as amended, and I so move.

WILLIAMS: You've heard the motion. Is there support? Vice President Lenore Miller.

LENORE MILLER: I'm going to get talked into speaking from here. I had planned to go down and speak to you from there, because it would have been my honor and privilege to speak at the same microphone that you heard one of the delegates from the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union speak from on the conditions of the health care industry and the need for health care reform.

I want to talk to you this morning about a couple of things in connection with the organizing report. I want you to know that seated at the table of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, as well as many other tables in this room, are people who work in the field organizing every day. I want you to know that seated there is Henry Jenkins, who has spent 30 years organizing in the South as a black, as a fine trade unionist, who is busy organizing poultry workers, who has worked under conditions that are indescribable and has brought into the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union probably 8,000 workers who are still within the union.

I want you to know that I'm going to speak to you today not about our victories, because among us we know that our victories that increase numbers are not substantial. But I'm disturbed over something that I see that's happening in the labor movement, and that's the negativism. And I think it's happening among our own.

I want you to know that I had a reporter speak to me this morning and I had him quote to me someone of our own who said the AFL-CIO has no organizing program, has no victories to claim, is declining, etc., etc., etc. I don't know if that was truly given to a reporter. I see a lot about it in the newspapers, but I want to tell you that people who give those stories out are the worst enemies that we have to confront. (Applause)

I want to tell you about victories and about defeats and about numbers; and perhaps those who give out those interviews should listen. I'm not a Pollyanna. I think you know me long enough to know that I'm not a Pollyanna. However, we have had two campaigns in the South that I want to tell you about, three of them. One we won. We won it 13 months ago. We've been in Pelahatchie, Mississippi, for 13 months fighting an employer in the poultry industry that we can't get a contract from, through every board all the way to Washington and back again. But we stay with those workers and we are representing those workers. Do they appear in our numbers? Have we gained 300 workers? No. Is that a victory? You're damn right it's a victory. Those people know they have a trade union. (Applause)

We have two other campaigns. One we lost by six votes, one we lost by four votes. We'll go back. We represent 1,500 workers in

Georgia that it took us four campaigns to win. Now, for the first time, they have a pension plan, they have a health plan, they have a grievance procedure. Now, those people take organizing and reorganizing, because the poultry business is a dirty business and people don't stay in it. So if I tell you we represent 1,500 workers, we've probably organized 4,000 to keep those 1,500.

Let's tell the story about what we've created in terms of change. Let's tell the story about those two victories — and they are not defeats, they are victories — we have convinced 400 people that there is somebody that is fighting for their rights. Now, they are not among our numbers. We're not going to be the largest union in this federation. But until we understand that every one of us is changing the lives of workers and is making a damn difference and until we get that story out and stop talking about defeats, we're going to lose the workers. (Applause)

WILLIAMS: The Chair recognizes Vice President Sweeney, the chairman of the AFL-CIO Standing Committee on Organizing.

JOHN SWEENEY, president of the Service Employees International Union: Sisters and brothers, I join Lenore Miller in asking for your support on this resolution, and I know that it's late in the convention, but I really think that the matter that we're discussing now is the most important matter in terms of the future of the labor movement.

Every two years this convention reaffirms that organizing is and should be the central focus of our movement. We write eloquent language. We make eloquent speeches. And then we leave the convention and face the harsh realities of representing workers in these tough times. We get back to the tough contracts. We start working on political campaigns. We have too many meetings and too many demands and, yes, we will try to put a solid organizing program into this hectic schedule.

To be sure, we've had our share of breakthroughs. More workers voted in NLRB elections in 1989 and we had our highest win rate since 1976. Many unions shared in all of this. AFSCME won key victories for university workers in Minnesota and Illinois. UFCW had numerous victories, including a key one for more than a thousand workers in Liberal, Kansas. The Communications Workers had a big win among health care workers in Buffalo, New York. You just heard Lenore Miller talk about the RWDSU campaigns. SEIU had a win for about 2,000 nurses in Florida last month. You saw some of our Justice for Janitors activities, and that has been a successful campaign, thanks to the help of many of you.

There were numerous other campaigns, many of them successful, and some like the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union election among North Carolina textile workers, a critically close election that promises that nearly 7,000 workers will soon have a union at Fieldcrest Cannon.

But despite our best efforts and despite our successes, we continue to see the proportion of union jobs decline and the number of new non-union jobs soar. We face the prospect that in 10 short years, we will represent only 5 percent of the private-sector work force. We will still be a strong force for our members. We will still be the largest organization in this nation. But as a labor movement, we will be staring face to face at the prospect of continuing decline.

These are harsh words, and many may disagree with this view as being just rhetoric, as being overly pessimistic. Many will say that we need to get a Democrat in the White House so that we can get labor law reform, for without that we can never break out of a downward spiral in which we find ourselves. Many will say that when times get tougher, workers will again organize. Others will say that because times are tough, workers are afraid to organize.

I say that no matter how tough things are or who is in the White House, that this movement must find ways to recapture our mission of organizing. (Applause)

Every single one of us, every single one that we represent, has to be involved in how we, once again, grow; and the only measure that is honest is this — we must grow faster than new jobs are added to the economy, much faster.

No one union has all the answers. We have all struggled with this awesome challenge. But let me suggest four basic things that we must do to start on this track.

First, we simply must find more resources for organizing. Today we invest far too little in our future. Certainly our present members need all the resources they can get to fight back in these tough times; but unless our present members are joined by millions and millions of new members, no amount of money we can spend will ever protect us. We should set as our goal the doubling of our investments in new organizing over the next several years and make that commitment at every level of the labor movement.

Second, we need to use our current members as organizers much more. Many unions are already doing this. They recognize that dues dollars alone will never give us the strength we need. They recognize that union members are the best organizing resources we have, work-

ers organizing workers. Workers understand that organizing the unorganized is the best hope for protecting the interests of the organized.

Third, we must understand that our bargaining is our strength and that organizing unorganized workers around bargaining campaigns can be one of our most effective strategies, organizing residual units with the same employer, organizing other employers in the same industry, organizing other workers in the same geographical area, but organizing around our contract campaigns when we are at our strongest and most focused.

Fourth, we need to raise the status of organizers in this movement. Organizing is too often an entry-level job, a job that we require our staff to do before they take on the other responsibilities of representation or running a local union. If organizing is to be a top priority, then organizers need to be given top priority. (Applause)

A major step forward in recent years under the leadership of President Kirkland has been the creation of the Organizing Institute. It has made major breakthroughs, breakthroughs in the recruiting and training of talented and dedicated new organizers, and we should continue to support it.

Finally, let me say a word about labor law reform. I am under no illusion, no illusion that without labor law reform, we will be able to overcome the forces arrayed against us. We need to be serious, serious about striker replacement legislation and building the political clout to make labor law reform a possibility; but if we wait for labor law reform to pass, we may not be around to take advantage of it.

Brothers and sisters, I don't believe that we can achieve the political clout to get that reform unless we can speak for a major segment of the American work force. I urge all of the delegates, all of the affiliates to support this resolution. Support it here in Detroit. Support it back home in our local unions, and support it with our actions, as well as with our voices. Thank you. (Applause)

WILLIAMS: The Chair recognizes Vice President Trumka.

RICHARD L. TRUMKA, president of the United Mine Workers: Thanks, Mister Chairman. Mister Chairman, first, I would like to call the attention of this convention to two individuals that I think deserve some credit and have worked very hard in the field of organizing — I speak of Joe Shantz and Richard Bensinger, unsung people who have worked hard to destroy the notion that we can't organize and we won't organize. (Applause)

I would like for you to think back for a second, back to the '20s and the '30s, and I would like for you to focus on a group of individuals at that time.

They were people walking off the boats on Ellis Island. They had nothing but what they had in their hands, their whole possessions. They looked different. They spoke different. They came from different backgrounds and different cultures. They were very much different, but they were very much the same, and we organized them.

And I want you to think about black sharecroppers and white tenant farmers and the reverse of both of those; and they looked different, but they were the same, and we organized them because we had a desire and a will and the intention to organize and to bring the benefits of trade unionism to every class of worker in America; that was our mission, and we took it seriously and we did it. That was back then.

Today, every time I get together with union members, whether it's at a convention like this, whether it's at a meeting, whether it's on a picket line, I can never quite get over how, despite all the differences in our work, whether we're coal miners or clerical workers or school teachers or flight attendants, all of us — all of us share something so much more important, so basic and so fundamental.

You can call it a hunger for justice. You can call it a simple belief that every man and every woman is born with the right to be treated with respect. You can call it a commitment to the proposition that no one, not one of us, should ever have to trade our health or our hopes or our dreams or our dignity for the right to a paycheck; and making good on that commitment, making good on that commitment has meant and will always mean bringing the benefits of collective bargaining into the lives of every working American.

That's the reason why, in the 1990s, there can be no greater priority for this movement than fulfilling the mission begun by our mothers and our fathers and our grandfathers before them; and that's to reach out, to build, to educate, to agitate and to organize the unorganized. (Applause)

Driving into this city, a lot of us drove past the auto plants, past Ford Rouge, past the mills and the factories where an earlier generation of trade unionists harnessed the raw strength of industrial labor and with it built the American middle class.

Well, brothers and sisters, just like John L. Lewis or Walter Reuther or Phil Murray or Harry Bridges or Harry Lundeberg, today we face a challenge of our own. Our challenge is to organize those mines and mills and plants all across the nation where our brothers and sisters suffer the same indignities as their parents before them.

But it's more than just that. It goes further than just those mills and those mines and those plants. It's to organize those workers who for too long have been left behind and have been ignored.

They work in disease and suffering in hospitals. They work in high-tech sweatshops of the public sector and service industries. They work behind sewing machines and in New York fire traps, and they work the whole night through scrubbing the offices of America's corporate elite and they barely earn the minimum wage. They work and, sometimes, sometimes they die in poultry processing plants in little hamlets like Hamlet, North Carolina.

Now, there are those even among our ranks who say that they can never be organized, but you think back to the '30s when they told us that auto workers and steelworkers and rubber workers and coal miners couldn't be organized. You and I know, we know that it can be done. SEIU in Justice for Janitors tells us that it can be done. The garment workers standing up for fairness in Brooklyn tell us that it can be done. ACTWU members fighting back for a union contract in Georgia tell us it can be done. UFCW catfish workers in Mississippi tell us that it can be done, and the AFL-CIO must take their successes, must take their victories even further.

Now, we've come to Detroit to set policy — but we can leave here determined, absolutely dedicated and determined to build a new kind of labor movement, a stronger movement that speaks to a new kind of worker. Together we can organize the unorganized. Together we can win new hope and new dignity for millions of American working families. Together we can be for the America of the 1990s what this movement was for our parents and our grandparents and our aunts and our uncles in the coal mines and the steel mills and the auto plants in the 1930s.

Our challenge today is for every union, international, district or local, for every state body, for every central council, indeed for every rank-and-file trade unionist out there, to make organizing our No. 1 priority. Our challenge is to move us from being a service-oriented culture to a growth culture. Our challenge is to move from being an institution to a movement again. (Applause)

The challenge is for the AFL-CIO, through its Organizing Department, to pool the talent and the skills and the creativity of all of our unions, to take the lead in coordinating a massive organizing effort as it has with the national organizing committee and to put all of that talent to work on behalf of the whole labor movement, for every union, for large and small, for North and South, for East and West. Now, it's an essential role, it's a critical role, it's a vital role, and only the

AFL-CIO through the Department of Organizing and the Organizing Institute can fill it.

Our members' standard of living depends on our success in organizing. Our communities depend on our success in organizing. Middle America depends on our success in organizing, and it's up to us. We cannot let the moment pass. For your children and for my children, and for the kind of American future that they deserve, I urge you, every last one of you, to make organizing your No. 1 priority, to adopt this resolution, to go home with a piece of paper, to give it life, to fight like hell, to organize every last American worker out there, and make us the movement that we can and should and will be in the 1990s. (Standing ovation)

WILLIAMS: The Chair recognizes Vice President Sheinkman at microphone number one.

VICE PRESIDENT SHEINKMAN: Brother Chairman, some of you saw on the video the faces of the workers coming out of the plant in Earle, Arkansas. They had reason to be happy. They won an election in the face of the kind of pressure that workers nowhere in the free world that we have known endure. In order to get and win that election, they had to endure threats, intimidation and in some cases discharge.

How many of you here remember the film "Norma Rae?" (Applause)

The film was a story of the workers working for J.P. Stevens. That victory that was celebrated on top of a textile machine was only the beginning, because as Lenore Miller pointed out, we won the election and it's only half of the battle.

It took us 10 years to get a contract at J.P. Stevens. In 1956, when we organized the workers at Darlington in South Carolina, Milliken closed the plant. In 1980, with one-third of the work force dead, we finally reached a settlement on back pay. One-third of the workers never received a cent. It only went to their heirs. Where else but in the United States of America where we don't have health care are unions bashed and workers' rights denied and the country stands silent, including the president of the United States?

In 1988, workers working in two curtain plants in Georgia known as Samson and Delilah won an election. The company was known as S. Lichtenberg. Ninety percent of them were black and most of them were women. Shortly after that election victory covering 650 workers, 200 workers were discharged because of their activities in support of our union. I went to that community and met one of those workers, Barbara Lewis, a single mother of three. After she was discharged, she

couldn't get employment anywhere else in that town. She had to drive 60 miles to a minimum wage job of \$3.35 an hour.

I asked Barbara, "How do you make out?" She says, "I juggle the expenses. And the hardest thing for me is on Friday when my kid wants an ice cream cone, I don't know if I've got the money to make out."

Well, those workers stood together. We were sued for racketeering under RICO. Why? Because we exposed the company's unfair labor practices, its violation of OSHA, its discrimination of black employees. We licked them. And while the board moved along, it took three years for a law judge to issue its first award.

Three more cases were pending when finally the company knew because of the pressure that we put on with retailers, that they knew they had to capitulate. And I say to you, Mister President, you canceled a trip to the Far East, why don't you take a trip down to some of the plants and communities of your own country and see what's happening to ordinary Americans? (Applause)

The president of the United States came to our convention two years ago. He lauded our president, Brother Lane Kirkland, and this movement, for what it had achieved for workers in Poland. And yet this president has threatened to veto the striker replacement bill. That's exactly what's happened that was used in the campaign. And now when we sit down to bargain in Earle, Arkansas, we're going to be facing the same kind of struggle, the employer will say to the workers, "In order to achieve what you want, you're going to have to go out on strike. And if you do go out on strike, you may be replaced."

Why is it that north of the border, in Canada, we can meet with our members in our international union and workers there don't face the same kind of atmosphere, the same kind of environment where they can't exercise their rights?

Why is it, Mister President, you wrap yourself in the flag, you get upset with flag burning, as we all should, and every day American workers walking into a plant in this, the greatest democracy in the world, don't have fundamental rights to join a union, to bargain collectively, to express themselves and earn the dignity that they deserve in the workplace? (Applause)

I agree with my brothers and sisters who have preceded me for workplace fairness, for striker replacement is only the opening gun in a struggle that we have to win for workers. We have to change the laws. That does not mean, as Brothers Sweeney and Trumka have said, that we have to stand still.

But we have our own freedom fighters every day in plants in our country. Let's get the press down there, let them tell the story to America, and let us try to get our story across to the American public. And with that kind of story, we know that Americans will respond. And the opening gun for workplace fairness will not end with striker replacement, it will only end when American workers are really true and free in the workplace. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The delegate at mike 2.

PAUL VARACALLI, SEIU: Mister President, I'm one of those people who preceded Pat Wright, went to California some 30-odd years ago to become an organizer with the Service Employees International Union, ultimately. And you heard from our president, John Sweeney, earlier. What I hope all of you know about President Sweeney is he has been an example of what can happen when you put your mind to the No. 1 priority of all unions, organizing. In the last decade under his stewardship, we have more than doubled our membership around this country, and today we stand on the threshold of becoming your next million-member affiliated organization. But I'm not here to sing John's praises. I do that enough otherwise.

KIRKLAND: Go ahead, I'm sure he would not object. (laughter).

VARACALLI: ...But we've got to remember what we're here for, and we're here to organize people who need us, some who need us the most. You saw in the video some of the janitors who successfully organized in Los Angeles after being threatened and mauled by a few wayward police officers.

But down the road in Cupertino, in the middle of Silicon Valley in California, we have yet unfinished business.

The other day we put some pretty good apples in front of you, and I hope you enjoyed them. But in every barrel there are some bad apples. And I saved a bad apple here. I don't know if you can see this, but there's a worm hole in this apple. And we've got one of those worms in California named John Sculley, a very rich one. He makes \$14.7 million a year, a little more than I think most people in this room do, perhaps in a lifetime. He makes this money, but he contracts with janitorial cleaning firms who pay their workers at Apple Computer in California \$5 an hour or less. And they provide them with no health benefits, no other insurance, no other protections.

Four thousand of those workers work for John Sculley, mostly women, and just about all Hispanic women. Every night they clean the offices and plants, and they take very little home with them as a result of their labor. They're not protected from harassment, sexual and otherwise. We hear stories every day about what's heaped upon these

workers. And they fire them on the spot for union activity. We're not even to the point where we can have elections or recognition with the threat of replacement if you strike. They fire them before that happens.

We have in SEIU now a nationwide campaign, as you know, called Justice for Janitors. And I can't think of any union in this room which has not been helpful in that successful effort wherever we have traveled. But we need your help once again in the Silicon Valley in California.

We left a little red card on your table the other day and you may not still have it, but take this down if you will, write to this fellow, this John Sculley, this \$15 million man. You can just write him, because they know who he is in Cupertino, California. Just address it to John Sculley — S-c-u-l-l-e-y. Don't spell it a different way, although I have an idea about how you can spell it otherwise. But it's S-c-u-l-l-e-y. He's the CEO. Just address it to Apple Computer, Cupertino, C-u-p-e-r-t-i-n-o, California, 95014. Tell him in your own words that he's got to stop having these janitors working for him at less than living wages. We need your help. I know that we can count on it. And let's go out after we pass this resolution in support of our No. 1 priority, and let's, as my Secretary-Treasurer Cordtz says when he doesn't have a cold, which he has right now, always ends every meeting with three words, three admonitions to our union, to our organizers. Organize, organize, organize. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Brother Lucy at mike 3.

BILL LUCY, secretary-treasurer of AFSCME: Thank you, Brother President. Let me join the prior speakers in commending both the AFL and its affiliates on the proposed resolution before us. The suggested uses of the various departments and resources of the AFL-CIO would undoubtedly lead us to more successes in the area of organizing.

Let me also compliment the AFL-CIO and the Executive Council and all of its parts for really working to diminish the conflict between affiliates as we seek to organize new workers. Needless to say, the resources that go into the combat between affiliates is a waste that none of us can continue to experience. Those dollars, those resources could be spent not only promoting the interest of successful organizing efforts but benefiting those members who are currently a part of the labor family.

So to the extent we can minimize conflict, our ability to carry a positive message to unorganized workers exists.

And workers, it seems to me, are not really very complicated. I think today they understand the nature of their situation. They understand that over the last 10, 11 years, that that net spendable income has

declined as a result of current policies. I think that they understand that on one income in past years they were able to support a family, buy a home, send their children to school, put food on the table — that was sufficient. Now we're finding — and I'm sure other affiliates find the same thing — many of our members are working two, three, and sometimes four jobs trying to keep pace with the increased cost of living resulting from about 10 or 11 years of failed economic policy.

It seems to me our mission is to convince those workers that their future is tied to the well-being of the American labor movement. Never before in 20 or 30 years have the issues been so clearly on the side of organized labor, whether it be wages and income, benefits, health care, vacations, family and medical leave, care for the elderly, all of the issues that are at the core of the concern of the American family — they are on the side of organized labor.

Then, the question becomes: Why can't we convince them to join us? Perhaps, Mister Chairman, what we ought to do is become more coherent in our approach to workers. There are millions and millions of female workers out across this country who know that their economic well-being by virtue of existing policy has been diminished. Just this morning on the news we heard that where women workers had achieved, let's say, 59 percent of the wages of male counterparts, that is now down to 54 percent. We don't have to tell single-parent heads of households that their economic well-being is being diminished by the fact that they're not a part of organized labor. We don't have to tell single-parent heads of households how difficult it is to raise children on a declined or a meager income. Women workers will join organized labor if we take an effective program to them, a coherent program, and demonstrate that we can promote and protect their interests.

Across the South and Southwest there are millions of workers in agriculture, in textiles, public service, retail service, who if we come with a coherent program, we can clearly win their loyalty and swell the ranks of organized labor.

Some 23 years ago, in the city of Memphis, Tennessee, workers who had spent the better part of their adult life working for the city of Memphis simply said, "We are sick and tired of the treatment that we're getting." Mister Chairman, clearly in so many cases it comes down purely and simply to the question of dignity and decency on the job, and people want to know that they have an institution that will stand up and fight for their rights on the job.

Thirteen hundred sanitation workers said, "We are tired of the treatment that we're getting in the city of Memphis and we're going to

change the nature of trade unions in this city.” And they did. That same spirit is still out there. I think the American labor movement is the only vehicle that can capture the hearts of those people and, once again, not only bring increased numbers to us, because probably one of the few rational things that Mister Brown said the other day is that “in power there is strength.”

And to us, to us, the capacity to organize those workers and turn them into the movement that Vice President Trumka spoke of, that is our charge and our responsibility; and the resources and the commitment and the dedication is here to do it. Let us say, as Dick Trumka said, onward and upward and let’s get on with the task. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President DeConcini.

VICE PRESIDENT DeCONCINI, president of the Bakery, Confectionary and Tobacco Workers: I shall be brief. I want to tell you, my conviction is that the political climate in the country directly affects the attempts to organize workers, and history proves it. In the early 1920s, the Republican pinheads, or whomever was in charge, rolled out an “America First” program, and that “America First” program, one of the planks of it was that we had to destroy the trade union movement in this country. And they came damn near close to doing it. Our international union went down to 5,000 members.

Later on, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt became president of this country, he had weekly fireside chats. Not too many in this room remember that. And the country listened to his every word as he went on the radio. And in one of those addresses he said, “If I were an American worker, the first thing that I would do would be to join a union.” (Applause)

Now, that’s the best organizer we ever had, because following the Wagner Act, you saw the tremendous upsurge in the membership of the trade union movement in this country.

During the period of “America First,” President Coolidge was asked, “Mister President, why is there so much unemployment in this country?” And he replied, “Because there’s a lot of people out of work.” (Laughter)

And that’s in the books. That’s the mentality that we had as far as workers and the trade unions in this country.

Our first priority in our union is organizing. We have had seminars all over this country of shop stewards and leaders bringing them into the fold and impressing upon them the importance of organizing. We haven’t been setting the world on fire; but last month in Fayetteville

North Carolina, a plant of over 350 people, owned by Anheuser-Busch — you've heard the name Eagle Snacks; you eat their peanuts on the airplanes — we won that election, our third shot. (Applause)

Today, we're in negotiations with that company to get a contract.

Now, our No. 1 priority is organizing, but we've brought up right alongside of it, in order to succeed in organizing, political action; and I hope we get a president who won't go as far as Franklin Delano Roosevelt did, but will get up and say, "Trade unions are good for this country and we ought to support them." And with that kind of a statement from a Democratic president, we'll take off like wildfire. Thank you very much.

KIRKLAND: The sister at mike 1.

HELEN VERHAGE, Somerset County Central Labor Council, New Jersey: I rise because I don't know if everybody here — and you may have been down here — heard an interview with Secretary of Labor Martin, but I was outraged. If we have no reason in the world to go out and organize, that is in refute to her statements. When she was asked was she insulted by not being asked to come to our convention, she said, "No, by no means. They only represent 17 percent of the working people." Are we angry? We ought to be by that statement and go out and do our job. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 3.

KENNETH L. COSS, president of the United Rubber Workers: Thank you, Mister Chairman. I'm international president of the United Rubber Workers. I rise in wholehearted support of the resolution on organizing. Our organization has found it necessary to change the way that we do every aspect of our business. Organizing is no exception. We've dedicated a group of well-educated, qualified people to call on all of our local unions to form organizing committees, to work with them in the field of organizing and education. We're in the process right now of developing that cadre.

I want to speak of another aspect that we feel is a very important tool in the field of organizing, and that's the Union Privilege program. As you know, we're one of the pilot organizations in the Union Privilege program. The participation from our members has exceeded even our most optimistic projections. Immediately upon returning, I'm going to call on David Silberman — I've spoken to him — to utilize David and his staff. Michelle is the lady who is assigned primarily to us. And we want to set up associate memberships for about 6,000 people in four major organizing campaigns we're about to undertake.

I can't stress too much the importance of this program and what it can mean to all of our affiliates if it's utilized by everyone in this room. Again, we wholeheartedly support the resolution. Thank you.

KIRKLAND: Delegate at mike 2.

VINCENT SIRABELLA, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union: In our judgment, the riddle of organizing the unorganized, especially workers employed by the hostile multinational corporations, remains basically unsolved. The continual decline of membership in the private sector by necessity should and must give us cause for serious alarm. The continual decline or rather the reasons for the decline are indeed well known to everyone in this room.

The problem is we have yet to find a comprehensive set of approaches to realistically grapple with this very vexing problem. I don't mean to be at all critical of anyone when I say that, and I've been coming to conventions since the early '50s. I've heard all the speeches over the years and a lot of good ones, a lot that were intended to be good, I'm sure; but following the convention, we went our own ways and neglected to do some of the things that needed to be done.

I was an organizer for many, many years, and I saw little or no training for maybe 30 years, until recent times. Organizing was almost always put on the back burner. People were chosen by unions who were temperamentally, educationally, if you will, lacking in training for jobs as organizers.

Sometimes jobs as organizers were given to people as a reward for having been a loyal member of the union or a good shop steward or having performed some other important function for the union. That's our little standing in reality based on my own experience over the last 53 years that I've been a member of our union.

And the time it seems to us has come when we either genuinely grapple with this problem or the walls will continue to tumble down, at least in the private sector. If that really becomes a calamity greater than it is right now, the public sector will indeed be equally in jeopardy.

In our own union, we have made an honest attempt to deal with this problem. We were not big on training until recent years. We weren't big on careful recruitment of potential organizer trainees, not at all; but under the leadership of our president, Ed Hanley, we've made a remarkable turnaround, not to say that that has necessarily translated into significant achievements by our union in the organizing end of our responsibilities but first, the commitment has been made.

I don't think we can realistically talk about organizing unless we make the commitment of developing quality training, unless we make the commitment to adequately fund the program, unless we make the commitment to be as innovative and as creative and as self-critical as we possibly can be in our honest assessment of the way we are going.

Now, there's no real basic lack of understanding as to what we must do ourselves aside from the political action we must engage in to do the things that have been talked about during this convention with respect to law changes, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera. But in my judgment, we can have all the beneficial laws in the world on the books. It won't help us, in my opinion, one iota unless we're prepared to take advantage of those changes that we hope will come about by a Democratic administration next year. It just won't happen.

Studies have shown that the organizer, whomever he or she may be, is indeed the most critical element in any organizing campaign. You can spend 10 million in organizing, and if you haven't got the quality organizer to train the people who come under him or her and to craft a course of action that needs to be done to win a campaign, we simply cannot win. We've been through that dilemma. We've experienced that.

Now, in our own union we have interviewed hundreds of people, literally, for jobs as organizer trainees, and we've hired scores of them from the rank and file, from college campuses, from community organizations and so on. We've made that commitment, even though the results up to this point have not been worth the investment.

One of the problems we've had is we've been derailed in our organizing externally because of the major fights and strikes we've been having all over this country; and we have shifted those organizers by necessity to save a lot of our unions who otherwise would have gone down in defeat and perhaps destruction.

I want to close, Mister Chairman, by saying a couple of things; and I hope what I say is not taken as anything said in any spirit of criticism that's unjustified or even justified, if that was the case — and it's not justified.

I really don't believe that it is the function of the AFL-CIO to do the organizing. I used to think differently 20 years ago, 30 years ago. I think it is the function of your union and my union to do the organizing, and I think it's the function of the AFL-CIO to play a coordinating role in order to bring us together in collaborative action and achieve the goal.

I think under President Kirkland's leadership we ought to salute the AFL-CIO for having created this mechanism called the AFL-CIO

Organizing Institute; and indeed, that has been, in my judgment, a very important beginning, not a panacea for our ills, but a beginning by bringing together currently 10 international unions — and I'm proud to say ours is one of them — sitting down and genuinely trying to find sensible, realistic ways by which we can overcome the frustration of defeat that so many of us are experiencing in spite of our best efforts in the private sector.

When it recruits carefully, it is performing an important function. Recruiting what? Trainees. When they intelligently and effectively assess them in their orientation and evaluation process, that's indeed a very important beginning. We need to demystify this whole subject matter of organizing and get down to the basic fundamentals that we started with in order to give us a chance of winning.

And then when they send them out in an internship program for three weeks or four weeks or five weeks, that's immediate baptism in the campaign of fire. That's great. Even when kids don't make it, it's great; and when they do make it, it's wonderful. And then the apprenticeship.

We've used kids like some of the other unions involved in the AFL-CIO's program all over this country. What a delight it is.

I left last weekend to go to Iowa and spend a weekend with the apprentices and interns of the AFL-CIO who are working with us in trying to organize the gambling boats. We have five of them in the water right now in Iowa, and we have them in other places around the country. It's wonderful. It's inspirational, it's uplifting to see that young energy, even when they trip and fall.

That won't be the answer, either, but there must be continual assessment of the ways by which they attempt to learn in upgrading and increasing the quality wherever possible of those that do the training, and I think it can be done.

So this subject matter obviously is one that's dear to all of our hearts and requires talking about in greater depth which, obviously, in this form does not permit.

But we are talking about it within the AFL-CIO forum of the Organizing Institute, and our own union just recently, even though we came off a convention in July and spent a ton of money, we concluded the next weekend in New Orleans eight consecutive organizing conferences looking for answers to solve this problem. Thank you, Mister Chairman. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Brother Tully at mike 1.

MARK TULLY MASSAGLI, president of the American Federation of Musicians: Thank you, Mister Chairman. My name is Mark Tully Massagli. I'm the president of the American Federation of Musicians, United States and Canada. I wish I could come here today and say that the American Federation of Musicians was the strong organization it was many years ago. Sadly, I can't say that. I intend to be back in two years to give you better news.

Three of our international presidents have served on the Executive Council. And if I may make reference to one, that being James C. Petrillo, who served very well for those of us he represented as well as this fine organization. Mister Petrillo made a statement many years ago saying that musicians will end up playing for their own funerals. What he meant by that was the advent of the recorded product.

It turns out that the recorded product, as it affects the playing musician, I believe, is unlike any other organization here where the worker produces the product which displaces the worker. Surely we are concerned about permanent replacement of strikers, but we are replaced daily by electronics, by tape and recorded music.

Mister Petrillo called a record ban in 1945, was almost put in jail, was brought before the House subcommittee on un-American activities. While he was being interrogated there, there was a young congressman from Whittier, California, sitting on that panel who said, "Mister Petrillo, I won't be happy until I see you in jail."

You probably know who that is, but I'll tell you in case you don't. That was Richard Nixon. Well, Jimmy was never convicted, was never found guilty. Along came 1972 and Watergate. Jimmy Petrillo sent a telegram to Richard Nixon saying, "Dear Dick, looks like you're going to make jail first." (Laughter and applause)

As we have been sitting in this room today, our industry is changed. The music that you hear in most cases, unfortunately in commercials today, is done on synthesizers. If any of you have ever seen the show "Miami Vice," and if you can recall the sound track or you might see a rerun of that program, that's one musician putting that whole record track together from his garage. It sounds like a 40- or 50-piece orchestra. It takes a lot of time to do it.

But I get now to the point. We don't need congressional action. We don't have to bring an incursion into a foreign country to get relief in a particular area. We have a job of organizing internally, externally, and we will do that. But on this very floor each of you can help us by not going to a function that uses a disk jockey — or a DJ, they call them — where they show up with a pile of records and they do a performance, usually a wedding or a dance. They have taken the very

product that was not intended for that use, made by the musicians, and displaced musicians with that. They're parasites, they're bloodsuckers, and you won't find a union card in any one of their pockets.

We ask you to please help us. Canned music is like canned wine. It's no good. Tape is a four-letter word. Help us organize, and please protest the use of disk jockeys. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 2.

AL GRUHN, Sonoma, Mendocino and Lake Counties Central Labor Council, California: I'm very pleased at what Brother Trumka said. I'm one of those grandfathers, in fact a great-grandfather, that was back there in the 1930s. You know, organizing isn't a job, it's a mission. You've got to have it here, and you've got to have it in your gut. I was a labor council secretary in 1937 at the age of 22, after I came through a strike in which three of our people were killed, shot on the picket line, and I walked alongside the hearses from the labor temple to the cemeteries.

I remember the UFCW when it was called the RCIPA, Retail Clerks International Protective Association, and UFCW amalgamated with your workmen and all these other organizations. And they weren't organized.

We had an organizing committee in the central labor council, and that central labor council got after the internationals with a watchdog. Bring in your people, help us organize the unorganized. Retail clerks, butchers, textile workers, lumber and sawmill workers, you name it and we organized them. We organized them politically, also, a town that was completely controlled by the lumber companies, 80 percent of the economy. We changed that town around. We elected the mayor, the district attorney, three of the five on the city council. We turned the whole thing around. That's what can be done.

Let me tell you this. I'm glad that you have this new institute, because you've got to test these people. It's a tough job. Your family has got to understand that when you're away night after night in meetings and out on the organizing activity, it can be done. We brought the trade union movement of the '30s up to 35 percent of the work force in this country who were union. We can do it again.

The central labor councils are the fountain of the local community. An international can come into a community, organize a set of workers, but you need the trade union movement in that local community, everyone working together. And no one in single shots, one small local — and I had local unions in my home community, 40, 50 members. They can't survive unless the whole trade union backs them up. And then they send in their hot shots from San Francisco, the California

Association of Employers, and we'd tell them, "You're not going to take on that local union. You take them on and you take on the whole damn labor movement." Boy, they understood that, too. (Applause)

So, with the internationals working with the central labor councils, that's the key. Take inventories around. Who's not organized? Why aren't they organized?

A lot of times our unions go along — we have to build up a system where we check the whole thing out. Let's do that. But remember, it's a mission, it's not a job. Thank you very much. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 4.

JUSTIN OSTRO, International Association of Machinists: Mister Chairman, I'm not unaware of the fact that this convention wants to move along. Therefore, I'll try to be very, very brief.

During the time in which Vice President Williams was in the chair, Lenore Miller voiced her concern about the negatives being put forth in the press and the fact that a reporter came to her and said that one of the members indicated that the AFL-CIO was doing nothing to help organizing and should do a great deal more. I would simply like to add my voice to many of those you heard this morning to indicate that the AFL-CIO has really made tremendous progress in this area within the last few years. I think it's to your credit that the federation has moved forward on this.

One of the campaigns that was shown earlier was the American Racing Car campaign in the southern part of California, which they said was the largest manufacturing victory in that area in two decades. Well, that was part of a commitment by the AFL-CIO and its unions that created the climate for that campaign. Up front I'll tell you, the workers organized themselves before we arrived on the scene, and it was a retired IAM organizer's wife who pointed out a newspaper story to him that workers had gone out on strike without a union — they were Hispanic workers — and what was he doing sitting in the kitchen? He should be out helping those workers, and he did come out of retirement instantly, went down, spoke to the workers, brought in our organizers, and we started. But it was the climate that the AFL-CIO had developed in that area that made it possible, a commitment to immigrant workers that we would help them become American citizens with the California Immigrant Workers Assistance Program, a commitment to the immigrant workers that once they had arrived we would assist them in making English a second language and integrating them into the work community, and telling them that the AFL-CIO unions stood ready to help them if they gained employment where they were not represented.

Now, those workers organized themselves. They were very strong, they helped. But we participated. The AFL-CIO's L.A.-Orange County Organizing Committee came into the program. Four or five other unions that had an interest in that campaign came together under the auspices of the L.A.-Orange County Organizing program and had the kind of discussion that we might not have been able to have had you not set up the right climate with Article XXI in which we sat down, decided which union had the best chance of being successful, and the others withdrew. And that's to the credit of the federation.

We went into that campaign with assistance from everyone — one of the young men you saw on the screen, O.L. Ochoa from the California Workers Assistance Program; Ernesto Madrano from your own staff; Dave Sickler, your regional director; Ruben Diaz from the L.A.-Orange County Organizing Committee; Matt Taylor from your Organizing Department. We had everything we needed. We even had Ken Young and Lane Kirkland when I made a hurried phone call at the last minute and said, "I need the assistance of one more bilingual organizer." I got an answer within 24 hours, "You got him."

That campaign went on to victory. Sixty-three percent of those workers voted for our union, 37 percent against. And then we made the commitment that we would go in and get that first contract. We kept our organizers in place. CIWA stayed in place, with English-as-a-second-language classes with the workers. The workers made a commitment that they would do whatever was necessary to win.

And I think the bottom line, Mister Chairman, was organizing — and I agree with almost everyone that has spoken so far this morning. Brother Sirabella and I, as you know, are old warriors in the trenches from many years ago, and he's right, you have to find the right person for organizing. It can't be just a reward to someone who's not suited for that type of thing.

But if there is a bottom line, if there is a bottom line in organizing, it's commitment, the commitment to those immigrant workers, the commitment to the IAM that they have the support of the AFL-CIO, and the commitment of the IAM to put whatever resources were necessary into that campaign to gain that first contract. And, as you know, it took them nine months to get their first agreement, but it's certainly not one to be ashamed of — general wage increases in every year over a three-year contract and improved benefits.

So, Mister Chairman, we'd like to thank you for your leadership. We'd like to thank the AFL-CIO for moving the federation forward, and we'd like to thank all of the affiliates for the assistance they gave

us in that American Racing Equipment campaign. Thank you, Mister Chairman. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Thank you, Justin. Are you ready for the question?

The question is on the resolution as amended, Resolution No. 4 as amended. All in favor, say aye. Opposed, nay. The resolution is adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Organizing

Organizing is an ongoing, dynamic process which must be incorporated into every aspect of union activity. Creating an "organizing culture" among union members and staff is essential to help overcome the sophistication of union-busters who take every advantage of a weakened labor law system to frustrate and prevent workers from exercising their right to organize.

Recent Roper and Gallup public opinion polls demonstrate much improvement in the public's perception of unions. Despite the legal gridlock that exists within the National Labor Relations Board and the hostile environment created by union-busting consultants, workers are organizing unions and affiliates are responding to the concerns of unorganized workers.

A necessary component of successful organizing is to move beyond the full-time organizer to include rank-and-file trade unionists, as well as community activists who support labor's goals. Rank-and-file members should be encouraged to develop organizing leads among their unorganized acquaintances and to join volunteer organizing programs within their own unions and labor councils.

The importance of mass demonstrations of support for local organizing campaigns cannot be overstated. The experience of the Executive Council's Strategic Approaches Committee has proved that union members will respond in great numbers to demonstrate solidarity with their brothers and sisters locked in a critical battle with an anti-union employer. This type of solidarity should be incorporated into the organizing mission.

Among affiliates, there is a growing willingness to share staff and organizing data and to conduct joint training programs. These forms of cooperation should be encouraged and expanded. State and local AFL-CIOs also can be useful in organizing programs. As a natural link between the federation and affiliates in the field, AFL-CIO labor

councils can provide an invaluable network by developing organizing committees and volunteer organizer programs. Central labor councils can be the key to developing broad coalitions within the community which can exert economic, political and community pressure where appropriate. The AFL-CIO should continue its procedure for resolving organizing disputes, which has been effective in reducing wasteful inter-union rivalry.

The Department of Organization and Field Services should ensure that each of its field staff and regional directors is able to deliver organizing training programs and materials to the affiliates. Many examples exist where affiliates have utilized the services of the field staff to conduct major organizing conferences. This should be encouraged.

The primary objective of the labor movement is to bring the benefits of trade unionism to every worker possible. The AFL-CIO will continue its commitment to organizing and to carrying the organizing message to all levels of the labor movement. Utilizing its resources at the national level, the Department of Organization and Field Services, through the field staff and the Organizing Institute, will continue to work to increase cooperation among the affiliates in organizing efforts, expanded use of state and local labor councils and cooperative organizing programs.

Organizing in the United States has increasingly meant utilizing contacts and solidarity among labor's foreign allies. Greater emphasis should be given to the development of international organizing strategies. A prerequisite to such strategies is to encourage affiliates to become more active in International Trade Secretariats of their sector or sectors.

Through the use of the "Union Yes" campaign and the full range of services available from the Organizing Institute, the Labor Institute of Public Affairs (LIPA) and Union Privilege, the Department of Organization and Field Services can continue to develop new and creative approaches to organizing.

At the same time, the federation will continue to seek changes in labor law to properly reflect the intent of the stated national policy of the United States — that is, to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and to protect workers' rights to full freedom of association, self-organization and designation of representatives of their own choosing.

Historically, labor's major organizing gains have come through industry and regionwide organizing based on creating a movement with a plan for winning campaigns. Today's organizing crisis can only

be met with a broad range of comparable strategies and tactics aimed at reaching larger numbers of unorganized workers.

- Strategic targeting of key manufacturing and service industries and regions of the country is an essential part of our organizing agenda. Utilizing our analysis of industry trends and demographic changes will provide affiliates with needed assistance in developing these targets.
- A recent U.S. Supreme Court decision provides new opportunities for organizing health care workers. We encourage unions to develop organizing programs to target health care workers and to develop programs to meet their specific needs.
- Comprehensive corporate campaign tactics should become a regular part of our education and organizing programs. These types of campaigns have proven to be most effective when integrated into more traditional campaign planning.
- The Organizing Institute should continue to recruit, train and place more organizers to assist the affiliates in their organizing programs.
- Labor's international family should play a larger role and be a positive factor in today's anti-union climate. For the labor movement to fight back at home, we must continue to strengthen our relationships with trade union organizations in other countries which can assist us in our relationships with foreign investors in the United States and with U.S.-based multinational corporations operating abroad.

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KIRKLAND: Before our next order of business, I have a request and an announcement. At 9 o'clock this morning a postal employee shot and killed three post office workers and wounded six others at the Royal Oaks Post Office, which is a Detroit community 15 miles north of here. Presidents Biller of the Postal Workers and Sombrotto of the Letter Carriers are at that post office now.

I'm advised that the Red Cross desperately needs O-negative blood, O-negative. We encourage anyone in the hall who has O-negative blood to donate blood to the injured workers. Please, as soon as you can, go to the people at the blood donation sign just outside the convention hall so that we can notify the Red Cross how many people to expect.

We will arrange for a van to take you to the Red Cross Blood Collection Center six minutes from the hotel. I repeat again, anyone

with O-negative blood, we appeal for blood donations for these injured workers.

Will the Escort Committee please escort Benjamin Hooks to the platform. (Standing ovation)

Our next speaker is a great friend and a close ally in our struggle to make America a land of genuine economic and social justice and a place of equal opportunity for people of all colors and creeds. As executive director of the NAACP, Ben Hooks is the nation's leading voice for racial equality. Through the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, in which the AFL-CIO and the NAACP play major roles, the labor and civil rights movement has marched in solidarity on the major issues of the day, most recently on the Clarence Thomas nomination and the civil rights bill.

We value his advice and counsel, and we're delighted to have him with us again at our convention. Brothers and sisters, I give you Ben Hooks. (Standing ovation)

BENJAMIN HOOKS

Executive Director, NAACP

Thank you very much. I know that we're pressed for time. I was back listening to the television and heard all of these eloquent speeches, and it almost took away my ability to speak. But everything I planned to say about one thing you said it about something else.

But looking at this watch doesn't mean much. A young man going around with his father to ecumenical different kinds of services noticed that the preachers and the priests always looked at their watch, and he wanted to know what it was all about.

He said, "Well, son, let me tell you, if it's a Methodist preacher who looks at his watch, he'll be through in about three or four minutes. If it's a Catholic priest, he's going to stop right away. But if it's a Baptist preacher, it doesn't mean anything." (Laughter)

I'm a Baptist preacher, so looking at my watch does not necessarily mean what it appears to be at the start.

But it is surely good to be here at this 19th Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO and the 110th year of your existence. And I do bring you greetings from the NAACP, the nation's largest, oldest, most effective, most prestigious, most cussed and discussed, most loved and hated civil rights organization. (Applause)

And in that type of thing, we bear a close relationship to the trade union movement. And it's been my privilege through these years that I've been with the NAACP to work with you.

Now, just one little commercial, and I hope this doesn't — I've tried to decide whether to put this at the end of the speech or at the front of the speech, but never in my life, Lane, have I stood before so few from whom I expect so much. (Laughter)

And in 1992, I'm looking for a million dollars from you all. Will you all act right? Dick and John, I'll start with you. You've always been very kind and I — sitting right up here in front, a hundred thousand dollars. That will start the thing going. Amen. (Laughter)

In return, I'll give you \$10 worth of publicity.

But surely these years have presented a great challenge. It has been a joy of mine to work with Lane Kirkland, and as I have known him, my admiration for him has grown, because there are some men and women who are privileged to work in the sunshine of prosperity, others in the shadows of adversity. Lane Kirkland has headed this movement at a time when the newspapers and the authors of public opinion have ridiculed and talked about the weakness of the labor movement. He has faced the chilling wind of adversity, the hot blasts of criticism, all of those. He has not had a friendly president in the White House very often during his tenure. But in spite of that, he has been like a mighty oak, a creek planted by the rivers of water; and I appreciate his steadfastness, his courage, his ability to work on, even in the shadows and in the darkness.

In the words of the immortal Jesse Jackson, he is not only a man who climbs the trees and shakes the trees, but he also makes the jelly. Let's give a great big hand to our leader, Lane Kirkland. (Applause)

And Tom Donahue. When you see me with some of these great phrases, I've stolen from his speeches; but like some other folks, I don't always give credit as I move along. So many friends here. . . I see Ken Young, to whom we owe so much, and my friend Richard Womack, your able director.

But we face some difficult times, and I came by to say that I'm not pessimistic. I'm optimistic, that somehow, together, in spite of the gloom, in spite of the doom, in spite of President Bush in the White House and a very organized conservative minority in the Senate, and a Supreme Court that, apparently, has lost its mind — I'm convinced if you took the brains of the majority of the Supreme Court justices and put them in the head of a bird, that bird would fly backwards forever, forever, forever, perpetually fly backwards. (Laughter and applause)

But we have to confront that reality. David Duke's emergence in Louisiana is no accident, for what he says openly, others have been saying in code words, in nice little pretty phrases. But my concern is

not so much with what David Duke does, but how we act in reaction to it. If we sit on our duffs, on our do-nothing seats and do nothing — I think somebody said many years ago, the only thing necessary for evil to triumph is for good women and good men to do nothing.

And so, when you leave the convention, those of you who live in Texas and Oklahoma and Arkansas, I want you not to stop there, but go all the way to Louisiana and take your money with you and your knocks, and let's get our people out. And we can defeat David Duke and defeat him so badly that when Gabriel blows his trumpet, a thousand cans of baking powder won't help him to rise from the grave. (Laughter and applause)

That's the job that we have and that's what we must do.

And I am convinced that we can do it. Let me just say a word about Ken Young. I cannot imagine why a man as young as he and healthy and vital as he is is thinking about retiring, but I told him, "Don't go too far, because we'd be trying to call on you." Let's give Ken Young a great hand. I don't know if he's in here or not, but — (Applause) I'd like to enlist your services as a full-time volunteer for the NAACP — part-time? Both ways. Well, we'll accept that. And, so, you're signed up.

And Ken has done a marvelous job. And in the Leadership Council on Civil Rights, we were meeting one day — Ken, you may remember — and we were sort of upset with each other because things were not going well; but then somebody said, "Let's count the accomplishments we've made." We were able to renew the Voting Rights Act over the opposition of William French Smith, who tried to put in an intent test rather than a results test. We succeeded in passing the Grove City College Act to remedy what the Supreme Court called a defect in the civil rights bill. We were able to defeat Bork when he tried to aspire to the Supreme Court, and kept William Rehnquist from moving up in the Justice Department. When Reagan floated the trial balloon to gut Executive Order 11246, we were able to stop that movement. We passed the Americans With Disabilities Act. We passed a fair housing law. We passed a minimum wage bill. We got sanctions against South Africa, and when President Reagan vetoed it, we marched around the White House and the Congress until even that Congress decided to override President Reagan's veto. So, we have a list of accomplishments. We have no reason to hold our heads down, in spite of all the negative publicity and the negative talk.

We have made some tremendous progress, and our progress in the past convinces me that we can make progress in the future. We don't need to stand here and leave here feeling downcast. There's no reason

why, in this rich and affluent country, that 30 million Americans don't have adequate health care. And we must gird up our loins and remind those friends that were elected to the Senate and the House, we want them to vote and we want them to vote right, open their mouths and stand up for principles, and whether they're Republicans or Democrats, if we help them, let us see to it that they vote right and that Americans do not go to bed without health care, that homeless do not roam the streets, and children do not go to bed hungry. We can do it if we put our minds to it. (Applause)

We do not have to worry because they have a president who is saying he will veto Senate Bill 55, sponsored by Howard Metzenbaum, and I think it's House Bill 5 that would protect the right of workers to strike when they feel the necessity for it, without having their jobs taken by scabs. That, it seems to me, is one of the most important fights; and I pledge you full support of the NAACP in seeing to it that that bill passes and that we have the right. (Applause)

We were talking about organizing, and I just want to have one little thing to say that may not get much applause, but let me say it and hurry on to the end. We can't organize if we fall too much in love with our plush seats, our comfortable chairs, our air-conditioned offices, and don't get out there in the streets where the action is and meet the folk who need organizing. We have got to have the same courage that our brothers and sisters and mothers and fathers had before us. (Applause)

I can remember — and you've heard me say this before — but it always crosses my mind when the UAW sent an organizer to Memphis at the time that we had a plant down there, an automobile plant, the East Company was running the town. I remember the police beating Red Crowder down like he was wild dog. I remember how they treated him with hostility. But the organizers that day did not give up. They had something in them that spoke out, that made them work and struggle; and you and I are today in the plush confines of the Westin Hotel because trade unionists, NAACPers, and those who love liberty more than life were willing to risk all they had in order that we might eat these inch-thick steaks, accompanied by lobster on the side.

So, I don't want to forget where I came from, because if you forget where you came from, you may end up where you started from. (Applause)

And for me and my house, I enjoy being where I am.

And so, we have that challenge. We have a challenge that will be difficult. But leaders like Tom Donahue and Lane Kirkland, and others — I know so many of you. I have been to your unions, and I will be

knocking on your door again for that million dollars, and don't hide.
(Laughter)

You can run, but you can't hide. I'll camp out, if I have to, and catch you coming out that back door, like they catch me sometimes when I'm trying to avoid problems.

We have a number of the members of organized labor on our board — Owen Bieber, Ernie Lofton, Tom Turner, Marc Stepp, William Lucy, Joe Davis — and they make an excellent contribution and we're proud of them. When I look around the landscape of America and recognize the many problems that we face, I suppose I would become discouraged, but past history tells me that we can still make it.

And so I challenge you, members of this 19th constitutional convention, to leave here; and I read where some speaker before this convention was saying let us take back America.

We must take back America so we can stop those who would turn back the clock. We must take back America so we can organize the unorganized. We must take back America so that we can eliminate the cancer of racial prejudice. We must take back America so we can guarantee that every worker can make a decent and livable wage. We must take back America so we can secure adequate medical care for every man, woman, boy and girl in America.

We must take back America so we can stop the greedy from robbing the needy. We must take back America so we can stop them from exporting jobs all across the world. We must take back America so we are as concerned about Memphis, Tennessee, as we are about Moscow; as concerned about Camden as we are about Calcutta. We must take back America so that the robber barons and plunderers of Wall Street who have caused jobs to disappear must be put where they ought to be. We must take back America so we can stop them from stealing from the savings and loan associations and running banks into the ground. We must take back America so that every man and woman can look up and be proud of the fact that we are Americans.

As a black American, I have suffered the sting of racial prejudice. I've been on the back of the bus. I've had to drink from the colored water fountains. I've driven across this country not able to use the restroom; but I thank God that with your help, we have changed those conditions.

And I don't know about you, but I ain't gonna let nobody turn me around. I've decided that no matter what happens, we're going to take back America. (Applause)

And I'm willing to fight with you in the trenches, in the alleys, in the highways, in the boulevards, on the bayous until justice shall run down like waters and righteousness as a mighty stream; and we can all stand up and sing together "O beautiful for spacious skies, for amber waves of grain, for purple mountain's majesty, across the fruited plain. America, America, God shed his grace on thee."

And now let us go out and crown it with sisterhood and brotherhood from sea to shining sea. Thank you. (Standing ovation)

KIRKLAND: Thank you, Ben. You know you can count on us, and we know we can always count on you. We have a video now on civil rights.

... A video presentation regarding civil rights was shown to the delegation.

WILLIAMS: I would like to call on Vice President Lenore Miller as secretary of Subcommittee 2 for Resolutions to present the resolution on civil rights.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE 2

... Subcommittee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 29

Civil Rights

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 42, Affirmative Action

Resolution No. 43, Civil Rights Act of 1991

Resolution No. 47, Support for United Negro College Fund

Resolution No. 133, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

Resolution No. 192, Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991

Resolution No. 29 notes that the trade union movement was instrumental in securing enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act with the equal employment opportunity Title VII. The task we face is to make the intent of the civil rights laws into reality. We support affirmative action. We urge the Bush administration to stop trying to weaken the nation's civil rights laws and start enforcing these laws vigorously and effectively.

The AFL-CIO has consistently supported the Voting Rights Act of 1965. We call on our members to work closely with our civil rights

and women's rights allies for broader support and strict enforcement of civil rights laws that provide equal opportunity to all members in our society.

Resolution No. 29 also opposes discrimination based on sexual orientation, supports the rights of people with disabilities, opposes extremist groups, supports the United Negro College Fund and urges affiliates to support the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, Frontlash and National Council of Senior Citizens.

The committee recommends that the following paragraph be added before the "Affirmative Action" section:

"We urge our affiliates to expand the civil rights activities of their own unions and to continue and expand cooperation with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department."

The committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 29, as amended, and I so move.

WILLIAMS: You heard the motion. Is there support? Vice President Jay Mazur for a short speech.

JAY MAZUR, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers: When I'm the chairman, Lynn, I'm going to tell you that. The pot calling the kettle black. (Laughter)

WILLIAMS: Come on, I haven't talked all day.

MAZUR: I rise in support of the resolution. That film strip referred to the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance. The creation of this new support group is an historic event in the glorious history of this federation. It's a recognition of a large number of Asian Pacific members and Asians in this country.

There are over 200,000 Asian Pacific Americans who are members in the trade union movement today and over 120 union officers. It was under President Lane Kirkland's initiative they appointed a committee of the Executive Committee, which I chair; over the course of a year and a half, almost two years, with the extraordinary cooperation of every international union and every president of an international union this Asian Pacific Labor Alliance is getting off the ground.

It's a major accomplishment and extraordinary recognition. It represents, as you saw in the organizing, embracing the new groups that enter this country, many of whom have been here for many years, but a recognition like the A. Philip Randolph Institute, like CLUW, like LCLAA, like the National Council of Senior Citizens, that this new

support group will take its place in the ranks of labor, bringing together Asian-Americans, Pacific-Americans from Hawaii to California to New York to San Francisco, and every part of this country. I think it's appropriate that I read the purpose, the primary purpose of the organization. It's brief.

When the organization was formed there was a statement of purpose promulgated by the Steering Committee of 37 representing 18 unions. The primary purpose was to educate Asian Pacific American workers and their communities about labor and the principles of trade unionism as well as to provide a vehicle for the particular concerns of Asian American workers; to promote, support and assist the organization of Asian Pacific American workers into unions; to develop a political, education and voter registration program within the Asian Pacific American communities that would serve the political agendas of labor and the communities; to promote the training, empowerment and leadership of Asian Pacific Americans within the labor movement and the Asian communities; and finally, to defend and advocate for the civil and human rights of Asian Pacific Americans, immigrants and all other minorities.

I think this says it all. We look forward to the extraordinary work of this organization. We welcome them. I'm sorry Lane is not here; his leadership, his vision, his support, has been extraordinary, and I would like to thank the other members of the committee who worked over the long period of time to bring this new organization to fruition. Thank you very much. (Applause)

WILLIAMS: Thank you, Jay. Mike 2.

KATIE QUAN, ILGWU: Thank you. I rise to support the committee's resolution, in particular the resolutions to the Civil Rights Act of 1991, an historic piece of legislation. I do so not as an ILGWU delegate, but as you just heard the interim chairman of the AFL-CIO's newly formed Asian Pacific Labor Alliance.

Our founding convention will be held on May 1st and 2nd in Washington, D.C. At that time, we hope to bring together several hundred Asian-Pacific workers to formulate a program for the purposes which Jay just told you about. However, today in this context I would like to call to this body's attention a serious deficiency in the 1991 Civil Rights Act.

As outlined in your convention report on page 239, one of the purposes of the Civil Rights Act was to allow a redress procedure for those victims of discrimination who were ruled against by the Supreme Court as outlined on page 239. Among the cases which gave rise to the need for the 1991 Civil Rights Act was a case known as the Wards

Cove Packing Company versus Atonio. Brothers and sisters, for those of you who do not know, Wards Cove is an Alaskan cannery where 2,000 employees are Americans of Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, Samoan and native Alaskan descent. In 1989, Justice Stevens described their working conditions in his dissenting opinion: "Some characteristics of the Alaskan salmon industry described in this litigation, in particular the segregation of housing and dining facilities and the stratification of jobs along racial and ethnic lines, bear unsettling resemblance to the aspects of a plantation economy."

Justice Blackmun wrote in his dissenting opinion that the conditions at Wards Cove take us back to a kind of overt and institutionalized discrimination we have not dealt with in years, a total residential and work environment organized on principles of racial stratification and segregation.

Notwithstanding these shameful and despicable conditions, the workers at Wards Cove lost their fight at the conservative Supreme Court, and the conditions described by the Supreme Court in 1989 continue to this day. Now, why was the Wards Cove case — the only case, by the way — exempted from the protections of the Civil Rights Act in 1991? Wards Cove was taken out of the Civil Rights Act because the company spent \$175,000 for a lobbyist in Washington to convince Republican and Democratic congressmen and senators that the 2 million they had already spent on legal fees was enough punishment already.

To quote the Seattle Times editorial on this matter: "Fair is fair. This kind of lawmaking stinks."

Brothers and sisters, to perpetuate this kind of injustice would allow the Alaskan cannery barons to shield themselves from liability for unfair employment practices. This past Wednesday, Asian American community organizations, together with representatives from the AFL-CIO's Legislative Department and the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, participated in a press conference to launch new legislation which would ensure that the Wards Cove workers will have equal access to justice. It has been introduced into the House by Congressman Jim McDermott and into the Senate by Senator Brock Adams. I urge each of you to write letters to your legislators to support their bills.

As we support the Civil Rights Act of 1991, we must ensure that all workers receive equal justice. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Mike 3.

MARY BOTKIN, Marion, Polk and Yamhill Counties Central Labor Council, Oregon: Mister President, brothers and sisters, I am a

member of AFSCME and new chair for the women's caucus of the Democratic Party. I rise in support of this resolution, and I call on you as labor people to remember that we are the reason that the civil rights movement was successful, and that while we thought we won in the '60s, perhaps what we found out was that they just gave up.

As we see a man like Duke rise in popularity, we realize that these folks didn't go away, they just went underground. And it's time for us to remind America of what we stand for. Today, there's an administration that has magnified the policies of the Reagan administration that says it's OK in America to be a little racist. It's OK in America to bash people for what you think they do in their bedrooms at night. And it's OK to interfere in the private lives of American citizens and in the choice that we make in the privacy of our homes and with our families.

It's time for us to again pick up the banner and demand an end to the racist practices of an administration that has said it's all OK. We watched senators victimize Anita Hill and make her a partner in a crime, instead of its victim, and that's not acceptable anymore. (Applause)

We are the movement that must carry that message. We must carry a message of hope and tolerance and eliminate the current message of intolerance and indignity. We're the ones who can do it. We're the ones who did it. We're the ones who must carry on, and we're the ones who must police the victories of the past and not let them be defeats of the future. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Is there further discussion? Are you ready for the question? The question is on adoption of Resolution 29, as amended. All in favor, say aye. Opposed, nay. The motion is carried.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Civil Rights

The trade union movement was instrumental in securing the enactment of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in order to help rid the workplace of unlawful job discrimination. Today we are as committed as ever to achieving equal employment opportunity.

The task we face is to make the intent of the civil rights laws into reality. The executive and judicial branches of our government should be in the forefront of that effort. No policies or programs aimed at improving equality and fairness in the workplace can succeed unless they are fully supported and enforced.

The AFL-CIO has consistently supported the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which affords all citizens, including those who are non-English speaking, the right to cast an independent, informed vote. The AFL-CIO supports the extension of Section 203(c) providing for bilingual ballots and voting materials in areas where 5 percent of voting age citizens are members of a single language minority. This law enables thousands of Americans to exercise their right to vote.

We call upon our members to work closely with our civil rights and women's rights allies for broader support and stricter enforcement of civil rights laws that provide equal opportunity to all members in our society and the election of candidates who believe in and have demonstrated a commitment to fairness and equity in the workplace.

We urge our affiliates to expand the civil rights activities of their own unions and to continue and expand cooperation with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

Affirmative Action

Discrimination in any form should be illegal. Labor and civil rights laws must be enforced diligently by the courts and federal agencies because America is still affected and burdened by ambivalence toward its dream of justice for all Americans.

The AFL-CIO has long supported — and continues to support — strong affirmative action. We urge the administration to cease its constant search for ways to weaken the nation's civil rights laws, and instead to commit itself to enforcing these laws vigorously and effectively.

Civil Rights Act

Title VII was a clear statement of the national will to end unfair treatment of minorities and women in the job market and the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1991 is an extension of that commitment. This legislation became necessary after the Supreme Court issued six decisions weakening the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and 1964. Those laws are essential to ensuring equal opportunity by prohibiting job discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

The Civil Rights Act of 1991 is similar to the Civil Rights Act of 1990 (H.R. 4000), passed by the 101st Congress but vetoed by President Bush. We call upon our affiliates to continue to support progressive civil rights legislation that will protect minorities and women against employment discrimination.

Discrimination Based on Sexual Orientation

The AFL-CIO protests any personnel actions taken against any worker solely on the basis of sexual orientation. We support and urge the enactment of legislation at federal, state and local levels that would guarantee the civil rights of all persons without regard to sexual orientation in employment, housing, credit, public accommodations and public services.

Rights of People with Disabilities

The AFL-CIO supports the work of the President's Committee on Employment of People With Disabilities and community organizations, such as the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, as they work for equity and equal opportunity for people with disabilities.

The passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act presents an opportunity to remove barriers to full participation in everyday life for those with disabilities and to assure them the same rights as others in this country. We urge our affiliates to work for the effective enforcement of this law and for the right of workers with disabilities to be treated with dignity and respect.

Extremist Groups

Incidents of racial harassment, vigilante violence and social disruption have escalated. We must understand and stand up to the extremist groups and individuals in our communities. Candidates for public office who use racial and ethnic issues as a political ploy must be exposed and challenged. We urge our affiliates to expand educational programs to counteract bigotry and racial, ethnic or religious violence.

Community Involvement

We urge our affiliates to respond to the current hostile climate for civil rights and women's rights by strengthening their support of individual organizations and their participation in coalitions and activities that further our goals and programs aimed at equity and equal opportunity.

Specifically, we call upon our affiliates and their members to participate in and work on behalf of the AFL-CIO support groups: A. Philip Randolph Institute, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance, Frontlash and the National Council of Senior Citizens. These organizations play a vital role in labor's efforts to achieve equal opportunity and social and economic justice.

The AFL-CIO also will use its resources and urges its affiliates to publicize and support the efforts of the United Negro College Fund in its advocacy for historically black colleges and universities.

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KIRKLAND: Now, we have — I estimate, if you all behave yourselves — about an hour and a half more work, and I propose that we stay in session until the work of the convention is completed. (Applause)

The Chair recognizes Vice President Williams.

WILLIAMS: Thank you, Mister Chairman. What I would like to do is describe the procedure that we intend to use now for the rest of the resolutions, and it relates to the blue book that is on the tables out there. A new procedure is being introduced today in dealing with the many resolutions still to be considered by this convention. The Resolutions Committee began meeting more than a week ago, on November 6th, to consider each resolution. First, in one of five subcommittees, and then by the full committee.

In the past, we read a synopsis of each resolution from the rostrum and asked you to vote separately on each resolution. In order to expedite the work of this convention, we have printed this synopsis and the specific recommendation on each resolution and placed it on your table today. The blue book is entitled "AFL-CIO Committee Reports on Resolutions." Please review these reports, and if you wish to speak on any of these resolutions, please come to a mike to be recognized after the appropriate subcommittee report has been presented.

If a motion is made on a particular resolution, that resolution and the motion will be made in order until it is voted on, then the rest of the report will be voted. This procedure, we believe, will provide the delegates with more information concerning the recommendations of the committees on these resolutions and, at the same time, provide for an expedited handling of these resolutions.

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes the president of the Department of Professional Employees, Jack Golodner, for a report of the Education Committee and resolution.

SUMMARY REPORT COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

JACK GOLODNER, Department for Professional Employees: The Education Committee met and approved the comprehensive education resolution, which reaffirms the AFL-CIO's policies in support of public education and in opposition to private choice schemes. The committee approved the need for a strong federal leadership role that is marked by a sustained and substantial investment in education and training, an investment that supports new programs for work preparation and the transition from school to work, and increased funding for financial aid to higher education for middle-income families.

The committee discussed the need for more labor education programs for students and young workers and endorsed its support for these programs. It was agreed that it is important for affiliates to share, wherever possible, education materials and resources to effectively conserve limited funds.

The university labor centers were recognized for their vital support to union education programs. The resolution calls for affiliate support for the centers, which are facing critical budget cuts in states across the nation.

I want to thank the members of the committee and Chairman Boede, Vice President Bill Bywater, secretary, for their work.

The committee recommends **adoption** of this report, and I so move.
(The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

... Committee Member Golodner read the following:

Resolution No. 28

Education

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolution:

Resolution No. 112

Opposition to "Private School
Choice" Schemes

Resolution No. 28 calls for a strong federal leadership role in education, which is reflected by a substantial and sustained investment designed to support public education reform. The AFL-CIO opposes the use of public funds to facilitate private school choice at the expense of public education.

The resolution supports initiatives to prepare young people for work and to ease the transition from school to work, but urges protections for existing apprenticeship programs and against displacement of workers on the job.

Resolution 28 calls for a series of revisions in the Higher Education Act that would increase access through more responsive financial aid policies for low- and middle-income families and "non-traditional" students, and ensure accountability for aid and accreditation systems.

This resolution urges sufficient funding for the National Literacy Act of 1991 and strengthened worker and union involvement in all aspects of workplace literacy programs.

Resolution 28 recognizes the contribution of university and college labor education centers and urges all affiliates to oppose the disabling budget cuts which threaten their continued existence.

This resolution encourages all affiliates to develop materials which are representative of the cultural diversity of a new generation of trade unionists, but which emphasize our common values; to expand their school activities and to continue cooperative programs with the academic and religious communities.

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 28, and I so move.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

Education

Elementary and Secondary Education

The AFL-CIO urges that a strong federal leadership role in education be reflected by substantial and sustained investment in education programs. Rhetoric about attaining national education goals must be accompanied by the commitment of resources needed. The AFL-CIO opposes administration efforts to use scarce federal dollars to facilitate private school choice at the expense of proven programs in the public schools.

The AFL-CIO commends the national effort to restructure the public school system. We encourage our affiliates to work with local school boards to ensure that effective reform measures, which include teacher participation, school-based management and shared decision-making, are enacted. We further urge our affiliates to work closely with local schools to assist young people in the transition from school to work.

Vocational Education

The AFL-CIO supports initiatives to expand the opportunities that prepare young people for work, especially those youth who do not go on to college or specialized post-secondary training. New programs, however, should not harm the integrity of existing registered apprenticeship programs or displace workers already on the job.

Higher Education

The AFL-CIO endorses revisions of the Higher Education Act which would provide genuine access and support for eligible students to attend a four-year public institution of higher education. We urge Congress to increase the Pell grant program to allow for increased participation by low- and middle-income families, to become more responsive to the needs of "non-traditional" students in the administration of financial aid, to expand cooperative education programs and to ensure accountability for financial aid and accreditation systems.

Literacy

The AFL-CIO urges sufficient funding for the National Literacy Act of 1991. The U.S. Department of Education should continue its efforts to strengthen worker involvement in all aspects of planning and implementing workplace literacy programs. The Department should require written concurrence from the appropriate unions before funding programs targeted to serve workers represented by a labor organization. In addition, literacy programs should focus on serving the long-term interests of workers, their employers, and the nation, rather than attaining immediate, short-lived gains.

Adult and Labor Education

The AFL-CIO recognizes the valuable service that university and college labor education centers have historically provided to the labor movement, particularly at the local level. As many centers are now threatened by financial cutbacks, we find it important to reaffirm the value of these organizations and to urge our affiliates to support, to the greatest degree possible, efforts to ensure their continued health and stability.

The AFL-CIO encourages all affiliates to develop new educational materials and resources which are grounded in the diverse cultural experiences of a new generation of trade unionists, but which emphasize our common values and concerns.

The AFL-CIO offers support and commendation to the affiliates and unionists throughout the country who have brought imagination and vigor to the task of establishing programs to include labor's

contribution in the school curricula. We encourage these efforts and urge all labor bodies to expand their activities in this regard.

The AFL-CIO urges the continuation of dialogues on issues of mutual concern with the academic community, the religious community and other social institutions which share our vision of a just society.

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. . . Committee member Golodner read the following:

Resolution No. 49

Workplace Literacy Programs

Resolution No. 49 recognizes the initiatives affiliates have taken to create workplace-based basic skills programs. This resolution calls upon unions to actively participate in workplace literacy programs; to work to assure equal access for all workers to participate in basic skills programs; to counter employer efforts to blame workers' literacy levels for management and productivity failures; and to insist that all federally funded workplace literacy programs require grant applicants to obtain written concurrence of the appropriate labor organizations.

The Committee recommends that no further action is needed on this resolution, as it is covered by existing policy.

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KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President Glenn for a report of the Committee on State and Local Central Bodies.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON STATE AND LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

WAYNE GLENN, president of the Paperworkers: Yes, sir, Mister President, I've been ready for a couple, three days here.

My committee had only one resolution, and it deals with state and local central bodies. We've talked about a lot of important items here and we've adopted resolutions on a multitude of issues that are all-important to the labor movement, but this one is very important, too.

And it's Resolution No. 6, Book 1, Page 11. This resolution describes the goals of the AFL-CIO's central labor councils and state federations. The committee recommends the insertion of a new phrase at the end of the sixth bullet on page 12 which reads as follows: "Encouraging international unions to urge their local unions to affiliate with state and local labor councils, keeping in mind our goal of 100 percent affiliation."

The committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution 6 as amended, and, Mister Chairman, I so move.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

State and Local Labor Councils

As more and more federal responsibility is shifted to state and local government, state and local labor councils will play an ever increasingly important role in advancing labor's agenda. At the same time, these pivotal organizations are indispensable in providing the necessary grass-roots support for the AFL-CIO's federal objectives.

Crucial to the success of state and local central labor councils is local union affiliation. Maximum affiliation provides the essential membership and financial resources necessary to drive local programs. In turn, services that enhance local programs are critical to attracting local union affiliations. To this end, the AFL-CIO Department of Organization and Field Services should continue to support the programs and goals of state and local labor councils by:

- Maintaining and expanding its training and orientation programs for councils and state federations, including the annual round-table meetings for officers.
- Providing essential legislative and other information through OSL.
- Encouraging state federations to take on a greater role in coordinating council activities on state and federal issues.
- Strengthening interaction between labor and the organizations representing state and municipal governments.
- Assisting the Department of Legislation in servicing the Legislative Action Committee grass-roots lobbying program.
- Encouraging international unions to urge their local unions to affiliate with state and local labor councils, keeping in mind our goal of 100 percent affiliation.
- Continuing to offer such organizational support as reviewing of constitutions and by-laws, monitoring of financial reports and resolving disputes.

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KIRKLAND: Let me now introduce Harold Scott, who is the representative of the Savings Bond Division of the United States Treasury. (Applause)

HAROLD SCOTT
Labor Representative, U.S. Savings Bond Division
Treasury Department

Good afternoon. President Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer Donahue, delegates to this 19th constitutional convention, I am really honored to be here to share this occasion with you today; and I bring the best regards from the secretary of the Treasury and the Treasurer of the United States. I'm going to start off with some very good news for you. I had a 45-minute speech that I was going to deliver to you today, but I recognize that you probably have had enough speeches, so I cut it to under five minutes. How's that for a start? (Applause)

Now, one of the reasons that I'm here today is to thank you for the type of assistance that the unions who are part of the AFL-CIO have given the Savings Bonds Program this year, which is the 50th anniversary for the United States Savings Bonds Program. That type of support has been in the way of messages in your publications, however often you publish those, and inviting me and other U.S. Savings Bonds officials out to address your conventions when you have them throughout the country. And I've been very pleased to attend those, and I've gotten quite a bit of support for the program.

Now, your support really paid off this year. As a matter of fact, savings bonds this year seem to have been as popular as a fire plug at a canine convention. We have sold, this year, over \$10 billion worth of savings bonds. At this present time we have over \$136 billion that's outstanding in United States Savings Bonds and \$55 million bond holders that have made that possible. And I know for sure that union members have helped to make that possible, and we're very pleased for it.

Now, savings bonds do quite a bit, and I think that your chairman, that is, Lane Kirkland, who is also the chairman of the National Labor Advisory Committee for the U.S. Savings Bonds, has witnessed how we tried to make necessary adjustments to be relevant to the needs of the American people. Lane saw that in November of 1982 that our program had to change, and it did change, to make sure that we were paying a market-based interest rate; and we're doing that. We've done that since 1982.

Lane, also, showed and witnessed last year that this program, the United States Savings Bonds Program, now has tax exemption, if you use those bonds for post-secondary education, and certainly that includes colleges.

Now, we have seen that one of the biggest complaints of our labor organizations is that we're importing too much into this country, and I agree with you. I think that we are. But if we don't watch what we're doing about our education, we're going to have to import skilled scientific, technological people to run our country, and they're not going to be from this country. And it has started already.

So, take whatever you can to help to make sure that your kids are adequately educated to meet the challenges that are going to face them in the future. Use whatever resources are there. Savings bonds are not the panacea, but certainly they help. And with a tax-free option, you better grab what you get free, because that which you don't have to borrow later, it's good to save for now. You're going to be in much better shape at that point.

Now, I want to also thank Ken Young. Ken has truly been a good friend to this program, and I just learned today that he was retiring, but he's been very helpful to this program.

And I also want you to know that as we get support from labor unions, I make sure that I always support you in return. I didn't watch Solidarity Day on television. I was out there in that very hot, sweltering day walking among you all. Now, you all support us. I think that it's only fair in turn that we do the same, and certainly that's the way I see it. (Applause)

It gives me great pleasure at this time to present to President Kirkland our 50th Anniversary Award. I don't know that he was aware that I'm going to do it. I understand that he doesn't like this kind of stuff, but we're going to do it today. We're going to present to him the 50th Anniversary Award on behalf of the AFL-CIO.

And, Lane, if you would, this is only one of about five that have been presented this year. And it reads: "On the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of U.S. Savings Bonds and in grateful appreciation for your patriotic support of the Savings Bonds Program, we honor the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, its members and officers, for their continuing interest in the U.S. Savings Bonds Program, 1991." The Capitol building here, the U.S. Treasury here, the minuteman here, which represents the U.S. Savings Bonds Program.

So thank you, Lane Kirkland, for your leadership; and, thank you, the members of the AFL-CIO, for your support. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Thank you, Brother Scott. It looks like a coin here and the words, "In case of emergency, break glass." (Laughter)

The Chair recognizes Vice President Hatfield for a report of the Labels Committee.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABELS

JAMES HATFIELD, president of Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers: Thank you, Mister Chairman. The Committee on Labels considered seven resolutions, which are described in the written report you have before you. These resolutions are numbered 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181 and 182. The resolutions designate Union Label Weeks for 1992 through 1995, call for all affiliates to support the AFL-CIO Union Industry Show, call for strong support of boycotts, urge union consumers to buy union-made goods and services and to refuse to purchase imported products and encourage union members to harness their purchasing power to save jobs by buying union.

Affiliates are also requested to urge their members to ask their state and local governments to support legislation against the importation of foreign-made American flags and to urge the United States Olympic Committee to buy only U.S.-made goods and permit the use of the U.S. Team logo only on goods made in the U.S.

The committee recommends **adoption** of all seven resolutions as specified in the report; and, Mister Chairman, I so move.

KIRKLAND: The motion is to adopt the recommendations of the Committee on Labels. The delegate at mike 3.

DAVID JOHNSON, United Garment Workers: Mister Chairman, I'm General President of the United Garment Workers of America. You know, over the years I have listened and learned from my elders. I only wish there were more here to hear this.

I have come to the convention and met with other general officers, only to realize how incredibly young I am. As I said, over the years I have listened to my elders and learned. I suppose I have from time to time been blessed with their trust and knowledge, and for that I wish to thank them all.

Years ago, I had a wise old man take me aside in a moment of despair. He asked what was wrong. This man had seen the worst of what one human being could do to another. He had numbers tattooed up on his forearm. I couldn't understand the complacency of a group of workers. To this he said, "Young man, I want to tell you something. When people's bellies are full, their heads are empty; and when their bellies are empty, their heads are full. You remember what I tell you."

I have remembered these old man's words for many years. I will continue to remember to come.

Mister Chairman, I rise to speak on Resolution 180 concerning labor's purchasing power, asking each and every brother and sister in this assembly to heed those old man's words.

How hungry do we as Americans have to become before we fill our heads? There are some among our ranks who care only for themselves and their organizations with little or no thought other than their own survival.

Some here today, I'm sure, are wearing foreign products with little or no thought as to the impact of that single purchase — what the single purchase might have cost.

How hungry do we as Americans have to become before our heads fill with the simple knowledge that we are our own worst enemy? How much further erosion must occur before the leadership within our own ranks realizes the part that they must play by leading through example?

Yes, I am young; but I and others like me are the future of labor, and we are watching and we are listening to our elders. Each of us here today must accept responsibility for where we are today and where we will be tomorrow. I am asking each and every one of you to search your souls for reasoning. Listen to your young as well.

We are asking for your leadership. If the shoe fits, it has to be union made. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Are you ready for the question? The question is the adoption of the report of the committee recommending adoption of the seven resolutions. All in favor, say aye. Opposed, nay. The report is approved.

(The text of the resolutions as adopted by the convention follows.)

Union Label Week

WHEREAS, The week following Labor Day is set aside each year to focus attention on the products and services produced by America's union workers; and

WHEREAS, The union labels, shop cards, store cards and service buttons which identify many of these products and services are hallmarks of quality and symbols of fair labor standards, and are honorable symbols; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO officially designates the periods of September 7-12, 1992, September 6-11, 1993, September 5-10,

1994, and September 4-9, 1995, as Union Label Weeks; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That all national and international unions renew their efforts to promote Union Label Week and will see to it that the goals of Union Label Week be extended throughout the year.

###

Support of Boycotts

WHEREAS, The American trade union movement continues to be buffeted from all sides by an anti-union national administration, powerful corporations and their trade associations dedicated to the weakening or outright destruction of effective labor unions; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has suffered grievous setbacks at the hands of these unscrupulous individuals and organizations; and

WHEREAS, Throughout history, anti-union forces have sought to destroy the American labor movement, but failed; and

WHEREAS, The national boycott has been proved over the years as a means to effectively combat the forces that would destroy us; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That every AFL-CIO affiliate, their local unions, state and city central bodies and union label councils pledge to actively support the national boycotts endorsed by the AFL-CIO Executive Council; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That all editors of publications affiliated with the International Labor Communications Association will give all possible publicity to these boycotts by regular publication of the official "Don't Buy" list and through other means.

###

AFL-CIO Union Industries Show

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show has experienced consistent growth in recent years in both the quantity and quality of exhibits; and

WHEREAS, This growth has been maintained despite the loss of several large union exhibitors, affiliates of this Department; and

WHEREAS, The show presents unparalleled opportunities for union and company exhibitors to meet face-to-face with tens of thousands of show visitors; and

WHEREAS, The show needs the participation of all AFL-CIO affiliates to realize its full potential for publicizing American union-made products and services; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That all AFL-CIO affiliates be urged to support the show through an exhibit of products or services; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That union exhibitors will do everything possible to solicit show participation amongst companies with which they have contracts.

###

Purchasing American-Made U.S. Flags

WHEREAS, Since the Persian Gulf War, there has been a swell of patriotism in the United States of America; and

WHEREAS, The demand for American flags has increased dramatically in recent months; and

WHEREAS, The American flag symbolizes life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and

WHEREAS, Many of the American flags on the market today are imported, frequently from countries that employ prison labor or other exploited workers, and that to use these imported flags contradicts the symbol's very meaning; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO affiliated unions and their members, state and central bodies, local unions and union label councils appeal to governing bodies in their home states and insist that they generate legislation to ban the import of American flags; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That all union members support such legislative initiatives.

###

Labor's Purchasing Power

WHEREAS, The purchasing power of more than 14 million members and family members of AFL-CIO affiliated unions represents a powerful market force; and

WHEREAS, Logic dictates that this purchasing power should be unified and guided so that its full force is directed toward the goal of maintaining union jobs as well as contributing to the nation's economy; and

WHEREAS, Purchasing mostly imported foreign goods displaces American workers, and at the same time, lures our manufacturing enterprises offshore, thus exporting American jobs; and

WHEREAS, The purchase of foreign-produced goods undermines American jobs, thus weakening union standards and hopes for economic progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That every effort be undertaken, by means of distribution of literature, speeches designed to educate and enlighten, and conferences and workshops, to make all union members aware of the purchasing power they possess; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That all affiliated unions awaken in their members and families a consciousness of the importance of buying union, building union, and patronizing union; and, be it further

RESOLVED: The membership supports legislation to protect the American worker and their jobs.

###

Use of Official Logos, XXV Olympiad

WHEREAS, The games of the XXV Olympiad will be held in Barcelona, Spain, July 25-August 9, 1992; and

WHEREAS, Athletes from the United States will be competing in all 28 sporting events; and

WHEREAS, The U.S. Olympic Committee (USOC) is recognized by the International Olympic Committee as the agency responsible for this nation's full range of participation in the Olympiad, and is the guardian of the Olympic movement in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The USOC relies substantially on the U.S. corporate community to support its Olympic effort; and

WHEREAS, The USOC grants manufacturers, through licensing agreements, the commercial right to use the USA/five-ring logo and USOC/laurel wreath logo on designated products, product packaging, and in related advertising and promotional materials in return for royalty payments; and

WHEREAS, Sponsors seek the marketing advantages of association with the Olympics, the greatest of all the world's sporting events. The prestige and excellence which distinguish the Olympic Games are also qualities which American companies wish to communicate to consumers as to their superior products and services; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO petitions the USOC and its sponsors to purchase sporting equipment, clothing and promotional material proudly made in the USA, the country these athletes are representing; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO petitions the USOC to stipulate that only U.S.-made goods be permitted to carry the official U.S. games logo.

###

Union Label vs. Imports

WHEREAS, Imports continue to increase in the face of a mounting trade deficit, with a trade imbalance exceeding 100 billion annually in each of the past seven years; and

WHEREAS, Between 1982 and 1991 the merchandise trade deficit totaled more than 924 billion; and

WHEREAS, More than 2 million U.S. manufacturing jobs have been lost over the past decade; and

WHEREAS, These job losses have been caused in large part by U.S. government policies which encourage domestic manufacturers to produce their goods in foreign countries through tax laws giving special breaks to offshore corporations; through continued low duties on imports of all kinds; and through a refusal to apply quotas on foreign goods, foreign parts, and foreign materials; and

WHEREAS, The United States still clings stubbornly to its support of so-called "free trade" and denounces as "protectionism" any efforts to save our beleaguered industries; and

WHEREAS, Other nations block U.S. exports to their countries by imposing tariffs, non-tariff barriers, informal quotas, stringent and unrealistic inspection requirements, discriminatory standards, export subsidies and many other self-protective practices; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to make union members and all Americans aware of the need for federal legislation that would help preserve American industries and American jobs; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That all affiliates be urged to alert their members, their families, friends and communities to the necessity of buying union-made goods and union services.

###

KIRKLAND: The Chair recognizes Vice President Williams.

WILLIAMS: It's my pleasure to call on Vice President Shanker to complete the report of Subcommittee I of the Resolutions Committee. Vice President Shanker.

ALBERT SHANKER, president of American Federation of Teachers: Mister Chairman, the committee reported on and the convention debated resolutions on international trade on Tuesday and international affairs on Wednesday. This report of the committee addresses additional resolutions on those subjects and has been distributed to the delegates on the convention floor in printed form.

The committee's report summarizes and recommends action in the following areas. It notes that trade in apparel and textiles continues to have a devastating impact on domestic employment and urges the U.S. government to continue to treat apparel as an import-sensitive product and, therefore, extend the multifiber arrangement and ensure that its quota provisions are enforced in any trade agreements with Mexico and other Western Hemisphere countries.

The report notes that trade negotiations now go way beyond additional categories like tariffs into new, ill-defined areas that include services, intellectual property and investment.

It goes on to note that service industries like finance and insurance, health care and construction are extensively regulated by local, state and federal governments and that international treaty obligations may limit the power of governments at all levels to protect public health and economic stability through the legitimate regulation of service industries.

Concerning international affairs, the report addresses resolutions on supporting Histadrut; the federation's policy on convention fraternal delegates; methods of international trade union cooperation; the question of POW-MIAs in Southeast Asia; and support for the public service workers' strike in Canada.

The committee recommends the **adoption** of Subcommittee I's report and I so move.

KIRKLAND: Motion is to adopt the subcommittee's report. Are you ready for the question? All in favor, say aye. Opposed, nay. It's approved.

... Committee Secretary Shanker read the following:

Resolution No. 122

Textile and Apparel Imports

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 122.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Textile and Apparel Imports

The apparel and textile industry continues to be a major giveaway by the U.S. government in multilateral and bilateral trade negotiations.

The industry has been sacrificed in an effort to repay nations which have assisted the military effort against Iraq and to assist the former communist-controlled countries of Eastern Europe.

Assistance in the form of higher imports into the United States has not been offset by lowering quotas of major apparel and textile exporters to the United States in the Far East as proposed by the labor movement. The only Far Eastern quotas that have been reduced have been those which have not been filled.

As a result, imports have once again begun to rise, despite the continuing poor retail market.

In the 10 years, 1980 to 1990, apparel imports alone have increased two-and-a-half times. Since 1973, the industry has lost 412,000 jobs, more than 233,000 since 1980 alone. Of 32 states for which apparel employment data are available, 1990 was lower than either 1973 or 1980 in 27 states.

Despite these conditions, the administration has continued to push policies that would result in further reductions in employment in the domestic industry.

Given the almost completed talks at the GATT Textiles Committee, resumption and completion of the negotiations would lead to the virtual end of these industries.

Current negotiations to establish a free trade agreement with Mexico and Canada (NAFTA) and the President's Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI), along with the existing Caribbean Basin Initiative, would intensify the speed with which the domestic industry would be destroyed and jobs would be lost.

A free trade agreement, first with Mexico, and then with the rest of the hemisphere through the EAI, would exacerbate the already devastated condition of the U.S. apparel industry and wreak economic and social havoc on its workers and the communities in which they live. It would do nothing positive for Mexican and other Latin American workers, but would intensify the frightful exploitation to which they are now subjected.

Trade liberalization in western Europe proceeds under a "social charter" that seeks the standardization of labor conditions within the European community, but no such linkage is proposed in the case of the NAFTA and EAI.

Almost 23 percent of apparel workers in this country are of Hispanic origin. The administration's trade policy can only lead to the loss of many of their jobs to their relatives in Latin America, where wages run between one-tenth and one-twentieth of U.S. wages.

What is involved is not whether the United States will have more or less trade, but the type of trade in which we would engage. If the rapid expansion of imports produced by low-wage labor is any indication of what to expect in an FTA, we can expect further erosion of skills in our country and increased degradation of our own economic Third World workers.

The AFL-CIO urges the administration to recognize our country's historic policy and continue to treat apparel as an import-sensitive product. To accomplish this, the Multifiber Agreement (MFA) should be continued and its quota provisions enforced in any trade agreements with Mexico and other Western Hemisphere nations.

Rules of origin should be carefully defined to prevent transshipment and dumping by countries outside these agreements. Such rules should prevent other nations from taking advantage of the low wages and poor working conditions in Mexico and other Latin American countries and establishing apparel plants in Mexico to secure access to the U.S. market.

###

... Committee Secretary Shanker read the following:

Resolution No. 140

International Trade in Services

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 140.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

International Trade in Services

The Reagan and Bush administrations have consistently pushed for the expansion of trade negotiations beyond traditional categories like tariffs into a wide range of new, ill-defined areas that include trade in services, intellectual property, non-tariff barriers, and investment. In so doing, the administration is responding to pressure from businesses

that are striving to remove barriers to the expansion of their overseas operations.

However, it is in the nature of trade agreements, whether multilateral like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) or the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), that the United States will be required to grant reciprocal advantages to our trading partners. The benefits to individual firms in terms of expanded overseas operations may be outweighed by economic damage to domestic businesses and workers. Furthermore, in contrast to the export of goods, expanded export of services and foreign investment by U.S. firms does not mean increased employment for U.S. workers. Service industries, like finance and insurance, health care, and construction, are extensively regulated by local, state, and federal governments. Extending the reach of international treaty obligations into these areas may limit the power of governments at all levels to protect public health and economic stability through the legitimate regulation of service industries. Even a simple "standstill" commitment on the regulation of foreign investment would block attempts to establish even modest disclosure requirements for foreign owners of U.S. businesses. Similarly, trade in services agreements could obstruct efforts to reform the insurance industry with respect to health, workers' compensation, and pension benefits — topics which are of immense concern to labor and the public at large. An overly broad trade in services agreement could turn out to be a potent weapon in the hands of proponents of deregulation.

Liberalization of trade in services entails an easing of limitations on the cross-border movement of personnel. The expansion of temporary entry for either individual service providers or employees of cross-border service providers poses a threat to the rights of Canadian, Mexican and U.S. workers. Because their right to be lawfully present in the United States depends on their employment status, these workers can be subjected to extreme coercion by their employer. The "guest worker" is left with no clear means of redress under labor or employment laws in either their home or host country. Under the present application of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, the guest worker's status must be renewed annually at the employer's whim, which only heightens the worker's exploitability.

Minimum statutory safeguards are needed to govern temporary entry. These include requiring employers to prove that service would be disrupted without them; that the entrant be paid the prevailing wage; that the employer has taken steps to recruit, train or retain qualified residents; that there is no strike or lockout and that the hiring of the temporary entrants will not influence a union election. These safe-

guards should be applied to both (1) employing individual service providers, and (2) contracting for services with foreign service providers.

While it may be desirable to include language protective of workers' rights in trade agreements, care must be taken that this does not interfere with the rights of workers to seek redress under U.S. law. For example, in the event that a foreign service provider or an employer of a foreign service provider violates U.S. labor or employment law, the aggrieved party could be required to exhaust GATT dispute resolution or other international procedures before resorting to remedy through U.S. courts and agencies.

Crucial issues are also raised by the over-broad application of the principle of "national treatment," which could extend the "right to scab" to foreign temporary entrants — either as individual service providers or as employees of foreign service firms.

The AFL-CIO believes that the implications of a trade in services agreement are profound and far-reaching. In deliberating trade in services implementing legislation, Congress should take account of the following concerns:

- The fast-track procedure must be amended to allow for full congressional deliberation of any trade in services agreement.
- A trade in services agreement should not interfere with the legitimate regulation of service industries by localities, states or the federal government.
- Trade agreements should not include any provisions relating to the entry of non-immigrant or temporary workers.
- The personnel recruitment industry, which includes firms that specialize in the recruitment of personnel, such as executive recruitment firms, temporary agencies and employee-leasing firms, should be excluded from international trade negotiations.
- Trade treaty obligations must not impede redress by workers against foreign employers under U.S. labor and employment laws.
- The United States must not agree to "national treatment" for strikebreakers. Wherever unfair labor practice charges are pending against an employer or a labor dispute or union election is in progress, employers should be barred under federal law from engaging the services of temporary entrants — either employees of foreign contractors or individual service providers.

###

... Committee Secretary Shanker read the following:

Resolution No. 64

Support Histadrut

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 64.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Support Histadrut

WHEREAS, Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation, and the AFL-CIO have close, long-standing ties of friendship and cooperation; and

WHEREAS, Histadrut plays a major role in shaping the democratic nature of Israel; and

WHEREAS, Histadrut is deeply involved in the struggle for economic justice for all workers in Israel, thereby building bonds of understanding between Arabs and Jews; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its historic support of Histadrut; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to continue their support for the American Trade Union Council for Histadrut.

###

... Committee Secretary Shanker read the following:

Resolution No. 65

Fraternal Delegates

Resolution No. 65 notes that the AFL-CIO has a long-standing policy of cooperating with democratic trade unions throughout the world; and, traditionally, the status of fraternal delegate has been extended to only the British TUC and the Canadian CLC.

It calls upon the AFL-CIO to extend the status of fraternal delegeate to all representatives of democratic trade unions.

The Committee recommends that this resolution be **referred to the Executive Council**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the referred resolution appears in the index in numerical order.)

###

... Committee Secretary Shanker read the following:

Resolution No. 66

Unification of Labor Unions

Resolution No. 66 notes that the proposed Mexico trade agreement can sabotage the rights of working people and erode environmental standards. To address these problems, it calls upon the AFL-CIO to support the unification, "on rank and file basis," of the unions of Mexico, Canada and the U.S. to prevent corporations from pitting workers against each other.

The Committee recommends **non-concurrence** with Resolution No. 66.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

... Committee Secretary Shanker read the following:

Resolution No. 82

POW/MIA Issues

The Committee recommends amending Resolution No. 82 to read as follows:

"Let it be resolved that the AFL-CIO opposes any normalization of relations with the government of Vietnam that does not include a full and acceptable accounting for all POW/MIA's in Southeast Asia."

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 82 as **amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

POW/MIA Issues

Let it be resolved that the AFL-CIO opposes any normalization of relations with the government of Vietnam that does not include a full and acceptable accounting for all POW/MIA's in Southeast Asia.

###

... Committee Secretary Shanker read the following:

Resolution No. 104

**Solidarity with the
Public Service Alliance Strikers**

Resolution No. 104 notes the Public Service Alliance of Canada has called a national strike to oppose the government's wage restraint program. It calls upon the AFL-CIO to express solidarity and lend assistance and support to that job action.

The Committee notes that the strike is over, so the policy issue is moot, and no action is necessary.

###

Resolution No. 174, Labor and the World, already acted upon by this convention, covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 33, Labor and the World

Resolution No. 62, Justice for Northern Ireland

Resolution No. 63, Arab-Israeli Peace

Resolution No. 128, Haiti

Resolution No. 129, China

No further action is necessary on these resolutions.

(The texts of these resolutions appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Resolution No. 3, International Trade and the North American Free Trade Agreement, already acted upon by the convention, covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 54, Buy American

Resolution No. 56, Free Trade Agreement and Human Rights

Resolution No. 123, Trade Adjustment Assistance

Resolution No. 136, International Trade Policy

No further action on these resolutions is necessary.

(The texts of these resolutions appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

SHANKER: This concludes the report of Subcommittee 1. At this time I want to recognize and thank the members of the subcommittee for their valuable work.

The members of the subcommittee were: Richard Kilroy, secretary, Ed Carlough, Ed Cleary, Angelo Fosco, Frank Garrison, Jack Joyce, James LaSala, Mike Sacco and Milan Stone.

WILLIAMS: I would now like to call on Vice President Lenore Miller, secretary of Subcommittee 2, to complete the report of that committee of the Resolutions Committee. Vice President Miller.

LENORE MILLER: Thank you very much. On behalf of Chairman William Bywater of Subcommittee 2, I would like to also thank the members of Subcommittee 2 and recognize them for their work.

Members of Subcommittee 2 were: Edward Hanley, Robert Georgine, John Kelly, George Kourpias, Jay Mazur and William McCarthy.

SUMMARY REPORT RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE SUBCOMMITTEE 2

... Subcommittee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

The Resolutions Committee has already reported resolutions from Subcommittee 2 on the right to strike, on organizing, on the presidential endorsement process and on civil rights. The convention has debated and has adopted these resolutions.

This report of the committee, which addresses a variety of additional resolutions, has been distributed to the delegates on the convention floor in printed form.

One key issue on which we recommend convention action is support for state federations in their continuing fights against the National Right to Work Committee and its allies in the radical right and in the business community.

We also call for strong COPE action by AFL-CIO affiliates in registration, voter education, get-out-the-vote and fund raising, including voluntary political check-off in local union contracts and asking all union members to sign political check-off authorization cards.

Another resolution notes that Union Privilege has expanded the range of benefits union members get from their union. It calls for Union Privilege to continue to work with affiliates to find ways to attract new union members and keep existing members.

A comprehensive resolution on working women calls for elimination of all discrimination against women, passage of the Equal Rights

Amendment, pay equity and complete involvement of women at all levels of union activity.

We support raising the minimum wage with automatic adjustment to 50 percent of average hourly earnings. We support Davis-Bacon and the Service Contract Acts, and we oppose any government or employer actions which lessen or weaken Fair Labor Standard Act overtime protections.

We call for RICO reform so this anti-racketeering law will no longer be an anti-union rap, but will serve the purpose for which it was intended, the fight against organized crime.

We support fairness for air traffic controllers. We call for stronger ties between the religious community and organized labor. We commend the participants in Solidarity Day. We congratulate the Postal Service for its announcement of a George Meany stamp to be issued in 1994, the year of George Meany's 100th birthday.

And finally, we salute Richard Kilroy for spearheading formation of the AFL-CIO Transportation Trades and for his leadership and devotion to working men and women who operate, build and maintain this nation's transportation network.

The committee recommends approval of this report from Subcommittee 2, and I so move.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 10

Restrictive Labor Legislation

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 10, and I so move.

...The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Restrictive Labor Legislation

As the labor movement entered the 1990s, it was clear that the National Right to Work Committee would continue its ongoing campaign to threaten free collective bargaining. Recent NRTWC initiatives in Pennsylvania, Colorado, Oklahoma and other states cannot be ignored — and the battle can be expected to be fought all over again in the legislature in 1992 in New Hampshire. The activities of the NRTWC and its base of right-wing supporters with strong ties to the business community are a constant threat to the effort of working men and women to achieve economic and social justice.

At the close of the last decade, the AFL-CIO successfully fought challenges by the National Right to Work Committee in New Mexico, Oklahoma, West Virginia and Montana. In the case of the Navajo Nation, "right-to-work" was repealed on tribal lands. Election victories by the AFL-CIO dampened NRTWC hopes of victories in many states which they had targeted.

As a direct result of the Beck decision and the anti-worker agenda of the Reagan-Bush administration, unions are under assault by the radical right for protecting the interests of workers in the political arena. Union advocacy of minimum wage, social security benefits, national health care reform, increased workers compensation benefits, adequate unemployment compensation, occupational health and safety laws, child care, parental leave and workplace fairness legislation are all anathema to the right wing architects of the National Right to Work Committee.

The future of the American labor movement depends on the defeat of "right-to-work" initiatives — in New Hampshire and wherever else they may arise — and the AFL-CIO rededicates itself to that objective. The AFL-CIO stands ready to commit all of its resources in the battle to defeat the agenda of the radical right and its allies in the business community to destroy free collective bargaining.

The AFL-CIO will develop effective grass-roots political action on the local level and continue to form alliances with religious, civil rights and community-based organizations.

The AFL-CIO will provide leadership in the areas of political education, fund raising and volunteer recruitment for the labor movement to effectively battle the forces of "right-to-work" in the states.

The AFL-CIO will devise strategies to combat the effects of the Beck decision, give assistance to state labor federations in their efforts to develop new and creative approaches to combating "right-to-work" campaigns, and develop economic arguments which best illustrate the human devastation "right-to-work" wreaks on working people.

The AFL-CIO will be open to the possibilities for repeal campaigns in "right-to-work" states and will bring together the leadership of our state federations to plan coordinated strategies to counter the campaigns of the NRTWC.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 9

Union Privilege

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 9.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the committee follows.)

Union Privilege

In the past two years, Union Privilege has further expanded the range of benefits union members derive from their union. For example, the new Union Member Mortgage Program will make purchasing a home easier and more affordable for union members. It also will open the door to home ownership to many members who would otherwise be locked out of the housing market. The Union Privilege Loan Program will help union members who need to borrow money to do so at a lower cost.

The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of Union Privilege. Union Privilege should continue to use the collective purchasing power of the 14 million federation members and their families to develop further services and benefits to meet the needs of union members at home as well as in the workplace. Union Privilege should likewise continue to work with affiliates to explore ways of using the membership benefits developed by Union Privilege as tools to help attract new members to the labor movement and retain existing members.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 5

COPE Activities

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 5.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

COPE Activities

The key political objectives of the AFL-CIO in 1992 will be victory for the federation's endorsed presidential candidate and an increase in the progressive margins in both houses of Congress.

All affiliates are urged to intensify their COPE programs — to strengthen registration, education, get-out-the-vote and fund-raising efforts — and to cooperate fully in National COPE activities.

We call on all affiliates to:

- Provide to COPE accurate, up-to-date lists of members' names and addresses, so that all AFL-CIO members may be reached by AFL-CIO campaign efforts.
- Observe the policy, reaffirmed by the Executive Council, to make no individual union endorsement for presidential nomination pending action by the federation as a whole.
- Participate in, and assist, the AFL-CIO campaign in the delegate selection process, seeking more labor representation than ever at 1992 party nominating conventions.
- Recruit and train volunteers to serve in the COPE programs in their communities.
- Emphasize formation of a COPE committee in every local union to take responsibility for the basic political programs of registration, education, GOTV and fund-raising among the local's own members.
- Encourage local unions to secure voluntary political check-off in their contracts and, through other means, to approach all members to sign check-off authorization cards.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 19

Fair Labor Standards Act

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolution:

Resolution No. 124

Minimum Wage

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 19.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

Fair Labor Standards Act

The Fair Labor Standards Act provides the nation's basic labor standards covering child labor, equal pay, hours of work, and minimum wages. The Act also limits industrial homework and sets a floor for wages in sheltered workshops for the disabled. The weakest and economically most vulnerable depend on this law — children, the

handicapped, the unskilled, recent immigrants, and non-union workers. These basic standards have not kept abreast of evolving workplace conditions and the needs of workers.

The minimum wage is now \$4.25 per hour. Today, the minimum wage buys only 65 percent of what it did 10 years ago, when the minimum wage was only \$3.35.

We urge the Congress to update the minimum wage law by:

- Bringing the minimum wage to 50 percent of average hourly earnings, the fair relationship with the wages of others that had prevailed when Congress previously had raised the minimum wage, and to automatically adjust that wage by changes in average hourly earnings;
- Repealing the subminimum training wage for youth as deficient in training and nothing more than age/wage discrimination;
- Gradually reducing the workweek to 35 hours;
- Increasing the overtime premium to triple time, to encourage new employment opportunities instead of forcing existing workers to work long hours;
- Linking the salary tests of professional, administrative, and executive employees to a multiple of the minimum wage;
- Establishing a Child Labor Advisory Committee to the Department of Labor to review, revise and update the child labor Hazardous Orders;
- Making the prime contractor also liable for the child labor violations of a subcontractor;
- Reducing the hours of work for children while in school.

We urge state federations to continue improving state minimum wage laws to fill the gap left by an inadequate federal minimum wage.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 20

Labor Standards

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 20.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Labor Standards

The AFL-CIO stands squarely in support of the Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Acts as basic laws protecting workers against predatory competition for federally funded contracts.

The AFL-CIO calls for passage of the Davis-Bacon Reform Act that:

- Increases the basic coverage threshold for contracts from \$2,000 to \$50,000.
- Extends coverage to repair and remodeling contracts of \$15,000 or more.
- Prevents the practice of splitting contracts into small parts to avoid coverage.

Provides a private right of action by workers independent of the Department of Labor.

The AFL-CIO calls for effective administration of the Service Contract Act and timely issuance of wage determinations by the Department of Labor.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 113 Fair Labor Standards Act Docking Test

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolution:

Resolution No. 196 Fair Labor Standards Act Protections

The Committee recommends the following changes:

In the second RESOLVED paragraph on page 124, strike the word "public" before employers, so that we oppose any action by any employers who seek to deny workers their entitlement to overtime.

In the third RESOLVED paragraph, add the words "or any other workers" after state and local government and postal employees, so that we oppose lessening FLSA protections for any workers.

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 113, as **amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

Fair Labor Standards Act Docking Test

WHEREAS, State and local governments are attempting to deny public employees protections under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) that were extended to them under the *Garcia* decision in 1985; and

WHEREAS, Governors have prompted the Department of Labor to change the FLSA regulations to prevent certain employees of state and local governments from qualifying for overtime compensation; their primary motivation for requesting the change is to enable state and local employers to reduce their personnel costs by depriving currently non-exempt workers of overtime pay; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor has issued an interim final rule changing the salary basis test under the FLSA as it applies to public employees. The test (known as the "docking test") is used to determine whether an employee is considered an hourly worker for purposes of qualifying for overtime pay; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Labor's interim final rule would also apply to employees of the U.S. Postal Service; and

WHEREAS, There is no emergency situation which warrants the issuance of an interim final rule imposing changes in the regulations; therefore, the Department of Labor has a responsibility to allow for open notice of any proposed rulemaking to enable all interested parties to have input into the process; and

WHEREAS, The National Governors Association has proposed legislation to broaden the professional duties test under the FLSA to exempt many thousands more state and local government workers from FLSA protection and restore second-class status to public employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO condemns the underhanded process of issuing an interim final rule to change the salary basis test under the FLSA as it applies to public employees; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO is adamantly opposed to any actions by employers which unilaterally attempt to cut personnel costs by denying workers their entitlement to overtime compensation; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO objects to any change in the FLSA designed to lessen protections for state and local government and postal employees, or any other workers, through either regulatory or legislative action and will continue to coordinate with its affiliates to maintain the "docking test" in the public sector.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 125

Rights of Immigrant Workers

Resolution No. 134

Immigration Policy

These resolutions deal with the employer sanctions provision of the Immigration Reform and Control Act.

The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 125 and Resolution No. 134 **be referred to the Executive Council.**

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the referred resolutions appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 30

Working Women

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 53

Pay Equity and Technical Assistance Act

Resolution No. 127

Sexual Harassment

Resolution No. 132

Women in the Workplace

Resolution No. 139

Working Women's Issues

The committee recommends amending Resolution No. 30 by adding a new paragraph after paragraph 6, as follows:

“The AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to work for the passage of H.R. 386 — the Pay Equity Technical Assistance Act — in order to further eliminate discriminatory wage-setting practices — a long-held goal of the labor movement. The legislation would, among other things, disseminate information on public- and private-sector initiatives to identify and eliminate wage discrimination based on race, sex or national origin.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 30 as **amended.**

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Working Women

The AFL-CIO reiterates its longstanding commitment to eliminate discrimination against women in the social and economic structures and activities of the country. We stand with the Coalition of Labor Union Women, women's organizations, civil rights groups and other working people to change laws, policies, institutions and attitudes to bring about equality and justice for all. Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is fundamental to this cause.

The complete involvement of women at all levels of union activity is vital to the growth and strength of the labor movement and we urge our affiliates to move resolutely toward this goal.

We urge our affiliates to include in their legislative agenda those key issues which will promote the equality and well-being of women, including: family and medical leave; adequate child care; economic equality in social security, pensions and insurance reform; employment opportunity through job training programs and pay equity; universal health care; health and safety on the job; improving child support enforcement; eliminating violence against women; maintaining adequate equal employment opportunity laws and protecting against any attacks or setbacks by the courts or Congress.

Congress also should affirm in the most uncompromising terms the right and obligation of government-financed physicians and other health care professionals to provide all relevant medical information and advice.

Many of these issues can and should be addressed through the collective bargaining process. As the administration whittles away at civil rights and affirmative action for women and minorities, the union contract and grievance procedures become even more vital in preserving civil rights and equal employment opportunities.

We urge our affiliates to continue increasing their efforts to achieve pay equity for women and minorities through the filing of wage discrimination charges, supporting pay equity legislation and making wage inequities a bargaining issue. We will work with our affiliates and the National Committee on Pay Equity in researching successful strategies and developing materials to attack sex and race discrimination wherever it exists, including in job titles, job assignments and

classification procedures. The promotion of equitable career development and job training efforts is part of the overall strategy.

The AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to work for the passage of H.R. 386 — the Pay Equity Technical Assistance Act — in order to further eliminate discriminatory wage-setting practices — a long-held goal of the labor movement. The legislation would, among other things, disseminate information on public- and private-sector initiatives to identify and eliminate wage discrimination based on race, sex or national origin.

Sexual harassment on the job continues to plague the workplace at high economic and emotional costs to the victims. Sexual harassment is illegal under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the AFL-CIO urges a major role by unions in combatting sexual harassment on the job through every legitimate means possible including establishing policies, educating workers and managers, using the grievance procedure and, where necessary, legal action. We urge our affiliates to adopt contract language addressing the problem of sexual harassment and to engage in other appropriate actions in concert with concerned groups such as women's and civil rights organizations.

We urge our affiliates to develop and pursue policies and practices for the elimination of discrimination and the integration of women in the workplace, in the labor movement and in the society.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 60

Executive Council Representation

Resolution No. 61

**Hispanic Representation on the
AFL-CIO Executive Council**

These resolutions call for election of an Hispanic trade unionist to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 60 and Resolution No. 61 be **referred to the Executive Council**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the referred resolutions appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

The committee recommends that the resolution's RESOLVED section be amended to read as follows:

“The AFL-CIO calls for RICO reform so that this statute will no longer be an anti-union weapon but serve the purpose for which it is intended, the fight against organized crime.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 72, **as amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

RICO Reform

WHEREAS, The Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organization Act (RICO) was designed originally as a sweeping, tough measure to attack the economic roots of organized crime, but in the Reagan-Bush era has been twisted into an anti-trade union weapon; and

WHEREAS, RICO undermines union democracy by bypassing the Landrum-Griffin Act by allowing the government to pick who should run a union, thereby undermining rank-and-file members' right to elect union officials; and

WHEREAS, RICO has been used by corporate thugs such as Frank Lorenzo and James Hoge to cripple striking unions with costly lawsuits and court proceedings; and

WHEREAS, The RICO law is so vaguely worded it gives ambitious and unscrupulous prosecutors vast powers to accuse union officials, drag their names in the mud, force them to undergo trial “by media,” impose on them huge costs for legal defense, and then when the evidence shows the charge to be unsustainable, the charge is quietly dropped, leaving the target of the suit with a tarnished reputation, exhausted, and possibly nearly bankrupted by legal fees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO calls for RICO reform so that this statute will no longer be an anti-union weapon but serve the purpose for which it was intended, the fight against organized crime.

###

. . . Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 73

Ethnic Labor Coalition

This resolution urges that all state AFL-CIO federations vigorously pursue the creation of an Ethnic Labor Coalition.

The Committee recommends that this resolution be **referred to the Executive Council**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the referred resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 74

Strike Support

This resolution calls for promoting the coordinating role of state federations and central bodies in strike support activities.

The Committee recommends that this resolution be **referred to the Executive Council**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the referred resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 79

Centesimus Annus

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 79.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Centesimus Annus

WHEREAS, The social teaching of the Catholic Church has traditionally strongly defended trade union rights, from *Rerum Novarum* 100 years ago to *Centesimus Annus* issued in May 1991; and

WHEREAS, In the 1980s and 1990s, throughout the West, an employer government offensive against working people and unions has put the trade union movement, particularly in the United States, on the defensive, making help from labor's allies all the more imperative, including such authoritative spiritual and moral voices as the Catholic Church; and

WHEREAS, One of the most dangerous attacks on trade union rights has been the growing use of "permanent replacements" in strikes, a practice implicitly condemned by *Centesimus Annus*, which defends balance in labor-management relations; and

WHEREAS, The American labor movement welcomes the papal encyclical *Centesimus Annus* as a powerful reaffirmation of the rights of workers and their unions. Like *Rerum Novarum*, whose 100th anniversary is marked by the new encyclical, the Pope's words were a substantial lift to worker and trade union rights around the world; and

WHEREAS, *Centesimus Annus* provides an expansive vision of the proper role of trade unions. The Pope declares that, a century after *Rerum Novarum*, "there is still need for a broad associated workers' movement, directed towards the liberation and promotion of the whole person," and the role of trade unions is "not only in negotiating contracts, but also (to serve) as places where workers can express themselves . . . (and) share in a fully human way in the life of their place of employment;" and

WHEREAS, *Centesimus Annus* observes that the state "has the task of determining the juridical framework within which economic affairs are to be conducted, and thus of safeguarding the prerequisites of a free economy, which presumes a certain equality between the parties, such that one party would not be so powerful as practically to reduce the other to subservience." For all of us who are concerned about the current imbalance between management and labor in the United States and are working for a prohibition of permanent replacement of strikers, this guidance is very encouraging; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO declares that *Centesimus Annus* is a rich and valuable contribution to the quest for a just and decent society.

###

. . . Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 80

George Meany Stamp

The committee recommends deletion of the last WHEREAS clause and the two RESOLVED clauses and adding three new paragraphs in their place as follows:

"WHEREAS, The U.S. Postal Service has recognized the contribution of George Meany and organized labor with a stamp to be issued in 1994; therefore, be it

“WHEREAS: That it is fitting the nation pay tribute to George Meany’s wise counsel and leadership with a U.S. postage stamp in his honor; and, be it further

“RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO commends the U.S. Postal Service for its announcement of a stamp commemorating the enormous role of George Meany in advancing the lives of working men and women.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 80, **as amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

George Meany Stamp

WHEREAS, George Meany epitomized the American success story: that of a journeyman plumber from the streets of New York City, a high school dropout who rose from the ranks within the labor movement to serve as the voice of working men and women before eight presidents; and

WHEREAS, His energy and leadership led him straight up the ladder of trade union responsibility within his Plumbers local and on to the presidency of the largest state labor federation, the New York State AFL, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL and finally as head of the largest labor federation, the AFL-CIO; and

WHEREAS, He was instrumental in forging an alliance between unions to create a single, powerful and independent labor federation — the AFL-CIO; and

WHEREAS, He was the most powerful voice in this country for justice and fair wages for workers both here and abroad; and

WHEREAS, Brother Meany had a major influence on progressive legislation throughout his stewardship at the AFL-CIO, including the landmark Civil Rights Act, minimum wage increases, Medicare and Medicaid; and

WHEREAS, Many of Brother Meany’s program initiatives still have great significance: the need for labor to play an active role in politics; the importance of exercising labor’s influence on the local level as well as on national and state issues; and the promotion of union involvement in community affairs; and

WHEREAS, The U.S. Postal Service has recognized the contribution of George Meany and organized labor with a stamp to be issued in 1994; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That it is fitting the nation pay tribute to George Meany's wise counsel and leadership with a U.S. postage stamp in his honor; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO commends the U.S. Postal Service for its announcement of a stamp commemorating the enormous role of George Meany in advancing the lives of working men and women.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 81 Labor's Commitment to Ethical Ideals

This resolution reaffirms the AFL-CIO commitment to the highest standards of personal and professional integrity, and commitment to the ethical values as expressed in the AFL-CIO Constitution.

The Committee supports the intent of this resolution and recommends that Resolution No. 81 be **referred to the Executive Council**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the referred resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 83 Religion and Labor

The committee recommends that the resolution be amended by deleting the second paragraph, beginning "Historically, ..."

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 83, **as amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Religion and Labor

The religious community and organized labor share many common values such as the dignity of the individual, the equality of all persons and the inherent right of all persons to find fulfillment and full expression of their humanity in the workplace.

Time and again the religious community has come to the aid of union members and unions during strikes, boycotts, organizing and first contract campaigns. They have been a vital part of efforts to stop plant closings, reform labor law to prohibit the permanent replacement of strikers, to increase unemployment benefits and gain just civil rights laws.

Given this past history and the close working relationship between the religious community and organized labor in so many areas of the country, we are disturbed by the growing trend of religious groups to engage non-union construction firms paying substandard wages for building projects as well as to use anti-union consultants to fight the efforts of workers in religious institutions to organize for collective bargaining.

The AFL-CIO commits itself to continuing the development of stronger ties between the religious community and organized labor.

We call upon the religious community to honor and reaffirm their support for the right of workers to organize for collective bargaining by allowing employees of religious institutions to freely organize without fear of reprisal.

We call upon the religious community to support a just wage, decent retirement, and respect for workers' rights by engaging the services of union contractors for building projects.

We pledge ourselves to continue to cooperate with the leadership of the various religious traditions to fulfill the true spirit of our shared values.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 84

Solidarity III

This resolution calls for a Solidarity Day III to be held before Election Day 1992.

The Committee recommends that this resolution be **referred to the Executive Council.**

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the referred resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 105

Solidarity/USA

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 105.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Solidarity/USA

WHEREAS, On August 31, 1991, a magnificent effort by the AFL-CIO, its affiliates and more than 200 allied organizations attracted well over 300,000 marchers who that day smashed the stillness that hung heavily over the nation's capital; and

WHEREAS, The spirit and enthusiasm of the marchers demonstrated anew that trade unionism and solidarity are alive and well in America; and

WHEREAS, Union members were proudly prominent in the vast assembly that paraded past the White House and gathered before the Capitol to demand justice on the job for all workers, the right of public employees and all workers to organize and to bargain collectively, the right of all Americans to universal health care and the right to a healthy and safe environment and work place; and

WHEREAS, In the decade between Solidarity Days I and II, we have witnessed a continuing decline in worker rights and worker income while the wealthy and the powerful have grown richer and more arrogant; and

WHEREAS, The national government and national politics seem to have coalesced on behalf of the giant corporations and wealthy individuals at the expense of the working middle class; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That we commend the AFL-CIO affiliates and their members and the more than 200 allies for the great success on August 31, 1991, and urge that we keep alive the spirit of Solidarity Day by establishing a continuing coalition — Solidarity/USA — determined to make the next 10 years a decade of progress for the working people of America by achieving the goals for which we marched: justice on the job for all workers; the right of public employees and all other workers at home and abroad to organize and bargain collectively; the right of all Americans to universal health care and to a safe and healthy

environment; and the right to a meaningful voice for all Americans in our national government and politics, in the national media and at the work place.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 116

Fairness for Air Traffic Controllers

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 116.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Fairness for Air Traffic Controllers

WHEREAS, The nation's air traffic control system was decimated by the 1981 PATCO strike; and

WHEREAS, The FAA assured the nation that the air traffic control system would be completely rebuilt within three years; and

WHEREAS, The FAA has not made significant advancement in air traffic technology, nor have they attracted, nor retained sufficient numbers of FPL controllers; and

WHEREAS, The National Air Traffic Controllers Association, MEBA/NMU, AFL-CIO considers staffing to be a primary air safety concern; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges the administration to allow those controllers fired in 1981 to reapply for new air traffic control positions with the Federal Aviation Administration; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges Congress to support H.R. 1240 to remedy this urgent safety crisis.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 160

**Minimum Per Capita Requirements
for Central Bodies**

This resolution states that the AFL-CIO Executive Council will implement a policy requiring all central bodies to have a minimum per capita of at least 25 cents.

The Committee recommends that this resolution be **referred to the Executive Council**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the referred resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 165

Energy Policy Committee

This resolution urges that the AFL-CIO evaluate the need to re-establish its former National Energy Policy Committee.

An AFL-CIO energy policy committee already exists, and therefore **no action is necessary** on Resolution No. 165.

(The text of the resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

Resolution No. 168

Tribute to Richard Kilroy

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 168.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Tribute to Richard Kilroy

The workers in air, auto, highway, rail, transit and truck transportation and related industries share many goals and aspirations and face many common concerns and difficulties as the nation's economy and their industries face change and challenge.

Throughout its history, many of the labor movement's fiercest battles for justice have been waged by transportation workers, and the fight continues today — from the brutal firing of the air traffic controllers in 1981 to the struggle to save the jobs of Eastern Air Lines employees, to the fight for Greyhound strikers permanently replaced when they struck for dignity, and indeed, in every transportation mode, workers are fighting hard for fair contracts and decent working conditions.

To add to the burden, federal government neglect and irresponsible deregulation have also played a key role in devastating the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of transportation workers and their families.

To meet these challenges and advance the interests of their members through increased solidarity, the transportation unions of the AFL-CIO sought the establishment of a trade and industrial department within the federation, and asked the delegates to the 1989 AFL-CIO convention to amend the federation's constitution to provide for the creation of the Transportation Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

On April 2, 1990, Brother Richard I. Kilroy officially opened the Transportation Trades Department, which he proudly and effectively served as its first elected president.

He has been recognized by that department as its founding president, and the delegates to the 1991 AFL-CIO Convention join their brothers and sisters in affiliates of the department in saluting Brother Kilroy for spearheading the formation of the department, for his tireless pursuit of greater unity within the ranks of transportation labor, and for his leadership and his devotion to the well-being and best interests of the millions of working men and women who operate, build and maintain this nation's transportation network.

###

... Committee Secretary Lenore Miller read the following:

Resolution No. 1, Protecting the Right to Strike, already acted upon by the convention, covers the substance of, and is a substitute for the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 37	The Workplace Fairness Bill
Resolution No. 142	Right to Strike
Resolution No. 143	Wages, Hours, and Working Conditions
Resolution No. 183	The Permanent Replacement of Strikers

No further action on these resolutions is necessary. (The texts of these resolutions appear in the appendix.)

Resolution No. 4, Organizing, already acted upon by the convention, covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 48	Volunteer Organizing Committees
Resolution No. 100	Nursing in the Nineties

Resolution No. 131

Commitment to Organizing

Resolution No. 141

Meeting the Challenges of Organizing

No further action on there resolutions is necessary. (The texts of these resolutions appear in the appendix.)

Resolution No. 29, Civil Rights, already acted upon by the convention, covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 42

Affirmative Action

Resolution No. 43

Civil Rights Act of 1991

Resolution No. 47

Support for United Negro College Fund

Resolution No. 133

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

Resolution No. 192

Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991

No further action on these resolutions is necessary. (The texts of these resolutions appear in the appendix.)

###

WILLIAMS: I would like to call, Mister Chairman, on Vice President John Sturdivant, secretary of Subcommittee 3 of the Resolutions Committee, to complete the report of that subcommittee. Vice President Sturdivant.

SUMMARY REPORT COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS SUBCOMMITTEE 3

JOHN STURDIVANT: Thank you, Mister Chairman. Chairman Sombrotto has been called away due to a tragedy at a local post office. Both he and I want to recognize and thank the members of our subcommittee. Without their help we could not have completed the subcommittee's work. Those members were: Moe Biller, Al Bilik, John DeConcini, John Henning and Nick Serraglio.

The committee considered a range of initiatives to improve the quality of public services provided by public-sector workers. The committee deliberated on a number of other resolutions addressing the problems facing public-sector workers. Among these resolutions were those addressing the fallacies of privatizing and contracting-out the

traditional work of federal, postal, state, and county and municipal workers.

The committee is recommending support for a number of resolutions designed to give workers in the public sector some of the same rights and benefits enjoyed by other American workers. Millions of state and local government employees remain deprived of the basic right to collectively bargain binding agreements determining their conditions of work. The committee calls for complete collective bargaining rights for all public employees.

While private-sector workers are covered by the Occupational Safety and Health Act, federal, state and local government workers are not fully protected by these basic safeguards to life and health. The committee supports resolutions extending these basic protections to public employees.

Other workers can freely participate in the democratic processes of our great country while public-sector workers still face the unfair restrictions of the Hatch Act. The committee supports Hatch Act reform.

Public-sector employers are able to and do use bankruptcy filings to take away wages and benefits from public-sector workers in the same way Frank Lorenzo was once able to violate airline employees. The committee supports taking the constant threat of this power away from public-sector employers.

Many public employees in the National Guard and Reserve suffered financial devastation when they were called to active duty during the Persian Gulf War. The committee supports legislation making up the difference in wages and benefits lost by the public employee veterans of Desert Storm.

The committee recommends adoption of the report of Subcommittee 3, and I so move.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 13

State and Local Needs

This resolution broadly deals with the condition of state and local financial needs and covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 88

State and Local Budget Crisis

Resolution No. 106

Crisis in State and Local Budgets

The Committee recommends the following clarifying and strengthening amendments:

On page 21, amend by adding in the first paragraph, second sentence, following "declining central cities," the words "federal retrenchment."

On page 21, amend by changing the last sentence in the second paragraph to begin "Firing and furloughing . . ."

On page 21, amend the fifth paragraph, second sentence, by adding the words "social services" after education, and deleting the last sentence.

On page 22, amend by adding the following after the last paragraph:

"The AFL-CIO supports a renewed emphasis on federal spending to meet community needs for health care and services, education, infrastructure and housing improvement, maintenance and restoration through aid to state and local governments.

"The AFL-CIO opposes the inequitable and distorting rigid tax and spending limitations approach to reducing tax burdens as such measures make it difficult or impossible to provide essential community services.

"The AFL-CIO will continue to work with the Citizens for Tax Justice and like organizations on taxes and related issues.

"The AFL-CIO urges Congress to enact legislation requiring direct marketers to collect sales taxes and remit them to the government jurisdiction in which the purchase was made.

"The AFL-CIO calls on the federal government to restore its obligation and commitment to state and local programs which endorse actions that promote economic growth, maintain high quality employment opportunities through enriching the employability of the workforce, and higher productivity"

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 13 as **amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

State and Local Needs

States and cities have suffered fiscal decline in 1990 and 1991 due, in large measure, to the national recession which has thrown millions out of work and slowed the economy. But there are problems which go beyond the hardships of the business cycle: lagging regional economies, aging infrastructure, the concentration of poor people in declining central cities, federal retrenchment, drugs and crime, soaring costs of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and Medicaid, homelessness, and the closing of defense bases.

The fiscal crunch in statehouses and city halls has created the necessity of raising large amounts of revenue and choosing between vital public programs at a time when human needs are great and national investments in education, roads, bridges and mass transit are sorely needed. Firing and furloughing of public workers, cutting back on vital programs and levying unfair taxes will also prolong the recession in many areas.

Assistance should be provided to maintain government services that have been crippled by revenue shortfalls, particularly the Medicaid program that is bearing the burden of mass unemployment and uncompensated care. The eligibility and benefit levels of Medicaid should be made uniform across the states.

Proposals to shift federal assistance program costs to already overburdened states and cities should be rejected, as well as the administration block grant program, which would result in the long-term loss to states and cities of available resources. The Bush proposal for Enterprise Zones is similar to other tax schemes previously studied and rejected by Congress. Such tax "incentives" would encourage existing firms to move from place to place and federal tax dollars would be squandered paying firms for doing what they would be doing anyway.

Unproductive state and local tax subsidies used to lure businesses in the name of economic development should not generally be supported. They are self-defeating in the aggregate and draw resources away from essential services. Instead, public investments in areas like education, social services, training and infrastructure, which help create a healthy economic climate, should be encouraged.

State corporate and personal income tax structures should be strengthened; sales taxes can be made more equitable through taxing certain services; and property tax reforms should include "circuit breakers" to provide relief for lower income home owners and renters, the elimination of tax abatements and improving assessments and administrative practices. More uniformity in state tax codes is also

necessary so that states can more fairly assess the tax liability of interstate and international business.

The AFL-CIO opposes the use of privatization and contracting out of public employee jobs, privatization of government services or agencies resulting in the loss of public-sector jobs.

The AFL-CIO supports a renewed emphasis on federal spending to meet community needs for health care and services, education, infrastructure and housing improvement, maintenance and restoration through aid to state and local governments.

The AFL-CIO opposes the inequitable and distorting rigid tax and spending limitations approach to reducing tax burdens, as such measures make it difficult or impossible to provide essential community services.

The AFL-CIO will continue to work with the Citizens for Tax Justice and like organizations on taxes and related issues.

The AFL-CIO urges Congress to enact legislation requiring direct marketers to collect sales taxes and remit them to the government jurisdiction in which the purchase was made.

The AFL-CIO calls on the federal government to restore its obligation and commitment to state and local programs which endorse actions that promote economic growth, maintain high quality employment opportunities through enriching the employability of the workforce, and higher productivity.

###

. . . Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 94

Collective Bargaining Legislation

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 94.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Collective Bargaining Legislation

WHEREAS, An irrational patchwork of state laws, local ordinances and executive orders characterize public-sector labor relations, with no equitable and uniform standards; and

WHEREAS, Over two million federal employees are denied the equal right to bargain collectively over salaries and other economic conditions, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of public-sector workers are still struggling to win the basic rights and protections gained by private-sector workers under the National Labor Relations Act over 55 years ago; and

WHEREAS, Only 26 states have comprehensive laws mandating collective bargaining for all state and local government workers. Thirteen states have no state legislation for any bargaining whatsoever. In the remaining states, the picture is mixed, with certain groups of public workers having bargaining rights, such as local government employees only, or educational employees only, or police and fire only. In some cases, these workers are allowed to bargain on non-economic issues only; and

WHEREAS, The constitutional basis for the enactment of federal collective bargaining legislation which would afford state and local government employees the basic rights already enjoyed by private-sector workers has been firmly established by the U.S. Supreme Court; and

WHEREAS, The world community, through the International Labor Organization (ILO) is currently investigating the failure of the U.S. government to assure the basic right of free association to its public employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO affirms its support for and commitment to work toward enactment of federal legislation to establish a rational framework extending full collective bargaining rights to all state and local government employees; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That until such federal legislation is enacted, the AFL-CIO will work in individual state and local jurisdictions to achieve legislation giving public-sector workers full rights and protections to organize and bargain collectively, and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO affirms its support for and commitment to work toward enactment of federal legislation to extend the right to bargain collectively over salaries and other economic conditions of employment to federal employees.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 95

Contracting Out

The Committee recommends the following clarifying amendments:

On page 107, change the first RESOLVED to read as follows:

“RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO reaffirms its established opposition to the loss of public-sector jobs due to contracting out of traditional public-sector services; and, be it further”

On page 107, amend the second RESOLVED to read:

“RESOLVED: That as a response to contracting out, AFL-CIO affiliates may find negotiated labor-management committees useful in increasing the effectiveness and the quality of public services; and, be it further”

On page 107, in the last RESOLVED, add “unions” after “AFL-CIO.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 95, **as amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Contracting Out

WHEREAS, In spite of the fact that contracting out is an abdication of responsibility rather than a commitment to improving management, the push to contract out public services continues; and

WHEREAS, Although contracting out is promoted as a way to save money and improve services to the public, experience shows that contracting out can lead to higher costs, deterioration of service quality, loss of accountability and flexibility, and provides an opportunity for corruption; and

WHEREAS, Private-sector contractors typically provide workers with lower wages, fewer benefits, and less opportunity for advancement, thereby eliminating middle-income jobs and expanding low-wage employment, which in turn results in a lower tax base for the community and an increase in the number of people in need of social services; and

WHEREAS, Women and minorities rely to a greater extent than white males on public-sector employment as a means to social and economic advancement, and are thus disproportionately affected by contracting out; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO reaffirms its established opposition to the loss of public-sector jobs due to contracting out of traditional public-sector services; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That as a response to contracting out, AFL-CIO affiliates may find negotiated labor-management committees useful in

increasing the effectiveness and the quality of public services; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That as an alternative to contracting out, the AFL-CIO continues to support reorganization of government operations in such a manner that would promote effective delivery of public services without altering their quality; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO's efforts to educate employers, politicians, and the public about the real disadvantages and dangers of contracting out will continue; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO unions will negotiate the best possible safeguards and protections against contracting out. In addition, other strategies such as cost comparisons and feasibility analyses, publicity campaigns, lobbying, community coalitions and the passage of legislation restricting the contracting out of services for the public should be explored and utilized where appropriate.

###

. . . Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 107

**Public Services and
Economic Competitiveness**

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 107.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Public Services and Economic Competitiveness

WHEREAS, *Making the Grade: The Development Report Card for the States* disproved traditional business climate contentions that low wage rates, no unionization and low business taxes attract business and improved economies in states and local communities; and

WHEREAS, This traditional approach has led to intense competition between states, "smokestack chasing," unprecedented business tax breaks, reduced public services, diminished social welfare expenditures and relaxed environmental standards and safety regulations; and

WHEREAS, These business tax breaks result in higher taxes for individuals, the competition leads to plant closings, loss of jobs and reduced wages, and the lessened public spending reduces the desirability of a region or state, undermines education, training, research and other elements critical to a healthy competitive economy; and

WHEREAS, The *Report Card* as well as AFL-CIO operating projects such as the one in Montana prove that a state's or local community's competitiveness is enhanced by long-term investments in people, infrastructure maintenance, physical amenities, an educated and trained labor pool, the overall quality of life, as well as the government's ability to adapt new approaches to changing needs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to promote human resources, education, job training, infrastructure maintenance, quality transportation systems, good health care, community amenities, and other public services as the foundations which encourage business expansion, new business development, innovation and healthy economic competition; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO vigorously opposes the use of corporate tax incentives as well as individual tax cuts skewed toward the wealthy to attract or to retain business in a state or locality, including property tax abatements, sales tax exemptions, corporate income tax loopholes or rate reductions, and the establishment of "enterprise zones;" and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports The Corporation for Enterprise Development and renews its commitment to further study and publicize the need for quality public services as the basis for healthy economic competition; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls upon friends and allies within the labor movement to assist in the evolution of these economic development arguments by supporting CFED efforts; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to work through the Department of Organization and Field Services, the AFL-CIO Department of Economic Research, PED and CFED on a joint project to provide state federations with assistance in the form of specific legislative initiatives which are working examples of these approaches to economic development work.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 108

**Opposition to State and
Local Government Bankruptcy Filings**

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolution:

Resolution No. 89

Municipal Bankruptcy

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 108.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

Opposition to State and Local Government Bankruptcy Filings

WHEREAS, The City of Bridgeport, Connecticut, filed for bankruptcy in the first half of 1991; and

WHEREAS, This is the first large municipality to file for bankruptcy; and

WHEREAS, The public sector would be the most negatively affected by bankruptcy of a municipality; and

WHEREAS, This would have the greatest impact on the public sector of that city; and

WHEREAS, This could be the beginning of a new trend by cities around the country; and

WHEREAS, Filing for bankruptcy could be used as a tool by municipalities to break existing collective bargaining agreements and commitments to workers; and

WHEREAS, Existing federal bankruptcy protections do not include the same protections for public workers that are found in other areas of federal bankruptcy law to protect private-sector employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will actively pursue assisting public-sector unions in thwarting such efforts by state and local governments through the local unions, central labor councils, state federations and other means; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports enactment of legislation to assure federal protections to preserve existing collective bargaining agreements to protect public sector employees' wages and benefits, including pension funds and the contribution commitment by employers to these funds.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 109

**Excellent Public Services
by Career Public Workers**

The Committee recommends amending this resolution by deleting the second RESOLVED because it is covered in: **Resolution No. 91, Contracting Out.**

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 109, **as amended.**

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Excellent Public Services by Career Public Workers

WHEREAS, Our nation's welfare is a public responsibility and solutions to serious community problems such as inadequate health care, deficient housing, unemployment, crime, pollution, drug abuse and discrimination require public-sector leadership and resources; and

WHEREAS, The Reagan and Bush administrations have pursued a deliberate policy — known as New Federalism — to reduce the federal commitment to domestic, non-defense programs and to shift more and more responsibility for social needs to state and local governments; and

WHEREAS, Excellent public services are vital to the public good and to the quality of community life and the key to excellent public services is meaningful citizen and public worker involvement; and

WHEREAS, Public workers are on the front lines of service delivery every day, have demonstrated their commitment to improving the quality of community life, and are well situated to use their expertise to assist in the design of more efficient ways to deliver public services; and

WHEREAS, Public employers, in an effort to cut costs, are turning to the use of temporary and casual workers and private firms in order to achieve false cost savings when bidding for public contracts; and

WHEREAS, Government, by selling itself to private enterprise, is destroying the integrity of public employment and the quality of public service; and

WHEREAS, When measuring the "savings" achieved by the practice of contracting out, we must also consider the "cost" of declining quality of work, of lost accountability, of reduced investment in people, of long-term public expenses which result from service reduction,

of increased corruption, of increased sex and race discrimination and of further isolating the disadvantaged; and

WHEREAS, Public employers are turning to the use of prison labor as another method to cut costs; and

WHEREAS, Management skeptics object to labor-management cooperation and public worker involvement in the restructuring of service delivery because of real or perceived declines in managerial prerogative, power and prestige; and because they believe that workers lack the ability or desire to make sincere and pragmatic contributions to improving work; and

WHEREAS, Successful labor-management cooperation results in increased job satisfaction, improved productivity, and more cost-effective service delivery, the factors most often cited by the privatizers in support of contracting-out; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO continues to oppose all policies that threaten the integrity of public employment and the provisions of quality public services, including privatization, contracting out, workfare, volunteer workers, and prison labor; and that the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions continue to oppose the creation of alternative employment structures — such as temporary workers and inequitably compensated part-time workers — which serve to erode appropriate wage and benefit standards; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the efforts of the PED and affiliated unions who encourage and participate in efforts to improve the efficiency and the quality of public services through the restructuring of service delivery where appropriate; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO Public Employee Department will proceed with a renewed sense of purpose and direction, a set of goals, a vision of what we want society and government to be; that we will carry that message forward with a vigorous public campaign to advocate effective, responsive and humane government, to promote quality public services in support of career public workers who deliver quality public services; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the PED's call for a new partnership to be forged between the federal government and the states and localities wherein the federal government must restore its financial commitment to state and local programs and endorse policies that promote economic growth, maintain high employment and enhance productivity.

###

. . . Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 120 Health and Safety for Public Employees

This resolution deals with the occupational safety and health of employees in the public service and covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 34 OSHA - Postal Employees

Resolution No. 162 Safety Problems in the U.S. Postal Service

The Committee recommends the following clarifying and strengthening amendment:

On page 129, amend the first RESOLVED by inserting the words "and U.S. Postal Service employees" after "public employees."

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 120, **as amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Health and Safety for Public Employees

WHEREAS, Those engaged in public employment face a wide variety of occupational safety and health hazards which include the newly recognized hazards of assault and violence at work, bloodborne infectious diseases such as AIDS and Hepatitis B, exposure to toxic chemical spills, occupational stress, asbestos in buildings, indoor air pollution, computer terminals (VDTs); and

WHEREAS, The National Safety Council reports that working for the government is twice as dangerous as construction work and three times more dangerous than for the private sector as a whole; and

WHEREAS, Twenty years since passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, OSHA does not provide mandatory coverage for public employees, and only half the states have enacted their own laws to provide protection at least as effective as OSHA coverage; and

WHEREAS, The effectiveness of OSHA in its coverage of private-sector and federal employees has diminished sharply since the advent of the Reagan administration; and

WHEREAS, Public employees suffer a highly disproportionate rate of assault and violence at work from clients, patients and others, in many instances leading to murder, the leading cause of workplace death for women workers; and

WHEREAS, The problem of understaffing and working alone in dangerous situations is increasing in many public-sector workplaces as management cuts back; and

WHEREAS, Recognizing that a wide array of public employees, including health care workers, public safety and emergency response personnel, and others are at serious risk for occupational exposures to bloodborne infectious diseases — with OSHA estimating that up to 18,000 health care workers contract and 300 die each year from such diseases — PED affiliates petitioned OSHA for a Bloodborne Diseases Standard in December 1986; and

WHEREAS, Tens of thousands of public employees that work as highway and road crew workers, fire fighters, and as sewage and water treatment workers are frequently called upon to respond to chemical spill emergencies from truck accidents, and in many other toxic chemical situations without proper training and equipment; and

WHEREAS, The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) only requires asbestos abatement in elementary and secondary schools, and in spite of its own contention that 733,000 other public and commercial buildings contain potentially hazardous asbestos, the Agency continues to delay making a final decision to act while under increasing pressure from a pending lawsuit filed by PED affiliates to regulate asbestos in these buildings; and

WHEREAS, Indoor air pollution is a leading cause of respiratory illness, allergic reactions and needless discomfort in our nation's offices because of poorly maintained, contaminated or inadequately designed mechanical ventilation systems, that result in an estimated productivity loss of more than 60 billion dollars a year according to a EPA report to Congress; and

WHEREAS, The introduction of VDTs in the workplace raises serious concerns as to their safety in terms of eyestrain, headaches, backaches, job stress, repetitive strain injuries (RSI's) and unresolved radiation concerns; and

WHEREAS, There is an alarming increase in the number of reported cases of occupational injuries related to automated equipment introduced in recent years by the U.S. Postal Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its belief that public employees and U.S. Postal Service employees can no longer be treated

as second-class citizens regarding health and safety protection, and urges Congress to pass the OSHA Reform Act of 1991, which includes as one of its provisions to provide public employees with the same health and safety legal rights as guaranteed other workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the need for increased funding to the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) to conduct further research and provide training monies to educate workers about the risk and control of assault and violence at work; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the legislation passed by Congress to force the Bush administration after five long years of delay to either release the final OSHA bloodborne disease standard by December 1, 1991, or force the Agency to enforce the proposed rule in the interim; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports continued funding by the National Institute for Environmental Health Sciences (NIEHS) to unions and other reputable non-profit organizations to provide necessary chemical emergency awareness and response training to highway, road crew, fire fighters, and sewage and water treatment workers that encounter such hazards on the job; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports efforts to have the administration enact regulations to require up-front inspections of all buildings for asbestos hazards in a safe and complete manner; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO endorses indoor air pollution legislation such as that introduced into the 102nd Congress by Senator George Mitchell and Congressman Joseph Kennedy which funds indoor air pollution research. The AFL-CIO supports efforts to assure safe and healthful air quality in the workplace through union contract language, legislation, or regulation setting basic minimum standards that would require adequate ventilation, regular inspection of heating, ventilation and air conditioning systems, filter changes as needed, and a measurement of biological, chemical and radon contamination; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports promulgation by OSHA of an ergonomics standard as requested by a petition filed with the Agency by a number of PED affiliates to cover many of the hazards posed by computers (VDT's), and also supports legislative proposals to provide adequate funds to research the effects of VDTs on workers. That the AFL-CIO supports efforts to assure the safe use of VDTs through union contract language, legislation or regulations setting

basic minimum standards that require ergonomic design of VDT work stations, periodic equipment testing and maintenance, regular eye exams, regular work breaks, transfer rights for pregnant employees, and measures to reduce radiation emissions, and prohibit machine pacing or computer monitoring; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges OSHA to address the issue of understaffing as a health and safety hazard; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO declares every April 28 to be Workers Memorial Day. The AFL-CIO will work with affiliated unions to make the day a major event to remind the American public of the toll of workplace injuries, illnesses, and death; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports strengthening the Clean Air Act, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, and other legislation to protect the environment which includes strong worker protection and training programs covering public employees.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 121

Hatch Act Reform

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 121.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Hatch Act Reform

WHEREAS, The Hatch Act of 1939 was passed to preclude recurrences of political abuses which are no longer possible due to the makeup and structure of the civil service system; and

WHEREAS, The abuses which resulted in the Hatch Act being passed resulted not from voluntary participation by postal or federal employees in partisan politics, but from coercion and improper use of official authority by supervisory personnel; and

WHEREAS, The Hatch Act is currently incorporated in 3,000 rulings of the former Civil Service Commission (now the Office of Personnel Management) which are confusing, and sometimes not available for review and interpretation; and

WHEREAS, S. 914 and H.R. 20 propose allowing employees to participate in a full range of political activities "after-hours" and away

from the job site, while strengthening penalties for violations of the law; and

WHEREAS, Many state and local governments impose similar restrictions on public employees through so-called "little" Hatch Acts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO endorses and supports legislation (S. 914, H.R. 20) to reform the current Hatch Act to allow postal and federal employees greater political freedom, and to participate in the political process free from the many confusing rulings currently incorporated into the Act; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and state federations encourage state and local governments to adopt similar statutes which also allow public employees greater political freedom.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 111

Postal Privatization

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 111.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Postal Privatization

WHEREAS, The U.S. Postal Service is a cornerstone of public communications in America, serving as a universal link between citizens, and for the conduct of business activities; and

WHEREAS, The USPS is founded on the guarantee of universal service and uniform postal rates; and

WHEREAS, Privatizers, right-wing ideologues and profiteers have long sought to chip away at the Postal Service's business with an eye toward skimming-off profitable mail services for the benefit of private interests at the expense of the American people; and

WHEREAS, The U.S. Postal Service under the watch of Anthony Frank has stepped up its efforts in seeking other avenues to contract postal work out to private companies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will make the fight against postal privatization a paramount issue and will coordinate its affiliates' determined efforts against contracting-out in the U.S. Postal Service.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 119

Postal Revenue Foregone

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 119.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Postal Revenue Foregone

WHEREAS, Congress appropriates money yearly to the Postal Service to provide reduced mailing costs for churches, charities, and other non-profit groups, as well as free mail for the blind and handicapped; and

WHEREAS, Non-profit organizations provide a vital social service to our nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO continues to support full funding of Revenue Foregone, and urges Congress to continue appropriations at that level.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 163

U.S. Federal and Postal Service Desert Storm Reservists Benefits

The Committee recommends the following clarifying and strengthening amendments:

On page 179, change the title to show that the resolution addresses federal as well as U.S. Postal Service employees by adding "U.S. Federal and Postal Service" to the title and deleting "U.S. Postal Service."

On page 179, at the first WHEREAS, change to read "The federal and Postal Service reservists ..."

On page 179, in the fifth WHEREAS, add after "postal employees," the phrase "and John Sturdivant of the American Federation of Government Employees petitioned the Office of Personnel Management asking that other federal government employees ..."

On page 179, delete the sixth WHEREAS.

On page 179, add in the last WHEREAS, after "not less than their" the words "federal or ..."

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 163.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

U.S. Federal and Postal Service Desert Storm Reservists Benefits

WHEREAS, The federal and Postal Service reservists called to active duty during Desert Storm proudly served the United States during a time of war; and

WHEREAS, Operation Desert Storm's overwhelming military success served to unite this country more than any other event in many years; and

WHEREAS, While these brave men and women who sacrificed much to liberate Kuwait and protect the borders of Saudi Arabia; and

WHEREAS, While serving America, these brave men and women were forced to make even more unnecessary financial sacrifices here at home; and

WHEREAS, Presidents Moe Biller of APWU and Vincent Sombrotto of NALC wrote Postmaster General Anthony Frank requesting that postal employees, and John Sturdivant of the American Federation of Government Employees petitioned the Office of Personnel Management asking that the other federal government employees, who have been called to active military duty be treated as they would be treated under court leave or military leave for pay purposes; and

WHEREAS, Major U.S. companies such as IBM, AT&T's seven regional telephone companies, GTE, United Telecom, Centel, Westinghouse Electric Corp. and USX have changed their policies for employees who serve as reservists to minimize the financial impact of military service; and

WHEREAS, Chrysler Corporation and General Motors extended their military leave policy from one to six months, to bridge the gap between the employee's regular pay and the military salary paid to reservists on active duty; and

WHEREAS, Rep. Gary Ackerman (D-N.Y.) has introduced H.R. 3209 to guarantee that the level of military pay received by reservists called to active duty during Desert Storm not be less than their federal or Postal Service salary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO fully supports and endorses H.R. 3209.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 164

**U.S. Postal Service Delivery
Service Standards**

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 164.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.)

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

U.S. Postal Service Delivery Service Standards

WHEREAS, The U.S. Postal Service on July 30, 1990, implemented revised, reduced delivery service standards for overnight and two-day mail; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Rate Commission formally advised the Postal Service not to downgrade first-class delivery standards in an advisory opinion dated July 25, 1990; and

WHEREAS, The PRC advisory opinion was based on two major findings, that the USPS market research, which formed the main justification for the proposal, failed to measure customers' preference accurately and the USPS did not present cost estimates to itself or cost effects on its customers; and

WHEREAS, The U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee adopted a resolution directing the USPS to suspend the realignment until cost savings would occur and the impact on affected communities was identified; and

WHEREAS, The House Committee on Government Operations conducted a hearing and issued a report dated November 30, 1990, entitled — "U.S. Postal Service Realignment of First Class Mail Delivery Standards — Just Say Slow;" and

WHEREAS, The Government Operations Report recommended remedial legislation to require independent consideration and review of USPS changes announced; and

WHEREAS, Rep. Bob Wise (D-W.Va.) has introduced H.R. 676, to rescind the new delivery service standards and has over 100 cosponsors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports and endorses H.R. 676.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 110

Federal Government Contracting Out

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 110.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Federal Government Contracting Out

WHEREAS, The federal government has for the past decade engaged in wasteful contracting out of federal functions; and

WHEREAS, Contracting out has cost thousands of federal workers their jobs and has cost taxpayers millions of dollars due to contract cost overruns; and

WHEREAS, Representative John Conyers (D-Mich.), Chairman of the House Government Operations Committee, has introduced legislation to restore integrity to the contracting out procedures in the federal government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO endorses H.R. 3163, legislation which establishes uniform standards for acquiring commercial services, which ensures equitable cost competitions, which provides continuing recompetition, and which requires annual cost reports to substantiate estimated and actual savings.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 117

**Federal Employee Health
Benefits Program Reform**

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 117.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Federal Employee Health Benefits Program Reform

WHEREAS, Federal employees' health benefits are decreasing annually while their health insurance premiums are increasing; and

WHEREAS, The federal government spends approximately \$1100 less per person on health benefits than the typical private-sector company; and

WHEREAS, The current structure of the FEHBP makes it impossible for the program to benefit those it was established to serve; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO endorses comprehensive reform of the FEHBP.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 118

Federal Blue Collar Pay

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 118.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Federal Blue Collar Pay

WHEREAS, Federal employees in the General Schedule have begun to benefit from enactment of the Federal Employees Pay Comparability Act of 1990 (FEPCA); and

WHEREAS, Federal blue-collar employees continue to suffer pay gaps of an average of 10 percent behind their private-sector counterparts; and

WHEREAS, H.R. 786 and S. 310 would lift the annual pay caps which cause the corresponding gaps in pay for federal blue-collar employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO endorses H.R. 786 and S. 310 to lift the pay caps imposed on federal blue-collar employees.

###

... Committee Secretary Sturdivant read the following:

Resolution No. 71

**Opposing Unilateral Dissolving
of Benefits of State and Local Workers**

The Committee recommends the following clarifying and strengthening amendment:

On page 84, at the end of the last RESOLVED, delete "involving national offices."

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 71, **as amended**, and I so move.

KIRKLAND: Motion is to adopt the resolution. Mike 2.

ED CLEARY, New York State AFL-CIO: Mister Chairman, I am speaking to Resolution Number 71 opposing the unilateral dissolving of benefits for the state and local workers, which was introduced by the state of New York AFL-CIO. The question of who organized labor will support for president is a crucial one. We must weigh many factors as we strive to end the long political nightmare of the Reagan-Bush years. We must decide who is the most effective bearer of labor's hopes to defeat Bush in 1992.

The major feature of the Reagan-Bush anti-worker presidencies is irresponsible fiscal policy. They have neglected America's burgeoning domestic and social needs and have abandoned states and cities, thereby throwing them into fiscal crises. As a result, state governments have had to choose to raise taxes — if so, on whom — cut services, public employment or a combination of both.

Labor's position has been to let the state governments tax the rich and the corporations that got away scott-free during the 1980s.

A good number of the potential Democratic candidates for the White House are or were chief executive officers of state governments. They have had to make the choices about employment, taxes and spending. There is a record to evaluate. Scripture says: "By their fruits, ye shall know them."

Some governors, including ones that acknowledge labor's support got them their jobs, have attempted to unilaterally dissolve the benefits of state and local public employees. In the recent issue of the AFL-CIO News, it was reported that revenue-strapped state governments are raiding public employee pension funds in order to close a budget deficit. The National Public Employee Department counts 18 jurisdictions in 1991 where raids have been tried. Labor's response to those pension raids has been, "Not on your life, it's our money."

"It's Our Money" was the name of an analysis, a pension policy that the Public Employee Division of the New York State AFL-CIO produced last year. Our task force was chaired by Joe McDermott, President of AFSCME 1000, that concluded that state budgets should not be balanced with the savings of public employees.

In May of this year, 1991, a number of governors co-signed a letter calling for exempting the public sector from certain provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. The names of those 11 governors, and I'll just read the Democrats: Ann Richards of Texas; Mario Cuomo of New York; Booth Gardner of Washington; Robert Miller of Nevada; David Walters of Oklahoma; Donald Schaefer of Maryland; George Senna of North Dakota. Some of them are occasionally mentioned for

higher office. There are 24 states in this nation where five and a half million public employees don't even have collective bargaining rights. They include the great states of Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, Arkansas and Virginia. Can any of us think of a presidential or a vice presidential candidate, current or recent, who comes from these states? What do these friends of labor do, if anything, to win collective bargaining rights for their workers?

Not only state government, but local government, is on the attack. County executives across the country are attempting to unilaterally impose furloughs, pay lags and discriminatory retirement incentives. Truth and common sense dictate that we say this. If a state official has been fully prepared to attack public employees while in state office, we ought to have very powerful reasons to suppose that he or she will not be a friend in the White House. Common sense also requires a balanced analysis of their full record.

The resolution before us, Resolution 71, is reasonable. It is not a demand for a litmus test. It is a simple, honest request that the national AFL-CIO will warn state and local elected officials that unilateral action reducing benefits will be a major consideration for withholding future endorsements. Candidates who come before organized labor should be told that in no uncertain terms collective bargaining in the public sector, or for that matter, in any sector, is sacred to us. What a reasonable, modest, fair and balanced request from our public sector. Brothers and sisters, this convention should do the right thing and pass it unanimously. Thank you. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: The motion is to adopt the recommendation of the committee on Resolution No. 71. The delegate at Mike 3.

GERALD McENTEE, president of AFSCME: Mister Chairman, I thought I had to leave about an hour ago, and fortunately I was able to hold that off. Now I'm so happy that I did to hear the remarks of the president of the New York State Federation of Labor. I think that they are so much on key. We heard earlier this week about worker fairness, we heard about striker replacement as an issue at the heart of the American labor movement. And as most people in this room know, public-sector workers all across the country rarely, if ever, have the right to strike and withhold their labor from their employer. But we recognize that it is a critical right and issue to American labor, and we are supporting it.

And as Ed Cleary said, and I want to underscore what he said, our key issue is when we go out as organized labor, as AFSCME and other public-sector unions go out and support these politicians, be they Democrat or Republican, and put them into office as governors of very

important states, as mayors of very important cities after we have worked, after we have given the PAC money, and then we find these politicians, once they get in office, turn their back on us. And for some unions, as striker replacement is a litmus test for those unions in terms of candidates for president, indeed, this is a litmus test for public-sector workers. We shouldn't support a governor or a mayor that we put into office that turned their back on us, and with pay lags and layoffs and withholding of contract, and I am so pleased that President Cleary took this position and is willing to lead the fight. Thank you, Mister President. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Are you ready for the question? The question is on the motion to adopt the report of Subcommittee 3. All in favor, say aye.

Opposed, nay. It's approved.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Opposing Unilateral Dissolving of Benefits of State and Local Workers

WHEREAS, Public employees working for the many local and state governments have been granted the right to organize and bargain collectively for a number of years; and

WHEREAS, In many states, these public employees through their unions have been successful in negotiating collective bargaining agreements that have improved the salaries, pensions, and other terms and conditions of employment for their membership; and

WHEREAS, There has been a movement during the fiscal crisis of 1990 and 1991 to legislatively strip away rights won by public-sector collective bargaining. These actions including furlough, pay lags, layoffs, discriminatory retirement incentives, and the raiding of pension funds; and

WHEREAS, These legislative changes are a unilateral action by the very employers of state and local workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will oppose the unilateral dissolving of collective bargaining of state and local government employees by legislative action; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will pursue federal legislation similar to ERISA that will protect public-sector state and local government pension funds from raids by Governors, state legislators, Mayors and City Councils; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will develop similar model state legislation for promotion by state federations to protect public-sector pension funds from raids; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will warn state and local elected officials that unilateral action reducing benefits will be a major consideration for withholding future endorsements.

###

WILLIAMS: I'd like to call on Vice President John Sweeney as secretary of Subcommittee 4 of the Resolutions Committee to present its final report. Vice President Sweeney.

SUMMARY REPORT COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS SUBCOMMITTEE 4

SWEENEY: On Tuesday, the committee reported on a comprehensive resolution calling for health care reform.

The committee considered a resolution addressing the issue of health security for retired miners, urging Congress to pass legislation requiring all coal companies to contribute to a national fund to ensure that all retired miners receive the health benefits that were promised to them. The committee also recommends a resolution urging unions to utilize study circles in their educational efforts on health care.

The committee recommends support for several resolutions reasserting the important role that the Social Security program plays in providing a safety net for working families.

Pension benefit security was the subject of several resolutions endorsed by the committee. The AFL-CIO is urged to actively work to ensure that negotiated pension benefits are protected, that pension benefits are invested in ways that improve the communities in which members live, and that in bankruptcy actions the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation (PBGC) is not allowed to siphon money away from negotiated health care benefits.

The committee also approved resolutions dealing with social services provided to the needy, as well as steps that are warranted to protect public employees who are threatened with layoffs and job stress.

On Wednesday, the committee reported on a comprehensive resolution supporting a range of initiatives to improve the safety and health of American workers. The committee considered a number of other resolutions on occupational safety and health. Resolutions calling for

safety and health protections for meat packers and poultry workers, an emergency standard on cumulative trauma disorders, and measures to address the problems of professional employees are recommended for adoption. A full investigation of the recent fire in Hamlet, North Carolina, is supported, along with criminal prosecution of those responsible for this tragedy.

The ravages and impact of the AIDS epidemic of workers and the public are the subject of several resolutions. The committee is recommending support for OSHA's infectious disease standard, enhanced education and research and opposition to mandatory HIV testing for workers.

Improvements in workers' compensation are also supported through the establishment of state funds, prohibition on disclosing confidential claimant information, collection of better data and expanded injury prevention measures.

A number of environmental protection measures are recommended for adoption. These include stronger enforcement of environmental laws, pollution prevention planning, recycling of glass containers and compliance with U.S. laws and regulations by U.S. firms operating in Mexico and other countries. Amendments to inject a greater balance under the Endangered Species Act and legislation to resolve the spotted owl/old growth timber crisis are endorsed.

Resolutions on community services, drug and alcohol programs and retiree programs also were discussed and endorsed.

The committee recommends adoption of Subcommittee 4's report, and I so move.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 159

The United Mine Workers of America Retiree Health Care Crisis

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 159.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

The United Mine Workers of America Retiree Health Care Crisis

The UMWA Health and Retirement Funds is a unique health care institution that was created in the White House 45 years ago in an extraordinary social contract between the federal government, the coal

industry and its workers. Since that time, the Funds has transformed the face of health care in Appalachia and improved medical care delivery for all citizens in the coal fields.

Today the UMWA Funds provides health care to over 120,000 retired miners and their dependents who devoted their entire working lives to provide energy for America, often in dangerous and unhealthy conditions. Unfortunately, this historic health care institution is in danger of collapsing. Current deficits in the Funds approach \$100 million and may more than double by the end of next year.

The UMWA Funds is supported financially by coal companies that are signatory to the National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement (NBCWA). However, recent court decisions have encouraged employers to dump their retirees and sever their relationship with the Funds. As a result, a growing number of orphan retirees and widows are being supported by a shrinking number of employers. Collective bargaining cannot resolve the problem. While the courts have correctly ruled that retirees are entitled to lifetime health care benefits, they have also ruled that an employer's obligation to finance that lifetime promise expires with the wage agreement. Relying on these destructive court decisions, employers have abandoned their retirees and foisted their costs upon other employers who remain committed to keeping the original promise to coal industry retirees.

The coal companies that have acted responsibly to keep the promise are being placed at a competitive disadvantage to others in the industry who abandon their retirees. The growing number of orphan retirees will soon become an untenable economic burden that will result in either more of those that wish to act responsibly going out of business or in a full-scale flight of all employers from the Funds at the expiration of the current NBCWA in early 1993. Should this occur, over 120,000 retired miners will lose their health care safety net at the most fragile point in their lives. Fortunately, a federal commission appointed by the U.S. Secretary of Labor has recommended a fair and equitable solution to this potentially disastrous retiree health care problem.

U.S. Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole appointed a blue-ribbon federal commission in 1990 to examine the question of retiree health care in the coal industry. This panel of experts considered the retiree health care crisis in the coal industry for over half a year and made recommendations for congressional action to ensure that the promise to retired miners that began in the White House is fulfilled. The commission found that "Retired miners are entitled to the health care benefits that were promised and guaranteed them and that such commitments must be honored."

The major problem identified by the Commission was the high number of orphan retirees in the UMWA Funds who had no relationship with the current contributing employers. In order to honor the commitment to retirees while placing the financial responsibility to the fullest extent possible where it belonged, the Dole Commission recommended that Congress require all coal mine employers who have retirees in the Funds and who were signatory to the NBCWA of 1978 to assume the full financial obligation for the health care of their retirees.

Recognizing that there are a number of orphan retirees who have no employer still in existence, the Commission recommended the creation of a Coal Industry Retiree Benefit Fund to provide health care to current and future orphan retirees (Orphan Corporation). The newly created Orphan Corporation would be financed by a health care fee assessed on all coal industry employers in the United States and on all imported coal. In addition, the Commission recommended that state-of-the-art managed care techniques be adopted to improve the quality of care at a reduced cost.

All of these recommendations will require action by Congress. The AFL-CIO fully supports the efforts of the UMWA to achieve congressional enactment of the Dole Commission recommendations. We cannot allow this historic health care commitment to retired miners to collapse. The AFL-CIO calls upon all national and international union affiliates and state and local bodies to lend assistance to the UMWA effort to enact federal legislation to protect retired miners.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 187

Health Care Staffing Crisis

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 187.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Health Care Staffing Crisis

Since the early 1980s, hospital administrators have responded to the pressure to control rapidly rising costs by cutting support staff — even as many facilities expanded services. Studies consistently show that savings from the Medicare DRG payment system came from hospital labor cost savings, while hospital capital spending on buildings and equipment continued to soar.

Under Medicaid, the long-term care industry has been hit even harder by the staffing crisis. Many nursing homes remain chronically understaffed, and the vacancy rate for nurses in nursing homes exceeds 20 percent.

For hospital professionals, chronically understaffed conditions bring on a cycle of overwork, stress and burnout. The quality of patient care suffers as well, since workers have less time for direct patient care: nurses report an increasing proportion of medication errors, patient falls and injuries to nurses on the job due to insufficient staffing. The increased responsibility and demand of caring for more severely ill patients has also increased the burden on health professionals as patient acuity levels have been on the rise since the mid-1980s.

While other important issues, including wages, get management attention, short staffing is the best-kept secret in the health care industry. Systems developed to set staffing levels are regularly ignored, non-nursing demands on staff make a mockery of management claims to respect professionalism, and ranks of support staff thinned for budgetary reasons undermine even well-staffed units.

Understaffing is the number one problem for professionals on the front lines of patient care; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO recommends that its affiliates support the following measures to address the health care staffing crisis:

- Develop responsive nurse workload measurement and staffing systems and enact legislation that will require facilities to use staffing systems to set staffing levels.
- Using these staffing systems, enact state and federal legislation that mandates nurse-patient ratios that result in adequate staffing levels and ensure high quality patient care.
- Increase nurses' salaries and benefits and support the efforts of nurses to organize, one of the most effective means of improving wages and working conditions.
- Develop comprehensive collective bargaining programs that establish staffing and workload standards and require health care managers to commit to adequate staffing.
- Restore hospital support staff and free nurses from non-nursing duties. As much as 50 percent of an RN's time is spent on clerical, housekeeping, and other tasks that do not require professional nursing expertise and which could be done by others. This "de-skilling" of nurses must be prevented by collective bargaining agreements that allow nurses to spend more time performing

professional nursing duties and require management to provide adequate nursing support staff.

- Give nurses a stronger role in the health care team, increasing their involvement in patient care decisions.
- Support legislative initiatives to provide training and education for nurses.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 190

Health Care Reform Study Groups

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 190.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Health Care Reform Study Groups

The nation's crazy quilt health care system is falling apart at the seams. Over 35 million Americans are without health insurance, and those with coverage face ever-increasing co-payments and deductibles, variable quality of care, and constant fear of losing their insurance when major health problems develop or upon changing plans. Health care workers, many of whom belong to AFL-CIO affiliates, face deteriorating working conditions as uncoordinated cost control measures spring up in every health care facility.

The AFL-CIO has made national health care reform a top priority. Congressional interest is awakening, although the Bush administration is still deaf to the needs of the American people. Action in this area will require the sustained efforts of thousands of citizens making their voices heard in their communities, their state houses, and the halls of Congress. Union members should be at the forefront of these efforts.

The Department for Professional Employees has concentrated on educating and involving union members. A study group program has been developed, based on techniques used for many years by Scandinavian trade unions. Using a Department for Professional Employees discussion manual during five weekly sessions, small groups of members learn about the issues, strengthen their commitment to universal health care and are stimulated to get more involved in the political process. The program has been tried by several affiliates, with excellent results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to mobilize members in support of the national health care campaign and to utilize, to the greatest extent feasible, the member-oriented study group program developed by the Department for Professional Employees.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 24

Pensions

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substance for, the following resolutions.

Resolution No. 36

Worker Representation on the Boards of
Trustees of Single Employer Pension Plans

Resolution No. 90

Investment and Control of
Public Pension Assets

The Committee recommends the following amendments:

On page 39, paragraph 3, at the end of the first sentence add:

“and the communities in which they live and work. The federation also will support legislation that discourages unproductive and irresponsible corporate takeover activities that result in employee benefit and job loss. The federation will oppose legislative proposals changing the definition of leased employees that will create pension benefit loss and the weakening of collective bargaining rights.”

On page 39, paragraph 3, on line 4, add a new sentence.

“The federation will continue to work for legislation that would provide for joint trusteeship in public and private single employer pension plans.”

On page 39, change the beginning of sentence 2 of paragraph 3:

“The federation will support legislation improving the nation’s proxy voting process . . .”

On page 39, add at the end of paragraph 3:

“The AFL-CIO will oppose efforts by the Congress to change pension policy exclusively for budgetary considerations. We will work to clarify current law to ensure that it does not prevent trade unionists from receiving the full amount of pensions negotiated for them.”

On page 40, add at the end of paragraph 4:

“The federation will support legislation to protect workers’ pension funds from being defrauded by unscrupulous insurers or investment firms and to lengthen the period of time in which affected parties can pursue legal claims.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 24, **as amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. Resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Pensions

The AFL-CIO renews its call for the development of a national retirement income policy to expand pension coverage, retirement income security and portability. It continues to be the belief of the federation that such a retirement policy should afford public-sector employees the same protections assured to private-sector workers under the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA).

The intent of ERISA is to make the federal government the primary insurer for defined benefits promised to American workers. The Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation should establish a separate program for the purpose of guaranteeing annuities purchased by any plan as well as establish federal standards for the purchase of pension annuities to protect workers and retirees from irresponsible investment practices. The Department of Labor should amend ERISA to require additional reporting of annuity purchases to plan participants and to require plan sponsors to follow federal guidelines in the selection of annuity providers.

The AFL-CIO urges affiliates to take steps necessary to ensure that workers’ pension fund assets will provide safe and adequate retirement benefits and be invested and administered in ways that improve the life and conditions of working men and women and the communities in which they live and work. The federation also will support legislation that discourages unproductive and irresponsible corporate takeover activities that result in employee benefit and job loss. The federation will oppose legislative proposals changing the definition of leased employees that will create pension benefit loss and the weakening of collective bargaining rights. The federation will continue to work for legislation that would provide for joint trusteeship in public and private single employer pension plans. The federation will support legislation improving the nation’s proxy voting process so that workers, as shareholders through their pension funds, can play a constructive and mean-

ingful role in the governance, and therefore the efficiency, of corporate America. The AFL-CIO will oppose efforts by the Congress to change pension policy exclusively for budgetary considerations. We will work to clarify current law to ensure that it does not prevent trade unionists from receiving the full amount of the pensions negotiated for them. In the drive to reform the nation's banking system, the AFL-CIO will resist any attempt to eliminate pass-through deposit insurance coverage for pension plans. Such pass-through insurance is intended to protect the interests of plan participants and beneficiaries in the pension plan's deposits and not to protect fund managers. Because these provisions are important for many state and local government employees, the federation also urges Congress to continue pass-through protection for deferred compensation plans established under Section 457 of the Internal Revenue Code. The federation will support legislation to protect workers' pension funds from being defrauded by unscrupulous insurers or investment firms and to lengthen the period of time in which affected parties can pursue legal claims.

The AFL-CIO calls upon Congress to undertake legislative initiatives that broaden coverage and simplify pensions without sacrificing existing worker protections to achieve these goals. We also urge Congress to pass legislation to restore several categories of state laws, including state prevailing wage laws, apprenticeship laws, mechanics' liens and unfair insurance claims denial laws that are preempted by ERISA but have a significant effect on workers' benefits.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 38

Protecting Retiree Pension and Health Benefits

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 38.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Protecting Retiree Pension and Health Benefits

Retirees pay for their pension and health benefits with nothing less than a lifetime of labor.

Unable to work and often failing in health, retirees are uniquely vulnerable to the cutoff of their benefits. The bankruptcy of their former employer and the insolvency of private annuity providers are two of the most current threats. By securing passage of ERISA in

1974, the labor movement won for all Americans, through the creation of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC), basic protection for pensions. Unfortunately, there are no back-up guarantees from the government for company-provided health insurance.

Today, hundreds of thousands of retired Americans receive their pensions through annuities purchased by their former employers from insurance companies. Recent failures of a few of these insurance companies finds the PBGC wrongly denying any responsibility for guaranteeing these annuitized benefits. The PBGC's failure to accept its responsibility puts the retiree at the mercy of the former employer (if it's still in business), a patchwork of inadequate back-up insurance funds operated by some state governments and the voluntary efforts of solvent insurers.

When the PBGC assumes responsibility for the pension payments of failing companies, the agency rightfully holds a claim for reimbursement against such companies and typically pursues them in bankruptcy court. In recent proposals to Congress, the PBGC has sought amendments elevating the priority of its bankruptcy claims. This apparent protection for insured pension benefits is, in fact, a sword pointed at unprotected retiree health benefits. If adopted, these proposals would make it harder for many failing companies to provide health insurance to retirees and drive more firms into liquidation. In effect, a large government agency — established to help retirees — seeks to improve its balance sheet by diverting money that could pay benefits from the very retirees it was created to protect.

The PBGC is undercutting the pension benefits of retirees in another way as well. When a company terminates a pension, PBGC-guaranteed payments can fall short of the retiree's fully earned benefit. Fortunately, some union retirees in this position can pursue their former employer for having broken its promise to pay the lost benefits. In recent cases, the PBGC has argued that the agency's claims against a company destroy and wipe out any such contractual claim that a retiree may hold.

Although the labor movement succeeded in 1987 and 1988 in reforming bankruptcy laws to make it more difficult for companies reorganizing in Chapter 11 to terminate pensions and cut off retiree health insurance, a painful loophole remains; in liquidation proceedings under Chapter 7, companies can still immediately cut off retiree health benefits and terminate pensions.

For retirees, the lesson of the 1980s and 1990s has been all too clear: corporate America and its Republican-controlled administrations will

search constantly for ways to profit at the expense of those least able to defend themselves; therefore, be it

RESOLVED:

- We call upon the federal government to stop cutting Medicare and to start improving the coverage and security of company-paid retiree health insurance. No Chapter 7 proceeding whose primary purpose is to cut off the payment of vital medical care for retirees should be allowed.
- We condemn the PBGC for forgetting its basic mission and clientele. No one should have to remind the PBGC that it exists to help retirees, not hurt them. The PBGC must acknowledge that it stands behind the payment of annuities covering participants in plans formerly insured by the agency. With respect to its bankruptcy claims, PBGC should not crowd out the ability of companies to meet retiree health care needs. Moreover, PBGC should respect the right of retirees to enforce their collectively bargained entitlement to full payment of pension benefits.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 25

Social Security

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 78

Pay-As-You-Go Social
Security Financing System

Resolution No. 92

Supplemental Security
Income Modernization

The committee recommends the following amendment:

On page 40, insert the following at the end of paragraph 6:

“We support updating the standards for eligibility for supplemental security income and for providing adequate health care protection for all beneficiaries of this program.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 25, **as amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Social Security

The AFL-CIO will continue to work to maintain Social Security's role in providing economic security to American families.

We urge the creation of an independent agency to improve services to beneficiaries, insulate the program from political decision making and assure beneficiaries that assets accumulating in the trust funds will be used exclusively to meet their health and income security needs.

While we are concerned that a very high build-up in the trust fund will provide a tempting target to meet national needs unrelated to Social Security, we support the establishment of a cushion of 125 to 150 percent of one year's benefits in the trust fund before any changes in financing are made. We repeat our call for the separation of the Social Security Trust Fund and administrative funds necessary to run the agency, from the unified budget.

Congress should repeal the retirement age increase adopted in 1983 and the scheduled reduction in Social Security benefits for persons retiring at 62, both of which begin to take effect after the year 2000.

The AFL-CIO will continue its efforts to oppose increasing the amount of money beneficiaries can earn before they lose benefits. We support establishing more equity in the system for women and those who have worked at substandard wages. Wholesale reform is needed in the granting of disability eligibility and in the continued evaluation of disability cases.

We support legislation to change the index for computing annual cost-of-living adjustments to one that reflects the experience of a majority of the population. We support updating the standards for eligibility for supplemental security income and for providing adequate health care protection for all beneficiaries of this program.

We urge the administration to take the long overdue steps necessary to increase employment and training of current Social Security personnel. Restoring staff to an adequate level is fundamental to achieving all of our other objectives in this area.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 26

The Needy

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

The Committee recommends the following amendment:

On page 41, paragraph 5, insert a new sentence after sentence 3:

“We will continue to work for adequate staffing levels in public-sector programs and resist layoffs, which have resulted in inadequate services to the needy and severe stress on current staff.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 26, **as amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

The Needy

It is a national disgrace that the Bush administration has allowed millions of people to sink into poverty and millions of children to go hungry. The nation needs quality education and training programs, jobs that pay living wages, affordable housing and decent health care. The reality that the safety net for the poor is in shreds must be recognized and the political will to fix it must be found.

The recently enacted Family Support Act — intended to provide education, training and jobs, child care and health care benefits to help families move from public assistance into productive jobs — must be adequately funded. Federal leadership and technical assistance should be provided to make this program operational.

Payment levels under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program which have declined so drastically must be brought to a decent level. If, given the current fiscal crisis, states are unable to meet their share of these payments, the federal government should provide adequate support.

In light of recent findings of widespread child hunger, Congress and the administration must:

- Ensure that all eligible, low-income women, infants and children receive assistance under the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC).

- Increase the availability of the School Breakfast Program to low-income children across the country and encourage federal, state and local policies to ensure that the National School Lunch Program remains broadly accessible.
- Expand the availability of meals for low-income children who are not in school through the Child and Adult Care Food Program and the Summer Food Service Program for Children.
- Improve access to and benefits from the Food Stamp Program so that low-income families with children have enough to eat through each month.
- Fully fund the Head Start Program, making it available to all eligible children.

Safety net and poverty programs are on the books but are not reaching the people who need them. The erosion of funding, the lack of leadership, federal budget restrictions and bureaucratic red tape being imposed at the federal and local levels have turned these programs into an empty promise to those who need help and a blatant deception to Americans who think the poor are being adequately served. We will continue to work for adequate staffing levels in public-sector programs and resist layoffs, which have resulted in inadequate services to the needy and severe stress on current staff. The AFL-CIO will continue to work to strengthen these safety net programs, to help bring all Americans out of poverty and provide them with the opportunity to pursue a productive life.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 46

**Safety and Health Protections for
Meat Packers and Poultry Workers**

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for the following resolution:

Resolution No. 198

**Support for Safety and Health Protections
for Meatpackers and Poultry Workers**

The Committee recommends amending the resolution as follows:

At the end of the resolution, add a new paragraph:

“The AFL-CIO encourages its affiliates to help in the struggle wherever poultry workers are organizing for dignity, and working to obtain union representation.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 46, **as amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

Safety and Health Protections for Meat Packers and Poultry Workers

WHEREAS, Certain portions of the food-processing sector have become high-hazard, dangerous occupations for American workers; and

WHEREAS, The meatpacking and poultry industries have the highest rates of crippling cumulative trauma disorders of any occupation in the nation. Meatpackers suffer from the second highest workplace injury and illness rate in the nation, and some 20 percent of all American poultry workers are injured each year; and

WHEREAS, On September 3, 1991, 25 workers died and dozens more were injured in a poultry processing plant in Hamlet, N.C. when locked doors and blocked exits prevented workers from escaping a fire that raged through the facility; and

WHEREAS, In 1990, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) announced with great fanfare a program to increase inspections in the meatpacking industry, but has failed to act on it. Moreover, OSHA does not even consider the poultry industry to be a high hazard occupation, and

WHEREAS, Because of the alarming increase in worker injuries due to cumulative trauma disorders, in 1991, 31 unions petitioned OSHA to promulgate an emergency temporary standard to reduce cumulative trauma disorders; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls on OSHA to launch a special emphasis inspection program in the meatpacking and poultry industry with no exemption component; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls on OSHA to promulgate immediately an emergency temporary standard on ergonomic hazards to protect workers from work-related cumulative trauma disorders; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls on the U.S. Labor and Agriculture Departments to develop a cooperative agreement whereby inspectors employed by both agencies are cross-trained in identifying

and directed to report to OSHA any egregious violations they observe, regardless of departmental jurisdiction.

The AFL-CIO encourages its affiliates to help in the struggle wherever poultry workers are organizing for dignity, and working to obtain union representation.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 50

**Cumulative Trauma Disorder
Emergency Standard**

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolution:

Resolution No. 185

**Support for a Cumulative Trauma
Disorder Emergency Standard**

The Committee recommends amending the resolution as follows:

At the end of the resolution, add a new paragraph:

“The AFL-CIO supports promulgation by OSHA of an ergonomics standard as requested by a petition filed with the Agency by a number of AFL-CIO affiliates to cover many of the hazards posed by computers (VDTs), and also supports legislative proposals to provide adequate funds to research the effects of VDTs on workers. The AFL-CIO also supports efforts to assure the safe use of VDTs through union contract language, legislation or regulations setting basic minimum standards that require ergonomic design of VDT work stations, periodic equipment testing and maintenance, regular eye exams, regular work breaks, transfer rights for pregnant employees, and measures to reduce radiation emissions, and prohibit machine pacing or computer monitoring.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 50, as **amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

Cumulative Trauma Disorder Emergency Standard

WHEREAS, Cumulative trauma disorders are now the leading cause of reported occupational illness in the nation. Millions of work-

ers are at risk of injuries from repeated trauma. This hazard clearly poses a grave danger. Workers with cumulative trauma injuries suffer pain, loss of functional capacity and in a significant number of cases, permanent disability. The number of reported cumulative trauma cases has increased by over one hundred percent in the past two years. The magnitude of this increase is unprecedented in the agency's history.

WHEREAS, According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the rates of these disorders have steadily increased over the last decade, from 18 percent of all reported illnesses in 1981 to 52 percent in 1989. The actual number of cases reported by the federal government has increased by more than 550 percent (from 23,000 to 146,900) during the same time period.

WHEREAS, Among the 40 million workers who now use visual display terminals, there has been an unprecedented increase in cumulative trauma disorders. For example, during the last six years, union members who utilize VDTs to perform their jobs report cumulative trauma disorders occurring in catastrophic proportions. In a 1989 survey to which 12,000 members responded, 63 percent of intensive VDT users reported symptoms of cumulative trauma disorders. Further, medically-diagnosed chronic disorders such as tendonitis and carpal tunnel syndrome were reported at rates of 14 to 18 percent and 4 to 6 percent.

WHEREAS, In newspaper and wire service offices, as many as 60, 70 and 80 percent of VDT users surveyed have reported symptoms of cumulative trauma disorders, with the incidence of diagnosed carpal tunnel syndrome, tendonitis, tenosynovitis, and other related disorders running as high as 10, 20 and 30 percent.

WHEREAS, High rates of incidence also occur in the meat packaging, bakery, apparel, auto and construction industries.

WHEREAS, According to the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, more than half of the nation's workers now have jobs with the potential for cumulative trauma disorders. These arise from poor design of the workplace and organization of work which pushes people beyond the limits of strength and endurance. These hazards were designed into the workplace by decades of industrial designers who neglected basic ergonomic principles.

WHEREAS, The costs of these disorders to both workers and businesses is staggering. OSHA estimates that back injuries alone now cost \$16 billion a year. NIOSH estimates that carpal tunnel syndrome strikes 23,000 workers a year, costing about \$3,500 in benefits and rehabilitation per person. That's \$80 million year. If

surgery is needed, the figure rises to \$30,000 per person, and \$690 million a year. And this does not include costs for tendonitis and other common cumulative trauma disorders.

WHEREAS, The growing problem of occupation-related musculoskeletal disorders requires immediate action by OSHA to prevent this workplace epidemic from reaching even greater proportions. It is precisely the kind of problem that should be dealt with through the issuance of an emergency temporary standard under Section 6(c) (1) of the Act.

WHEREAS, The emergency standard on ergonomic hazards must address a wide range of musculoskeletal disorders. These include musculoskeletal disorders involving damage to the tendons; tendon sheaths; synovial lubrication of the tendon sheaths; and the related bones, muscles, and nerves of the hands, wrists, elbows, shoulders, neck and back. The more frequently occurring occupation-induced disorders in this class include carpal tunnel syndrome, epicondylitis (tennis elbow), tendonitis, ganglion cysts, tenosynovitis, synovitis, stenosing tenosynovitis of the finger, DeQuervain's Disease and low back pain. These disorders arise from repeated biomechanical stress due to ergonomic hazards. Other terms that have been used from such disorders include "repetitive motion injury," "occupational overuse syndrome," and "repetitive strain injury."

WHEREAS, The emergency temporary standard should require the implementation of a comprehensive economic program to prevent occurrence of the above disorders; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates will press OSHA for immediate issuance of the emergency standard on cumulative trauma disorders.

The AFL-CIO supports promulgation by OSHA of an ergonomics standard as requested by a petition filed with the Agency by a number of AFL-CIO affiliates to cover many of the hazards posed by computers (VDTs), and also supports legislative proposals to provide adequate funds to research the effects of VDTs on workers. The AFL-CIO also supports efforts to assure the safe use of VDTs through union contract language, legislation or regulations setting basic minimum standards that require ergonomic design of VDT work stations, periodic equipment testing and maintenance, regular eye exams, regular work breaks, transfer rights for pregnant employees, and measures to reduce radiation emissions, and prohibit machine pacing or computer monitoring.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 150

Safety and Health

The Committee recommends amending the resolution as follows:

Rename "The Hamlet, North Carolina Fire," and amend point 3 to read as follows:

"A full and complete investigation of the underlying cause of the Imperial Foods Products fire, including recommendations to prevent such tragedies in the future."

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 150, **as amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

The Hamlet, North Carolina, Fire

WHEREAS, The deaths of 25 workers in the Imperial Food Products plant in Hamlet, North Carolina, represent an unnecessary and preventable loss of life; and

WHEREAS, The callous indifference of some employers and insufficient funding of state and federal safety and health agencies are direct causes of unfurnished protections for workers at Imperial Foods and many other facilities; and

WHEREAS, The locking of fire doors, the absence of an emergency response plan or effective worker training, and the blocking of exits at Imperial Foods are direct evidence of the failure of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 to protect American workers and of the unwillingness of American employers to comply voluntarily with applicable OSHA standards; and

WHEREAS, The U.S. Department of Labor's OSHA program has abandoned its statutory responsibility to protect workers and assure that state OSHA programs are "as effective as" federally-administered programs; and

WHEREAS, The administrator of North Carolina's Safety and Health Administration has refused to consider, let alone institute, criminal proceedings against the operators of the Imperial Foods plant; and

WHEREAS, North Carolina's state agencies, in conjunction with federal OSHA, are conducting investigations into the Hamlet disaster

which apparently will not examine their own agencies' culpability in contributing to the loss of life in Hamlet; and

WHEREAS, The lack of union representation and the widespread fear of job blackmail among Imperial Foods workers were major causes of the workers' inability to complain about or correct the lethal hazards which characterized their daily working conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls for:

1. The speedy passage of the Comprehensive Occupational Safety and Health Reform Act of 1991 (H.R. 3160/S. 1622) and its critical provisions for assuring worker safety and health committees, the right to refuse hazardous work, mandatory investigations into workplace fatalities, criminal penalties and mandated worker training;
2. The provision of adequate resources to support and protect the Imperial Foods Products workers and their families in seeking justice and recovering from the Hamlet disaster;
3. A full and complete investigation of the underlying causes of the Imperial Foods Products fire, including recommendations to prevent such tragedies in the future; and
4. The immediate revocation by the U.S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration of authority of the North Carolina Department of Labor in controlling and conducting the investigation of the Imperial Foods Products disaster and in administering the North Carolina State OSHA Plan and Section 18-b of the Act;
5. The immediate review and revocation of authority of other state plan states which are determined to have inadequate inspection and enforcement capabilities;
6. Increased federal and state appropriations to hire sufficient inspectors and to conduct targeted inspections in high-risk industries; and
7. Instituting of criminal proceedings against all parties responsible for willfully preventing the escape of workers from the Imperial Foods plant.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 186.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Health and Safety for Professional Employees

Those employed as professionals face a wide variety of occupational safety and health hazards which include the newly recognized hazards of assault and violence at work, bloodborne infectious diseases such as AIDS and Hepatitis B, exposure to toxic chemical spills, occupational stress, asbestos in buildings and indoor air pollution.

The effectiveness of OSHA in its coverage of private-sector and federal employees has diminished sharply since the advent of the Reagan administration and OSHA does not provide mandatory coverage for public employees, and only half the states have enacted their own laws to provide protection at least as effective as OSHA coverage.

Assault and violence are a growing concern in office environments, and murder is the leading cause of workplace death for women workers.

A wide array of health care professionals are at serious risk for occupational exposures to bloodborne infectious diseases and OSHA estimates that up to 18,000 health care workers contract and 300 die each year from such diseases. Several AFL-CIO affiliates petitioned OSHA for a Bloodborne Disease Standard in December 1986.

Many professionals who work as environmental inspectors, engineers, chemists and others are frequently called upon to respond to chemical spill emergencies from truck accidents, and in many other toxic chemical situations without proper training and equipment.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) only requires asbestos abatement in elementary and secondary schools, and in spite of its own contention that 733,000 other public and commercial buildings contain potentially hazardous asbestos, the agency continues to delay making a final decision to act while under increasing pressure from a pending lawsuit filed by AFL-CIO affiliates to regulate asbestos in these buildings.

Indoor air pollution is a leading cause of respiratory illness, allergic reactions and needless discomfort in our nation's offices because of poorly maintained, contaminated, or inadequately designed mechanical ventilation systems that result in an estimated productivity loss of

more than \$60 billion a year according to an EPA report to Congress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the need for increased funding for the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) to conduct further research and provide training monies to educate workers about the risk and control of assault and violence at work; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the legislation passed by Congress to force the Bush administration after five long years of delay to either release the final OSHA Bloodborne Disease Standard by December 1, 1991, or force the agency to enforce the proposed rule in the interim; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports increased funding by the National Institute for Environmental Health Sciences (NIEHS) to unions to provide necessary chemical emergency awareness and response training to environmental protection workers who encounter such hazards on the job; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports efforts to have the administration enact regulations to require upfront inspections of all buildings for asbestos hazards to be abated in a safe and complete manner; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO endorses air pollution legislation such as that introduced into the 102nd Congress by Senator George Mitchell and Representative Joseph Kennedy which funds indoor air pollution research and that the AFL-CIO supports efforts to assure safe and healthful air quality in the workplace through union contract language, legislation, or regulation setting basic minimum standards that would require adequate ventilation, regular inspection of heating, ventilation and air conditioning systems, filter changes as needed, and a measurement of biological, chemical and radon contamination.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 175

HIV Infection/AIDS

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 75

HIV-Infected Health Care Workers

Resolution No. 97

Health Care Workers Infected by HIV

Resolution No. 138

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 175.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

HIV Infection/AIDS

Over 100,000 Americans died in the first decade of the AIDS epidemic. That's more deaths than casualties from the Korean and Vietnam wars combined. The World Health Organization estimates that there are five to 10 million people infected with HIV in the world today.

HIV disease has had a disproportionate impact on some communities. HIV/AIDS continues to affect gay and bisexual men more than any other single group. Increasingly, the epidemic has reached communities of color, poor women and men, injection drug users and adolescents. The number of women and children infected with HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) continues to grow dramatically. Every 15 minutes, someone in America dies from an AIDS-related illness.

Throughout the course of the epidemic, workers have been, and will continue to be, on the front lines caring for adults and children with HIV/AIDS. Some of these workers, especially health care workers, emergency responders, and others who come into direct contact with blood on their jobs, face occupational exposure to HIV. Any worker exposed to blood on the job is at risk of exposure to a variety of bloodborne infectious diseases. These include not only HIV, but the hepatitis B virus (HBV) as well.

The most powerful tool to protect all workers from bloodborne infectious diseases is education and training. Workers must also be provided with gloves, protective equipment and safer medical devices to safeguard them against exposure to all bloodborne infectious diseases. Toward this end, in 1986, a number of health care worker unions petitioned the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to issue a standard that would protect workers from bloodborne infectious diseases such as HBV and HIV. Enlisting the support of Congress, the unions have continued to press for a final standard, which should be issued shortly. Once it is issued, OSHA should undertake a special emphasis enforcement program to ensure the standard's implementation. In addition, the CDC, OSHA, FDA and other government agencies should establish a commission, which in-

cludes health care workers, to propose, evaluate and establish standards for the development and design of engineering controls, including safer needles, instruments, and personal protective equipment and procedures.

As a result of the alleged infection of patients by an HIV-infected dentist, much attention has recently been focused on the issue of testing of health care workers for HIV infection. The mode of infection in these cases has not been established and no other cases of HIV infection by transmission from a health care worker have been reported. Current scientific opinion still holds that the risk of such infection is infinitesimal.

The AFL-CIO opposes mandatory HIV testing of workers and criminal penalties or other sanctions against HIV-infected workers. HIV testing should not be made a precondition of employment or a condition to retain one's job. Mandatory HIV testing is a violation of civil liberties, cannot be justified on scientific grounds, and does not promote public health.

The AFL-CIO believes that testing for HIV should be offered on a voluntary basis with a guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity, if requested. Labor has asked OSHA to require that, under its final infectious disease standard, confidential, off-site voluntary HIV-antibody testing and counseling be offered to all health care and other exposed workers free of charge. We also support legislation to increase funding for voluntary testing and counseling programs. And, we continue to support efforts to ensure that persons living with HIV/AIDS receive quality care in appropriate health care facilities or at home.

Persons living with HIV/AIDS should be allowed to work as long as they are able to do so. Employers should help them remain productive workers and continue their full health insurance coverage. The Americans with Disabilities Act prohibits discrimination against people with HIV/AIDS in the workplace. Persons living with HIV/AIDS should be given the financial, social and legal support to continue living their lives with dignity and self-respect.

The most important weapons in the fight against HIV/AIDS are education and training. Workplace-based education programs have been shown to be effective, and labor should support them. Besides the education of workers, education of the general public is also critical. Scientifically based information should be given the widest circulation possible, including appropriate instruction in schools, public service announcements through the media and community-based organizations.

Additional funding to support AIDS research, education and health and social services should become a national priority. The AFL-CIO urges increased federal funding for research, treatments, therapies, universal health care coverage and education and training.

The AFL-CIO will continue to urge its affiliates to educate their leadership and members about HIV/AIDS, to fight for protection of workers against occupational exposure to bloodborne diseases, to lobby for increased HIV/AIDS funding, and to fight against AIDS discrimination experienced by persons living with HIV/AIDS, workers or the general public.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 16

Environment

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 130

Occupational and Environmental
Safety and Health

Resolution No. 146

Support for Preservation of American
Jobs in the Glass Container Industry

The Committee recommends amending the resolution as follows;

At the end of the paragraph 5, add the following:

“The EPA must also faithfully carry out the spirit of the New Clean Air Act to eliminate the threat posed by acid rain to our forests and waterways and to ensure the protection of workers and communities from toxic and hazardous air pollutants.”

Between paragraph 5 and 6, insert the following:

“Community residents and workers must continue to be involved in the prevention of pollution from toxic industrial chemicals, and ‘right-to-know’ laws should be expanded to give the public and workers the right to monitor and challenge the hazardous practices of employers. Pollution prevention planning and toxic use reduction measures which provide for full involvement of workers and their representatives should be encouraged and adopted. The Congress should establish a ‘Superfund’ — funded by polluters — to protect the economic security of workers and their communities from the adverse effects of any dislocation arising from toxic use reduction or other environmental protection programs.”

In paragraph 6, after the words “bottle laws,” insert the words:

“or processing fees”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 16, **as amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Environment

Substantial progress has been made over the past two years in addressing the nation's environmental problems. This momentum must not be lost as Congress addresses the backlog of problems that pose serious threats to the nation's health and safety.

A greater effort must be made to clean up the contamination created by nuclear weapons production.

Testing of dangerous pesticides and chemicals must be stepped up and the use of hazardous products restricted or banned.

The export of chemicals not allowed in the United States should be banned, and agricultural imports that use hazardous pesticides and other chemicals in their production should be barred as imports.

A much larger commitment is needed by the Environmental Protection Agency to the clean-up of hazardous waste dumps, and enforcement of environmental laws must be improved. The agency's fines for polluters should be high enough to ensure that pollution does not pay. The EPA must also faithfully carry out the spirit of the New Clean Air Act to eliminate the threat posed by acid rain to our forests and waterways and to ensure the protection of workers and communities from toxic and hazardous air pollutants.

Community residents and workers must continue to be involved in the prevention of pollution from toxic industrial chemicals, and “right-to-know” laws should be expanded to give the public and workers the right to monitor and challenge the hazardous practices of employers. Pollution prevention planning and toxic use reduction measures which provide for full involvement of workers and their representatives should be encouraged and adopted. The Congress should establish a “Superfund” — funded by polluters — to protect the economic security of workers and their communities from the adverse effects of any dislocation arising from toxic use reduction or other environmental protection programs.

Support for the Endangered Species Act

WHEREAS, The Endangered Species Act (ESA) is due for reauthorization in Congress in 1992; and

WHEREAS, This law, vastly strengthened in 1973, has proven to be necessary and beneficial to the protection and recovery of threatened species such as the bald eagle and the American alligator; and

WHEREAS, Some reactionary, anti-environmental groups have called for wholesale changes to the ESA that would destroy its central purpose; and

WHEREAS, Recent conflicts over the application of the ESA concerning the northern spotted owl and the native salmon have served to reveal certain shortcomings in the Act such as mandating wildlife recovery plans that ignore all other human and social factors dealing with broad ecosystem questions and lack of integration with forest planning laws; and

WHEREAS, The integrity and purpose of the Act can be maintained and indeed strengthened while making amendments to take greater account of human, social and economic consequences of protecting threatened species; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the Congressional reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act in 1992 while also supporting amendments to give more balance to the goals of wildlife protection and the human, social and economic consequences of such actions; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That to carry out this objective, the Act should be modified to require the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to conduct qualified and competent economic/cost impact/human impact analyses early in the proposed listing process to permit more informed decision making concerning options that protect threatened species while minimizing economic dislocation and job losses; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the Act be adjusted to take into account protection of multiple species which may depend on common ecosystems.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 152

The Timber Industry

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 152.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

The Timber Industry

WHEREAS, A crisis over protection of the spotted owl is threatening tens of thousands of timber workers, their families and communities; and

WHEREAS, Timber harvesting and forest products production is the economic base for the regional economy of the Pacific Northwest which is now threatened by extreme proposals to set aside vast areas of timberland; and

WHEREAS, Timber harvest restrictions will lead to a negative impact upon the housing industry, its employees, and upon housing affordability across the country; and

WHEREAS, Legislation has been introduced in the House and the Senate — H.R. 2463, The Forests and Families Protection Act and S. 1156, The Federal Lands and Families Protection Act — to resolve this crisis; and

WHEREAS, H.R. 2463 and S. 1156 would provide a balance between endangered species protection and the economic security of affected workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports and will work for the passage of the Forests and Families Protection Act (H.R. 2463) and The Federal Lands and Families Protection Act (S. 1156) as a balanced solution to the spotted owl/old growth timber crisis in the Pacific Northwest because it provides for environmental and wildlife protection while also providing economic fairness and stability for forest industry workers.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 22

Workers' Compensation

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for the following resolution:

Resolution No. 76

Exclusive State Funds

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 22.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

Workers' Compensation

Workers' compensation was established to ensure that disabled workers and the survivors of those killed on the job get prompt and adequate medical treatment and wage replacement. The unfortunate fact is that the tragedy of work injuries and illnesses are compounded by a workers' compensation system that provides, in many cases, insufficient benefits and poor medical care because the system is consumed with delays and disputes.

The recommendations of the National Commission, established by the Occupational Safety and Health Act nearly 20 years ago, have not been implemented. Instead, states have increasingly imposed harsh restrictions and benefit cuts in a mean-spirited effort to seek a competitive advantage based on a perverted notion of the "business climate." The AFL-CIO calls on the Congress to enact federal standards to immediately fulfill at least the 19 "essential" recommendations that the Commission said were vital to the survival of the workers' compensation system.

The AFL-CIO will continue to lead efforts at true reform at the state level. We support discussions and cooperation through labor/management advisory groups to state legislatures and governors aimed at achieving real loss prevention through safety and health and implementing workers' compensation benefits that are equitable and just. Repeal of the McCarran-Ferguson Act, or its modification through the proposed Insurance Competitive Pricing Act now before Congress, will help eliminate price-fixing and monopoly practices by workers' compensation insurers. State workers' compensation insurance funds should be established where they do not exist. Exclusive state funds afford significant advantages to both employers and workers and should be extended beyond the six states that currently have them.

To protect the fundamental rights of privacy and confidentiality of workers' compensation claimants, states should act to prohibit the disclosure of information concerning injuries and benefits paid to individual workers. Additionally, the regulations of the federal Americans with Disabilities Act should bar discrimination by employers of workers who have suffered a previous job injury or illness.

High quality medical treatment for job injuries and illnesses and physical and vocational rehabilitation are essential to returning disabled workers to the job. The AFL-CIO adamantly opposes any effort to shift the costs for such treatment, through deductibles, coinsurance or any other means, to workers. The problems of runaway medical

costs in workers' compensation underscore the urgency of national health care reform.

Workers' compensation information and data collection are haphazard and largely inaccessible. Reform of the Occupational Safety and Health Act should include standardizing the elements of data to be collected and ensuring that it is available to be used to identify hazardous workplaces and to target enforcement efforts aimed at reducing work injuries and illnesses.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 31

Community Services

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 31.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by convention follows.)

Community Services

As an indifferent federal government loads more and more of its legitimate social services responsibilities onto the shoulders of already staggered state governments, it is increasingly difficult for workers to find the help they need. Helping working families with food, housing, health care, substance abuse treatment, financial counseling and assistance is particularly important during periods of unemployment or strikes.

American labor is proud of its community services role and determined to see it continued, expanded, and improved. Getting more trained union volunteers involved in helping those in need is key to productive community services programs. To encourage active participation by union members in community affairs, the AFL-CIO continues to encourage state federations, central labor councils and affiliated local unions to establish community services committees.

We also urge affiliates and local AFL-CIOs to actively recruit volunteers to serve on the boards of voluntary agencies, to work as union counselors, to organize community services committees and to raise money for worthwhile charities.

Union volunteers are also needed to help disadvantaged children in America's cities and suburbs, providing positive role models for kids lured by drugs, crime and teenage pregnancy. We encourage affiliates and central labor councils to sponsor Scout troops, recreational activ-

ities and mentoring programs for high risk youth as an alternative to delinquency and despair.

Union retirees are an excellent source of volunteers for community services activities. AFL-CIO Retirement Counseling is an effective program for enriching the lives of retirees and for involving them in the voluntary activities that let them share a lifetime of wisdom and experience. State and local AFL-CIOs need to form retiree committees and sponsor this counseling program.

As we strive to restore an enlightened government activism on behalf of the poor and elderly, the AFL-CIO encourages affiliates to continue to work in partnership with voluntary agencies like United Way, American Red Cross and Boy Scouts of America to help meet the human service needs of the communities in which our members live. Increased labor financial support and volunteer participation on boards and committees should help make these agencies more sensitive to problems of working families and more responsive to American workers in need.

###

. . . Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 32

Drug and Alcohol Programs

The Committee recommends the following amendment:

On page 48, paragraph 4, amend the first sentence:

“Random drug testing unilaterally by employers is inconsistent with a worker’s basic rights to privacy and dignity.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 32, **as amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Drug and Alcohol Programs

The AFL-CIO believes as strongly as anybody in the need for a drug-free America, but we also believe that drug testing legislation can and should include adequate procedural rules and technical safeguards to protect workers’ rights, privacy and dignity. We call upon governments and employers who have embarked upon random drug testing to seek a more enlightened approach.

Collective bargaining is the most effective means to develop workplace drug programs that emphasize education, privacy and treatment.

Employee Assistance Programs have been initiated by unions in hundreds of workplaces. Such programs treat workers as human beings, not merely as cogs in a machine to be discarded if they have problems. Employee assistance efforts benefit employers and workers alike. Employees keep their jobs and learn to overcome their problems. Employers learn to value their work forces and gain the positive outcomes that follow when employers demonstrate a commitment to their work force. The AFL-CIO is proud of its record in advancing Employee Assistance Programs and will continue to work to promote programs that help workers with special problems live fuller lives at home and at work.

Random drug testing unilaterally by employers is inconsistent with a worker's basic rights to privacy and dignity. The labor movement will continue to resist invasive and unjustified drug testing.

Workers who test positive under procedures bargained collectively should retain employment status and be guaranteed confidentiality, appropriate treatment and after care, not retribution. Drug testing should not preempt state and local government personnel procedures and, in view of the inexact nature of drug tests and the potential for false positives, should provide access to the courts for wronged employees.

Congress and state legislatures should enact measures requiring drug testing laboratories to meet certification standards established by the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 40

Alcohol and Health

This resolution calls on the federation to publicize the results of studies about the positive benefits of alcoholic consumption.

The Committee recommends that this resolution be **referred to the Executive Council**.

(The text of the referred resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

Resolution No. 41

National Council of Senior Citizens

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 41.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

National Council of Senior Citizens

For years, the AFL-CIO has endorsed and supported the National Council of Senior Citizens (NCSC). Its millions of members and thousands of active clubs have worked closely with the labor movement. We are totally committed to NCSC because they have proven to be invaluable legislative allies for a wide variety of issues vital to workers, and invaluable political allies in support of candidates committed to economic and social justice.

Our retired members and their friends in NCSC have proven to be one of organized labor's strongest supporters, eager to join the fight and willing to donate their time and energies. We in the labor movement must redouble our efforts to make certain retired union members and those approaching retirement learn about and join NCSC.

NCSC is launching a nationwide drive to strengthen its club structure and grass-roots operations. We urge our affiliates and state and local central bodies to support these efforts and to work with the Council in developing new programs for their retired members.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 169

Union Retirees and the AFL-CIO

The Committee recommends that the second RESOLVED be deleted, and recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 169, **as amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Union Retirees and the AFL-CIO

WHEREAS, There are millions of older and retired union members, many of whom would like to stay involved in union and community affairs long after they retire from their jobs; and

WHEREAS, Union retirees possess the experience, skill and energy that is greatly needed by the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Union members, whether working or retired, are all fighting for the same goals — dignity and security for every American; and

WHEREAS, Union retirees have repeatedly shown their solidarity with working members by assisting their unions in organizing activities, strikes and grass-roots legislative and political action programs; and

WHEREAS, Retirees vote for labor-endorsed candidates in significantly higher percentage than younger union members, particularly in U.S. House races where as many as 70 percent have supported labor's endorsements; and

WHEREAS, Older Americans have the highest percentage of voter participation among any age group — approximately 75 percent — with nine of 10 union retirees currently registered to vote; and

WHEREAS, Today's retirees share with today's workers the intense pressure of rising medical costs, as well as threats to employer pension plans by greedy corporate managers; and

WHEREAS, Protecting retiree pensions and benefits from insensitive management decisions is already an important priority for many labor organizations, since these efforts mean retirement security for current workers as well as retirees; and

WHEREAS, Retirees are most effective as labor advocates when organized in strong retiree groups that are affiliated with international unions and participate at all levels of the AFL-CIO structure; and

WHEREAS, The 1979 AFL-CIO Convention adopted a resolution urging all state federations and central labor councils to sponsor retiree activities as part of their ongoing operations; and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Executive Council reaffirmed this policy in 1983, urging state federations and central labor councils to admit union retiree groups as affiliates and recommending that, where necessary, the state and central labor councils amend their constitutions to permit this action; and

WHEREAS, In August 1988, the AFL-CIO Executive Council adopted a broad-based series of recommendations urging the expansion of retiree activities for the AFL-CIO, state federations, central labor councils and international unions; and

WHEREAS, Some international unions, as well as state federations and central labor councils, have already established effective retiree programs that can serve as models for the rest of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Older and retired union members are the ones who built this movement, who by their own sweat, courage and dedication gave birth to this great federation of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly reaffirms its support for the establishment of ongoing retiree activities at all levels; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That all state federations and central labor councils establish programs for retired union members; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the national AFL-CIO should devote the necessary resources to assist international unions, state federations and central labor councils in the further implementation of existing AFL-CIO policy on union retirees.

###

. . . Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 98 Reform of Medicaid Funding to Intermediate Care Facilities for the Mentally Retarded

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 98.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Reform of Medicaid Funding to Intermediate Care Facilities for the Mentally Retarded

WHEREAS, For over seven years, Senator Chafee and supporters have sought to enact an alleged Medicaid reform measure which, in essence, is a massive contracting-out scheme. The proposed legislation would cap Medicaid funding to Intermediate Care Facilities for the Mentally Retarded (ICF/MR), arbitrarily limit facility size, allow states to develop their own rules and regulations for community care to replace current ICF/MR regulations, and completely disregard the skills and experience of existing work forces by failing to adopt meaningful worker protection; and

WHEREAS, Continuing cost pressures in the ICF/MR program have generated additional legislative interest in improving Medicaid services to the developmentally disabled. Congressman Waxman, a longstanding proponent of Medicaid reform, has indicated he will reintroduce a Medicaid ICF/MR reform bill; and

WHEREAS, There is considerable support among advocates and experts in the field of mental retardation and developmental disabilities for an institutional care system as part of a continuum of residential and treatment services; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO continues to adamantly oppose any Medicaid ICF/MR legislation like the Chafee-style measure, which fails to address the needs of residents and workers and ultimately would only lead to large-scale privatization; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will scrutinize Medicaid ICF/MR reform legislation to ensure that funding for existing institutional facilities and future improvements is preserved, that any funding shifts to the community are accompanied by satisfactory worker protection, and that any reform includes improvements in the quality of services in ICF/MRs of any size; and programs such as Medicare and Medicaid be improved, along with improvement of staffing ratios, career ladders, training programs and worker protection at the state and local level.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 167

**National Organ and
Tissue Donation Program**

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 167.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

National Organ and Tissue Donation Program

WHEREAS, Over the past 100 years, medical history has made great strides; and

WHEREAS, We can anticipate that medical "miracles" will continue to first astound and then become commonplace; and

WHEREAS, Organ transplants are being successfully performed daily at many medical centers throughout the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, These procedures include heart, lungs, kidney, liver and other organs; and

WHEREAS, Similar advancements are being made regarding optic nerves, corneas, skin, tissue, bone marrow and bone transplants; and

WHEREAS, These procedures are, in effect, providing quality life to what would otherwise be considered hopeless cases; and

WHEREAS, The technology involved has become state-of-the-art in the medical field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the National Organ and Tissue Donation program; and

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO encourages their members, families, friends and communities to lend full support to the National Organ and Tissue Donor programs in their respective areas.

###

... Committee Secretary Sweeney read the following:

Resolution No. 21

Occupational Safety and Health

Already acted upon by the convention, covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 44

OSHA Reform

Resolution No. 96

Occupational Health and Safety Protections

Resolution No. 130

Occupational and Environmental
Safety and Health

Resolution No. 184

Reform of OSHA

No further action on these resolutions is necessary.

(The text of these resolutions appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

SWEENEY: This concludes the report of Subcommittee 4. At this time, I want to recognize and thank the members of our subcommittee. Without their help, Chairman Joyce Miller and I could not have completed the subcommittee's work.

The members of Subcommittee 4 were: Morton Bahr, John Bowers, Alfred DiTolla, Frank Hanley, Sigurd Lucassen, Vincent Panepinto and Gene Upshaw.

On behalf of the committee, I want to thank Karen Ignagni and Peg Seminario for their help. Thank you. (Applause)

WILLIAMS: It's my pleasure to call on Vice President Owen Bieber, Chairman of Subcommittee 5 of the Resolutions Committee, to complete the report of that subcommittee. Vice President Bieber.

SUMMARY REPORT COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS SUBCOMMITTEE 5

OWEN BIEBER, president of the UAW: Thank you, Lynn. I rise to present the remainder of the report of Subcommittee 5. Before I do that, let me also acknowledge the members of the subcommittee who worked with me. First of all, Secretary Gerry McEntee. Committee members J. Randolph Babbitt, John Barry, Susan Bianchi-Sand, Wayne Glenn, James Hatfield, Charles Jones, Jack Sheinkman, Richard Trumka and Lynn Williams.

The committee previously reported out resolutions on the American recession and child care and family support. On Tuesday, November 12, the full Resolutions Committee adopted the remainder of the reports of our subcommittee, which you have before you.

The report covers resolutions received on a broad range of topics, including the national economy, training, unemployment insurance, energy, transportation, housing, working family issues, reproductive choice and several other miscellaneous issues.

The resolutions spell out a program to combat the recession and put the nation's economy on the road to social justice and broad-based prosperity.

A resolution on banks and financial systems criticizes the Bush administration's banking plan for serving the interests of big banks, not the American public, and sets forth labor's alternative.

Resolutions on unemployment and training call for actions to address the full range of the nation's employment and training needs.

A resolution on economic conversion calls for a comprehensive program to convert defense facilities to civilian use, to provide income support, retraining and other assistance for workers who will be displaced as military spending is reduced.

Resolutions on unemployment insurance call attention to the serious shortcomings of the nation's unemployment compensation system and set forth a detailed program for its reform.

The energy resolution calls attention to the dangerous increase in U.S. dependence on oil imports from politically unstable nations. It criticizes the total inadequacy of the Bush administration's energy

proposals and calls instead for a comprehensive energy program based on conservation, development of new energy sources and other steps to achieve the nation's energy goals.

On housing, the resolution calls for adequate federal funding for housing programs and the adoption of a comprehensive national housing policy.

On reproductive choice, the resolution reaffirms the policy of deferring to the individual judgments of our affiliates and their members on reproductive issues.

It also reaffirms support for legislation to overturn the so-called gag rule which restricts the right of health professionals to provide all relevant medical information and advice.

Several resolutions deal with the betrayal of workers and unions by the media and the importance of redoubling our efforts to get labor's message across to the American public.

A large number of resolutions were received on transportation issues. These resolutions note the importance of the transportation system to the economy and to everyone's quality of life. They call attention to the essential role of government regulation and the public investment in the infrastructure in order to meet the nation's need for a safe, effective and efficient transportation system.

The committee recommends adoption of Subcommittee 5's report, and I so move.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 11

The Economic Situation

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolution:

Resolution No. 87

Breaking the Federal Budget Straitjacket

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 11.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

The Economic Situation

Despite America's wealth and economic potential, prosperity is an unfulfilled promise for millions of people and even survival with dignity is an unachieved goal for many more. Recession has moved the economy further away from justice and prosperity, and the nation's policy-makers have sought to ignore the suffering of the recession.

Working families face increasing difficulty making ends meet. Wages continue to lag behind price increases. Young families have been especially hard hit and the squeeze continues for middle-class, middle-income Americans. Poverty remains a disgrace for a nation that once displayed the will to reduce poverty levels.

Meanwhile, those at the top of the economic pyramid have garnered a grossly disproportionate share of income and wealth. Much of the progress toward reducing extreme economic inequality that was made in the 1960s and 1970s has been undone during the past 11 years.

The worst cruelty, unemployment, afflicts millions of Americans and the recession swells their ranks. Even if the optimists are right that recovery lies just around the corner, unemployment will remain unacceptably high for years to come.

Millions who remain at work face worsened conditions. Well-paid jobs have disappeared. Part-time, temporary and subcontracted work, often with minimal or no benefits, has been substituted by employers for secure, full-time jobs with adequate pay.

The safety net for working people and their families is badly frayed. Millions of the unemployed are not receiving unemployment compensation, and those who do receive too small a percentage of their prior earnings to afford basic necessities. Even these insufficient benefits are paid for a far shorter time than they are needed. Programs for worker training and retraining are woefully inadequate.

Budget gridlock hamstring social progress and serves as an excuse to deprive government of one of its most important tools for stimulating the economy to combat recession. Urgently needed public investment in education, health care, child development, housing and infrastructure is held hostage to the largest and longest string of federal budget deficits in the nation's history.

Resources needed for public investment are absorbed by wasteful, inequitable and incredibly expensive bailouts of first the savings and loans and now, most likely, of the commercial banks. The failure of so many of the nation's banks has given the current recession an especially anxiety-producing twist.

Wealthy Americans and corporations pay a lower proportion of their income in taxes than they did in the 1970s, while the tax burden on working and middle-class, middle-income people has increased.

Interest rates remain too high, partly as a result of overly tight monetary policies carried out by a powerful but unaccountable Federal Reserve Board. Adequate credit is not available to finance productive, job-creating investment. A legacy of deregulation and lax anti-trust enforcement has left the public vulnerable to the savings and loan ripoffs, bank failures, corporate raiders, polluters and price-gougers.

The trade deficit continues at a level that only a few years ago would have been cause for sounding an alarm. Meanwhile, the nation sinks deeper into international debt and the industrial base continues to erode.

Despite these and other difficulties, the American economy has enormous resources and its workers have enormous resourcefulness. Many of the most pressing social and economic problems can be solved. What's lacking is the national will to set the economy on a fairer, more productive and more prosperous course.

AFL-CIO Program

Stronger medicine is needed to assure recovery from the recession and achieve a broad-based prosperity with economic progress and social justice.

Policies are urgently needed to put the unemployed back to work. The nation's growing list of unmet needs means that there is plenty of useful work for them to do. The AFL-CIO urges the nation's economic policy-makers to place full employment at decent wages back on the agenda as a high-priority national goal.

The quality of employment opportunities must also be improved. High-wage, high-skill jobs are not being developed, while the fabric of American life is being torn apart by the switch to low-wage, dead-end jobs, including a host of involuntary part-time and temporary jobs with inadequate benefits or none at all. Training and retraining opportunities must be provided for all workers who want and need them. Better education is needed for young people before they enter the labor force. A comprehensive strategy is needed to make sure that corporations reinvest in America to retain and create good jobs here at home.

The tattered safety net must be restitched to assure an adequate level and duration of benefits for the nation's unemployed. The employment service must be upgraded and provided with the funding and other resources needed to do its job.

The badly eroded purchasing power of workers and their families, especially young families, must be increased. The ranks of the middle class and the purchasing power of middle-income families must be enhanced, not continually squeezed. Collective bargaining and trade union representation must be strengthened if working people are to have any chance of getting their fair share of productivity gains. It is time for policy-makers to recognize that the nation cannot prosper if its workers do not.

Policies are needed to move the nation toward fairness and away from unequal distribution of income and wealth. Such policies would make the economy less vulnerable to speculative excesses.

Policies are needed to counteract poverty, including a substantial increase in the minimum wage. Nearly 34 million Americans live in poverty, an increase of 15 percent since 1980. The special problems of children being raised in poverty must be addressed on a priority basis. One of every five children is being raised in poverty; the rate of infant mortality is higher in the United States than in 21 other countries around the world. Older Americans continue to face poverty at a substantially higher rate than do those who are of middle age; their needs must also be met.

Policies are needed to reduce the trade deficit and restore the health of the industrial base.

Budget gridlock must be overcome, to allow the use of fiscal policy to stimulate the economy during times of recession and to provide sufficient resources to meet the nation's increasingly urgent public investment needs. Education, health care, child development, housing and infrastructure are among the many key areas where public investment must be increased. This will require that the multi-year budget agreement be rescinded.

Solutions are urgently needed to the nation's festering urban crisis which continues to render many of America's central cities unlivable. The escalating financial burden on states and cities will require the federal government to shoulder its fair share of responsibility.

Military expenditures can and should be reduced. As military spending is reduced, a portion of the resources which are freed up must be earmarked for a comprehensive program of economic conversion.

A substantial increase in federal revenues to finance badly needed public investment is also required. Closing current tax loopholes which encourage speculation and reward offshore investment would help to raise those revenues while at the same time encouraging more socially and economically appropriate corporate behavior. Other progressive tax changes are needed as well to make the wealthy and corporations

pay their fair share. The top income tax rate should be raised, and capital gains should be treated the same as other income. Estate and gift tax loopholes should be closed, and serious consideration should be given to establishing a tax on high levels of wealth.

We call upon the Federal Reserve Board to accommodate the nation's needs with more expansionary monetary policies. Structural reforms are needed to make the powerful Fed more accountable to the public. Interest rates must be brought down. Inflation is a serious concern, but targeted policies aimed at runaway sectors like energy and health care could dampen inflationary pressures without damaging the entire economy with across-the-board tight money.

Anti-trust and other regulatory policies which have been allowed to languish during the last 11 years must be strengthened and enforced. They are needed in their own right and could also be used far more aggressively to restrain unwarranted price increases.

The financial system needs more adequate governmental regulation. The deposit insurance fund urgently needs to be recapitalized. But bailout costs should not be passed on to taxpayers with the least ability to pay, as happened in the S&L crisis.

Regulators must see to it that in its lending practices the financial system emphasizes job-creating, socially responsible investments — not real estate speculation or junk-bond financed corporate takeovers which eliminate jobs and create nothing.

Proposals to end Glass-Steagall distinctions between commerce and banking should be rejected. Concentration of ownership and control is antithetical to financial system soundness and stability.

Proposals for nationwide interstate banking and branching must not be allowed to result in a drain of funds away from businesses and individuals in low-income regions and communities, or a drain of funds offshore that are badly needed in the United States.

Social justice, economic prosperity and employment opportunities with decent wages and conditions for all Americans who want and need them are the AFL-CIO's most basic and highest priority goals. We urge the nation's policy-makers to support the far-reaching policy agenda which is needed to achieve these objectives.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 103

Salomon Brothers

Resolution No. 161

Banking Reform

The Committee recommends the following amendments:

On page 32, insert the following paragraph at the bottom of the page:

“Regulation of the government securities market must be strengthened to restore its integrity and efficiency and prevent the recurrence of scandals such as the one involving Salomon Brothers, which robbed the public and further undermined its confidence in the fairness and soundness of the financial system.”

On page 33, revise the third sentence of the second paragraph to read:

“The costs of financial system bailouts, including the mounting cost of the S&L bailout, must not be passed on to depositors or taxpayers with the least ability to pay.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 18, as **amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Banks and the Financial System

Faced with massive problems which its own policies and those of its predecessor have done so much to create, the Bush administration has put forth a commercial banking reform plan that would limit deposit insurance coverage, including elimination of pass-through coverage for pension funds; authorize full nationwide interstate banking and branching; and permit banks to enter the securities and insurance business, and vice versa, while allowing corporations to own banks.

The administration's plan does not deserve support. It serves the interests of big banks and the securities industry, not the American public. Their plan will almost surely further erode rather than strengthen public confidence in the banking system. It will do little to alleviate the risk of an expensive taxpayer bailout, and may even

increase that risk down the road. It will increase the concentration of economic power as big banks go nationwide and giant conglomerates spanning the full range of financial services band together with nonfinancial corporations to control an even larger share of the nation's wealth.

Although the administration's plan does not deserve support, the need for prompt action is urgent. The AFL-CIO calls for a program of financial system reform based on stricter governmental regulation, a viable deposit insurance program, better banking service to consumers and local businesses, and proper safeguards for bank workers affected by closings and mergers. Moreover, monetary policy must be reformed to promote lower interest rates and economic growth.

Stricter Governmental Regulation

The safety and soundness of banks in particular and the financial system in general must be guaranteed. This will require more federal supervision and regulation, not less. Weak institutions must not be permitted to pay high interest rates to attract deposits, whether brokered or otherwise, in order to have one more taxpayer-financed roll of the dice. Self-dealing such as "insider" loans to bank officers and directors must be prohibited.

Increased federal supervision must be carried out in a manner which does not restrict economic activity by denying credit to worthy borrowers. The regulators must see to it that bank lending practices emphasize job-creating, socially responsible investments — not real estate speculation or junk-bond financed corporate takeovers, which eliminate rather than preserve jobs.

Concentration of ownership and control is antithetical to financial system soundness and stability. Proposals to end Glass-Steagall distinctions between commerce and banking should be rejected. Megamergers must not be allowed to monopolize banking or lead to undue concentration of private financial power.

U.S. operations of foreign banks, and foreign deposits and other activities of U.S. banks, must be brought more effectively and comprehensively under the regulatory umbrella. They must pay their fair share to the Bank Insurance Fund, and their activities must not be allowed to undermine the safety and soundness of the banking system. Scandals such as BCCI must not be allowed to reoccur. Foreign banks and corporations operating in the United States must not be exempt from requirements, such as the Glass-Steagall Act, that are needed to curb financial system abuses.

Flexible ceilings on interest rates paid to insured depositors are needed to mitigate excessive bidding for funds. Federally insured banks should be forced to reduce their exposure to risk by lowering the current limits on loans to a single borrower.

Financial industry executives guilty of improprieties that exact such a heavy price from taxpayers should be brought to justice and forced to make restitution. Schemes used to shelter their personal wealth should be abolished, and enforcement agencies should be given adequate resources.

When resolving troubled institutions, the government's Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. and Resolution Trust Corp. must stop creating windfall gains for wealthy investors at public expense. When troubled institutions are merged by federal regulators or their assets are sold, recoupment provisions are needed so that the public receives compensation in the form of a share of any future profits.

Regulation of the government securities market must be strengthened to restore its integrity and efficiency and to prevent the recurrence of scandals such as the one involving Salomon Brothers, which robbed the public and further undermined its confidence in the fairness and soundness of the financial system.

Viable Deposit Insurance

Deposit insurance must be restructured to protect all pension and retirement accounts and all transaction balances regardless of size. Pensions and other retirement accounts need to retain the pass-through of individual deposit insurance coverage. The recent FDIC rule excluding self-directed public pension plans from future FDIC insurance protection must be rescinded. As the deposit insurance program is restructured, insurance limits should be removed on all pension and other retirement accounts deposited in an insured institution. Transaction balances, such as checking accounts used to meet payrolls, should also be insured without any limit.

Recapitalization of the Bank Insurance Fund is urgently needed. The funds should be obtained from banking industry sources to the extent possible. It is important that the fund have sufficient resources promptly. The costs of financial system bailouts, including the mounting cost of the S&L bailout, must not be passed on to depositors or taxpayers with the least ability to pay. To prevent further unnecessary drain on the fund, dividend payments and lavish executive compensation by banks which are losing money, have inadequate capital, or are carrying excessive problem loans on their books should be strictly prohibited.

Better Banking Service to Consumers and Local Businesses

Banks owe an obligation to communities and the public. Banks must provide better service to all consumers with regard to check cashing, "lifeline" banking, and community lending practices. Nationwide banking must not be allowed to result in a drain of funds away from businesses and individuals in low-income regions and communities, or a drain of funds offshore that are badly needed in the United States. Financial institutions that benefit from federal deposit insurance should be required by law to fill a prescribed number of seats on their boards with individuals who are broadly representative of and accountable to bank customer constituencies, including labor, consumers, farmers, and small businesses. Community Reinvestment Act provisions must be strengthened and fully enforced.

Credit unions and banks owned or controlled by unions and communities have an important place in our financial system. Their role should be strengthened in any plan to restructure the financial system. Appropriate regulation and oversight will also be required in this area.

Safeguards are needed for bank workers. Bank workers whose jobs are at risk, often as a result of regulatory decisions, have a right to fairer treatment, including proper notification of bank closings and provisions for health and pension benefits. Federal regulators and acquiring banks should provide opportunities for re-employment without loss of seniority or benefits. Displaced workers certainly should not face discrimination because of prior union membership. Where a union contract exists, provision should be made for continuation of the contract or successorship as appropriate.

Reform Monetary Policy

The Federal Reserve Board must relax its choke hold which has contributed to more than a decade of high real interest rates and slow economic growth. The public accountability of the powerful Federal Reserve Board must be increased, by means of labor and other non-banker representation at a policy-making level.

Conclusion

The AFL-CIO supports a program of financial system reform based on these principles. Its goal is to help reduce interest rates, to bring about an increase in fairness, and to restore public confidence in the financial system without saddling working Americans with the bill.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 8.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Human Resources Development Institute

Massive layoffs continue to occur at an alarming rate in many industries, including service, manufacturing and trade.

Fully funded and effectively designed employment, training, and education programs continue to be essential ingredients needed in national policies.

Labor welcomes the national interest in workplace literacy and structured work-based training which supports unions' advocacy of lifelong training to help workers respond to increasing skill demands.

Labor should continue at the state and local level to be actively involved in planning major training issues and should be given opportunities to provide a full array of needed services — from early plant-specific assistance to longer-term training and adjustment activities for unemployed workers.

The AFL-CIO supports HRDI's continued work with labor organizations and the job training system to expand workers' opportunities for jobs and training. HRDI should continue to do the following:

- Provide technical assistance to affiliated unions and state and local labor bodies to strengthen their role in the JTPA system. To effectively carry out its mission, it is imperative that HRDI receive sufficient funding from the U.S. Department of Labor.
- Assist unions in developing and operating employment and training programs for unemployed, disadvantaged and dislocated workers, as well as those with disabilities, at the national, state and local level.
- Expand its work with unions in further developing new approaches for worker upgrading and retraining, including basic skills and work force literacy upgrading, as well as the establishment of training trusts.
- Assist unions to maximize those opportunities under advance notice and worker retraining legislation, as well as their participation in state early warning, rapid response and labor-management activities.

- Provide financial management services to those unions operating programs with public funds.
- Assist affiliated unions, AFL-CIO departments, and state and local central bodies in addressing their concerns regarding employment and training related issues.
- Help unions build their capacity to serve the disabled and to understand the protections afforded by the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA).

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 12

Employment and Training

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 12.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Employment and Training

To meet the nation's employment and training needs, the AFL-CIO calls for action on a number of fronts:

Full Employment

Full employment must be a top priority of economic policy. Jobs at fair and decent pay must be available for every person who needs a job and wants a job.

Community service, community facilities and infrastructure programs funded by federal, state and local governments can make significant contributions to full employment in addition to their important economic and social contributions. If there are not enough jobs in the private and public sector for all who want jobs, the federal government must be the employer of last resort.

Special Adjustment Programs

Special federal adjustment assistance programs are a rational and desirable response when national policy decisions adversely affect workers by eliminating jobs or by reducing earning opportunities.

To avoid unnecessary loss of jobs and to promote full employment, economic conversion planning and adjustment assistance are needed to deal with plant closings and mass layoffs in defense industries and military bases and other government facilities. Legislation is needed to

require development of standby job-protecting, job-creating economic conversion plans for defense related plants and other government facilities. Special set-asides from defense spending should be used to fund such conversion adjustment programs.

The Trade Adjustment Assistance program should be extended and fully funded to provide adequate compensation to those unemployed because of trade and to improve training, job search, and relocation aid for those displaced workers, and to permit supplier workers to be covered under this program.

Veterans' re-employment rights and other benefits of workers returning from voluntary or involuntary military service, including training and readjustment services, must be assured by appropriate legislation.

Training

All workers should have opportunities for training and education to get jobs, to keep jobs, and to get better jobs. All workers, both employed and unemployed, should have opportunities for more education, basic skills improvement, training, retraining, upgrading and upward mobility. Training allowances and income support should be available for workers in training programs.

Trade unions have important responsibilities for supporting, protecting, and promoting training and education programs for union members and potential members. Employers and local, state and federal governments also have basic responsibilities for supporting training and education for working people. Adequate funding with more federal support for these programs is essential.

Private and public sector cooperation in designing and implementing training programs is desirable and necessary, and labor organizations should have an equal voice with business in such cooperation. Unions should have an opportunity to review and comment on training programs before funding decisions are made.

Apprenticeship with its combination of on-the-job training and classroom instruction should be strengthened and extended to new developing occupations.

Dislocated worker adjustment assistance, the Jobs Corps, and other effective national training programs should be retained with adequate funds to help prepare young people and dislocated and disadvantaged adult workers for jobs. Training and services should be targeted on disadvantaged and dislocated workers who are most in need.

The welfare reform JOBS training program should be carefully monitored state-by-state to strengthen its beneficial potential — to provide good training for jobs at fair and decent pay without displacing currently employed workers — and to prevent abuses which endanger children of welfare recipients and which force welfare recipients into low-wage, high-turnover exploiting jobs or into jobs which displace currently employed public or private sector workers.

Labor Market Institutions

Efficient labor market institutions can improve the matching of workers and jobs. In this process, labor unions have an important role that should be maintained and expanded.

The federal government should play a stronger role in promoting coordination of training and employment services at the state and local level. Training and employment programs supported by the Labor Department should give top priority to serving the needs of individual workers.

The U.S. Employment Service (USES) should become the recognized, accepted and adequately financed source of free employment-related services for all workers who need jobs and for all employers who need workers. The system should be federalized to meet the nation's need for a truly national labor exchange operating across state and regional boundaries. Proposals to "devolve" or defederalize the funding of the costs of administering unemployment insurance and job service programs would lead to destruction of the present federal-state system and drastically reduce services to workers and employers.

Labor representation should be increased on state job training councils and on business-dominated local private industry councils (PICs) under the Job Training Partnership Act. JTPA provisions for consultation with organized labor should be strengthened and enforced. JTPA funding should be increased and training allowances should be available for workers in training. Labor organizations have a responsibility to make the JTPA-PIC system work as well as possible until it is improved or replaced.

The AFL-CIO calls for action in all of these areas to increase training and job opportunities for America's working people.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

The Committee recommends the following amendment:

On pages 56-57, replace the RESOLVEDs with the following:

“RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO commends the Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce and the labor representatives on the Commission for a job well done. We will work with supporters of related legislation in Congress in an effort to shape a program of education, training, work organization and school-to-work transitions which all AFL-CIO affiliates can support.

“Such legislation must create and assure opportunities for labor’s participation as a full partner and must protect labor standards. It must establish a system of joint labor-management committees to plan, design and administer all workplace education and training programs. Where workers are represented by unions, the unions should select the labor members of the committees. In non-union settings, workers should be selected by secret ballot elections. The existing successful apprenticeship system, including all training in the construction industry, should be specifically excluded from the new program.

“The AFL-CIO calls for enactment of comprehensive federal legislation to help young people and adult workers who have been so grievously short-changed by the inadequacies of this nation’s education and training system. We urge adoption of government policies which will encourage employers to adopt a high-wage strategy and which will discourage their natural tendencies to pursue a low-wage path.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 35, **as amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages

America has the finest universities in the world, yet we neglect shamefully the education of the majority of our youth who are not college bound. It is the children of working people and especially of poor people who pay the heaviest price for this unfair polarization of educational opportunities and outcome.

Having neglected the education of our non-college bound youth, we then proceed to neglect their school-to-work transition, in stark contrast to the way this transition is handled in other nations, especially in

powerful and effective industrial competitors such as Germany and Japan.

As adults, all too often American workers face employers who fail to invest adequately in their training and who refuse to adopt methods of work organization that would allow them to exercise their full range of abilities on their jobs. Such employers prefer instead to create inefficient and expensive bureaucracies at home while exporting jobs by chasing low wage labor abroad. Meanwhile, many of these same corporations fall further behind their Asian and European rivals in high-stakes global economic competition.

The inter-related crises in U.S. education, training and work organization thus have far-reaching consequences. Few problems are more urgently in need of comprehensive and effective public attention during the last decade of this century. Our future living standards, the distribution of income and wealth, and the life chances available to millions of our young people hang in the balance.

Against this backdrop, a remarkable and noteworthy report was Issued in June 1990 by the Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce, entitled *America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages*. Following extensive investigation and thorough deliberation, the commission in its report put forward five closely-linked policy recommendations:

- New educational standards should be established nationally for all students, benchmarked to the highest in the world.
- Meaningful opportunities should be provided for all young people to achieve these standards, backed up where necessary by new institutions, and the commitment of adequate public resources, including federal resources.
- A comprehensive system of technical and professional certificates and associate's degrees should be created for the majority of our students and adult workers who do not pursue a baccalaureate degree. Financing options could include a system patterned after the GI bill, which would guarantee everyone the right to four full years of education in pursuit of these objectives.
- All employers should be given incentives and assistance to invest in the further education and training of their workers. Under this recommendation, every employer would be required to meet a minimum spending target in the education and training of their workforce; in unionized workplaces, employers and unions would jointly negotiate and administer the training programs. Employers who fail to meet their training targets would be re-

quired to contribute any shortfall to a national skills development fund, used to train dislocated and disadvantaged workers.

- A nationwide system of Employment and Training Boards should be created to organize, oversee and help implement the above recommendations. The boards should be composed of company, union and public officials, as well as representatives of community-based organizations. The boards should also be able to compensate and attract a highly professional staff.

Although the labor movement was ably represented on the commission, our voice was not the only one heard in its deliberations; educators, corporate executives and public officials participated actively on the commission as well. It is, therefore, not surprising that the commission's report differs in certain particulars from a document that we would have written ourselves. For example, a better trained workforce in and of itself will not stop the nation's employers from exporting jobs, or cause them to adopt new worker-friendly methods of work organization here at home. To achieve these goals, stronger and more direct medicine will also be needed, including active trade and industrial policies, and a meaningful public commitment to full employment.

The report and its recommendations nevertheless are attuned to the needs and concerns of workers and their children to a remarkable degree; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO commends the commission on the Skills of the American Workforce and the labor representatives on the commission for a job well done. We will work with supporters of related legislation in Congress in an effort to shape a program of education, training, work organization, and school-to-work transitions which all AFL-CIO affiliates can support.

Such legislation must create and assure opportunities for labor's participation as a full partner and must protect labor standards. It must establish a system of joint labor-management committees to plan, design and administer all workplace education and training programs. Where workers are represented by unions, the unions should select the labor members of the committees. In non-union settings, workers should be selected by secret ballot elections. The existing successful apprenticeship system, including all training in the construction industry, should be specifically excluded from the new program.

The AFL-CIO calls for enactment of comprehensive federal legislation to help young people and adult workers who have been so grievously shortchanged by the inadequacies of this nation's education and training system. We urge the adoption of government policies

which will encourage employers to adopt a high-wage strategy and which will discourage their natural tendencies to pursue a low-wage path.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 55

Economic Conversion

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 55.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Economic Conversion

WHEREAS, The easing of Cold War tensions has created new opportunities for conversion of the United States' resources from military to civilian uses; and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has reported that 100,000 jobs will be lost in 1991 due to cutbacks in defense, uncertainty over NASA projects, and stiffer competition; and

WHEREAS, The Defense Budget Project estimates that by 1996, some 814,000 defense-related jobs will be lost, the majority of them held by members of unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO; and

WHEREAS, The skills of these men and women should not be thrown on a national junk heap; and

WHEREAS, Legislation must be adopted which should provide for adequate funding to furnish incentives to help companies convert existing facilities from military to civilian use, provide technical assistance in developing and marketing new products, to provide support for new business ventures, to provide for start-up funds, loan guarantees, and tax incentives; and

WHEREAS, Such legislation must also provide special federal unemployment funds along with expansion of training and retraining and placement programs, as well as adequate health insurance protection for displaced workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls on Congress to speedily enact such legislation which should contain all of the requirements outlined in this resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the Federation calls upon state legislatures in states where defense work is done to adopt similar legislation and to

aid workers, communities, and companies to convert from military to civilian production.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 70 Workers with Disabilities and Their Families

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 70.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Workers with Disabilities and Their Families

WHEREAS, The New York State AFL-CIO has entered into an alliance with the New York State Office of Vocational and Educational Services for Individuals with Disabilities (VESID) in October 1990; and

WHEREAS, This alliance which unites organized labor and state government will result in:

- Greater numbers of people with disabilities remaining employed and/or becoming employed in jobs covered by union contracts in New York State;
- Improved access for union members and their families in need of VESID Services;
- Creating work/study and transitional employment opportunities for students with disabilities, and

WHEREAS, The New York State AFL-CIO has close to one hundred enrolled union members and/or members of their families who are at scheduled levels within this program; and

WHEREAS, Vocational Rehabilitation Agencies exist in every state within the nation with a mission of eliminating any obstacles that an individual with a disability may have in retaining and/or securing gainful employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this resolution will serve as a model in urging all state AFL-CIO federations to vigorously pursue the creation of an alliance with their state Vocational Rehabilitation Agency.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 23

Unemployment Insurance

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 85

Reform of the Unemployment
Insurance Program

Resolution No. 114

The Employment Service and
Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 145

Unemployment Insurance Reform

The Committee recommends the following amendments:

On page 38 in the first sentence of the resolution, insert the word "insurance" between "unemployment" and the "system"

On page 38 in the second sentence of the third paragraph, insert "with appropriate worker protections," between "federalized" and "so."

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 23, **as amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Unemployment Insurance

The nation's unemployment insurance system is not meeting the needs of America's jobless workers and their families. The UI safety net is full of holes. Two out of three unemployed workers do not get any UI benefits. Benefit levels are too low. Those lucky enough to get UI payments get only one-third of their previous earnings. And one-third of those getting UI payments use up their 26 weeks of benefits without finding a job. The extended benefits program for those who use up their regular UI benefits must be drastically improved.

Thus, the UI system is failing in its basic humanitarian "safety net" income maintenance purpose - to help workers and their families maintain a decent standard of living when workers lose jobs and income. The UI system is also failing in its countercyclical economic purpose of maintaining consumer buying power in time of recession.

The AFL-CIO calls for comprehensive reform of the present federal-state unemployment insurance system. In the long run, this system must be federalized, with appropriate worker protections, so that it will

operate with consistency and fairness. In the short run, federal minimum standards are desperately needed to protect unemployed workers and their families.

All wage and salary workers should be covered by the UI system and should be eligible for UI benefits, which should be at least 50 percent of a worker's previous earnings, up to a maximum of two-thirds of the state's average weekly wage. Harsh and excessive eligibility and disqualification provisions should be eliminated.

For periods of high unemployment, extended or supplemental benefits should be available up to 39 additional weeks beyond the regular 26 weeks of benefits, so that the maximum duration is 65 weeks when the unemployment level is high. The current complicated triggers for extended benefits should be eliminated. Eligibility could be better targeted by linking it to length of attachment to the labor force, earned credits, or other factors relating to long-term joblessness. A better overall trigger would be the Total Unemployment Rate, not the Insured Unemployment Rate.

To assure funds for adequate benefits, UI taxes should be raised and the taxable wage base should be raised and indexed at 65 percent of the average annual wage, as recommended by the National Commission on Unemployment Compensation. Experience rating of UI taxes, which discriminates against small businesses, should be eliminated or restricted.

States should have incentives to accumulate sufficient reserves in their UI trust funds during growth years to pay decent benefits during recession years, but federal loans and reinsurance can help states meet extra benefit costs during recession years.

Chronic underfunding of federal grants to the states for administering unemployment insurance and the employment service has created great delays and hardship for jobless workers seeking UI benefits to which they are entitled. The AFL-CIO urges an increase in federal funding for state UI administration to appropriate staffing levels plus automatic entitlement funding for state UI administration in line with growing case loads.

The AFL-CIO will continue to oppose "devolution" proposals which would defederalize the funding of costs of UI administration and job service programs.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 115

Unemployment Benefits for Public School Support Personnel

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolution:

Resolution No. 197

Unemployment Benefits for
Classified Public School Employees

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 115.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

Unemployment Benefits for Public School Support Personnel

WHEREAS, Federal law at one time gave public school support personnel the right to receive unemployment compensation during the summer months in those states with enabling legislation; and

WHEREAS, The right was taken away from only public school support personnel with passage of the 1983 Social Security amendments; and

WHEREAS, The exclusion of public school support personnel from that provision is arbitrary, as other seasonal employees, i.e. construction workers and agricultural workers, are not excluded; and

WHEREAS, Public school support personnel are the lowest-paid workers in a school system and don't usually earn enough to enable them to save money to tide them over through the summer months; and

WHEREAS, Public school support personnel often work on areas where there are not many other job possibilities in the summer months; and

WHEREAS, It is unfair to assume that public school support personnel have the same contractual guarantees, such as permanent status, as certified school employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the passage of federal enabling legislation that will give classified public school employees the right to receive unemployment compensation; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will work with its state federations to pursue the passage of implementing state legislation.

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 15

Energy

The Committee recommends the following amendments:

On page 23, insert the following as the first sentence of the first paragraph in the introduction:

“The oil import disruptions of the 1970s created enormous hardship for Americans through job loss and soaring inflation and contributed to the recessions of the 1970s and 1980s.”

On page 24, New Supplies, insert the following as Number 2 and renumber the other numbered items:

“2. If nuclear plants are again undertaken, the licensing process should be streamlined to avoid unnecessary delays in siting, construction and operation, with stringent health and safety safeguards to protect the public and the workers concerned.”

On page 24, New Supplies, insert the following as Number 5 and renumber the other numbered items:

“5. Develop alternative fuels for waterborne transportation.”

On page 24, Other Measures, add the following as Number 1 and renumber the other numbered items:

“1. Modifications to the Public Utilities Holding Company Act as well as proposals to require ‘open access’ to utility transmission lines should be rejected.”

On page 24, Other Measures, strike Number 6, which refers to exploration of the ANWR.

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 15, **as amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Energy

The oil import disruptions of the 1970s created enormous hardship for Americans through job loss and soaring inflation and contributed to the recessions of the 1970s and 1980s.

The dependence of the United States on oil imports is again reaching the dangerous levels of the early 1970s. Much of the increase is coming from the politically unstable Middle East. The Iraqi invasion

of Kuwait and the threat to Saudi Arabia demonstrated the insecurity of U.S. oil import supplies.

Increased oil import dependence is the result of the dismantling of many energy programs put in place in the 1970s and the drastic cutback in others.

The Bush administration energy proposals are greatly inadequate to reduce the nation's oil import dependence.

We therefore recommend the following energy measures:

Conservation

1. Develop and require energy efficiency standards for new buildings and homes and the retrofiting of existing buildings. New home buyers should be given a rating of the home's expected energy use.
2. Improve mandatory energy efficiency standards for appliances.
3. Expand government support of energy efficient transit such as mass transit systems and intercity rail.
4. Raise the mandatory fuel economy requirement for automobiles and light trucks subject to the following conditions:
 - a. Require a percentage increase in the mileage standards for each manufacturer if it can be shown to be technologically feasible and not cause an adverse impact on employment in the automobile industry.
 - b. Apply the increase to domestic and foreign fleets as under current law.
 - c. Retain administrative discretion to relax or strengthen standards as is now in the law.
 - d. Adopt an incentive in the mileage requirement for domestic fuel efficient car production to bring small car production back to underutilized U.S. factories.
5. The government should monitor and distribute information comparing U.S. process technologies with the best available examples of energy efficiency and productivity elsewhere in the world. The government should conduct information gathering to develop a data base on energy use and efficiency in industry and report on the progress made in energy conservation.
6. Expand the low-income weatherization program.

New Supplies

1. Revitalize programs for development of new energy sources that are alternatives to oil. These include solar, wind, gasohol, tidal and geothermal, waste matter, oil shale, tar sands, and synthetic fuels from coal and other materials.
2. If nuclear plants are again undertaken, the licensing process should be streamlined to avoid unnecessary delays in siting, construction and operation, with stringent health and safety safeguards to protect the public and the workers concerned.
3. Speed action on the siting of a nuclear waste disposal site.
4. Take action to build a pipeline to transport natural gas from the Alaskan North Slope parallel to the existing oil pipeline. Begin construction of tankers and port facilities to transport the gas to the lower 48 states.
5. Develop alternative fuels for waterborne transportation.
6. Develop alternative fuels for automobiles and trucks including electric vehicles, gasohol, methanol, natural gas, and hydrogen.
7. Accelerate the development of "clean coal technologies" that will permit increased use of U.S. coal in an environmentally acceptable manner.

Other Measures

1. Modifications to the Public Utilities Holding Company Act as well as proposals to require 'open access' to utility transmission lines should be rejected.
2. Enact a permanent ban on the export of Alaskan oil and natural gas.
3. Increase the low-income energy assistance program to assure the poor are protected from the hardship of energy price increases.
4. Create an oil import authority to purchase oil from foreign sources. The government should determine the amount of oil imported, negotiate its price and provide for its allocation.
5. Raise the emergency petroleum stockpile to 1.5 billion barrels as soon as possible.

6. Enact a standby windfall profits tax on oil company profits to capture the windfall from price increases during an oil import shortfall.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 7 AFL-CIO Pension Investment Programs

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 7.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

AFL-CIO Pension Investment Programs

The record shows that the AFL-CIO Pension Investment Program offers funds sound investment opportunities while promoting goals of the labor movement. Funds can invest in geographically diversified portfolios of real estate projects and achieve competitive returns while adding diversification to their portfolios. Because the assets in pension and benefit funds represent workers' deferred wages, unions should take the lead in promoting prudent investment strategies that have a positive impact on the economy. Therefore, labor representatives are urged to invest at least five percent of the assets of funds covering their members in the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Pension Trust and Building Investment Trust.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 14 Housing

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 14.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Housing

The labor movement has traditionally recognized the importance of decent housing and supported efforts to supply adequate and affordable housing to members and to the entire community. Housing needs to be accessible to the work site and available to everyone who needs

it on an equal basis. Labor support for housing has run the gamut from low-rent public housing and aid for the homeless to assistance for young, first-time buyers, working families of modest means and retirees and others with special needs. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) programs have for decades provided reasonably priced homes to young working families and veterans. Unions have, over the years, acted directly to supply tens of thousands of units of housing in big city co-ops, in small town apartment projects for the elderly and disabled, in single-family home developments, through government programs, in public-private partnerships and through the use of pension funds, such as the AFL-CIO Housing Investment Trust. The AFL-CIO's Union Privilege also recently sponsored a home buyer purchase program for members of affiliated unions.

Strong and effective measures are needed to provide more help for assisted housing, to meet human needs and to counter the continuing effects of the recession.

The federal government should fund beneficial new programs created by the 1990 National Affordable Housing Act, such as the housing assistance block grant program, the Home Ownership Trust program for first-time home owners and the housing preservation program to preserve publicly assisted but privately owned housing. The HOPE program, however, involving the privatization of low-rent public housing units, seems less deserving of funding in view of the high fix-up costs apparently involved and the potential for creaming off the best units, leaving the worst behind to drag down the remainder of the public housing program.

Congress should not transfer funds to promising new programs from proven and successful programs, such as public housing new construction, community development block grants, housing for the elderly and handicapped, and assistance for the homeless, which address special needs of lower-income people. Additional resources for housing are needed.

Opportunities should be made available to allow lower-income people to become home owners and for non-profit groups to acquire homes and apartments for lower income people under the savings and loan legislation affordable housing programs. Union-sponsored non-profits have in the past taken advantage of government programs to provide housing. Labor unions should, to the extent possible, use opportunities offered under the savings and loan bailout legislation and the Resolution Trust Corporation and under the National Affordable Housing Act to supply housing to members and to others in local communities.

Government sponsored enterprises, such as the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae), are subject to government regulation in view of their quasi public status and importance to the housing finance and production system. Regulation of such entities should balance fiscal integrity with needed support for affordable housing.

The desire to reduce housing costs by rolling back regulations should be balanced against legitimate social, health, safety and environmental concerns. While it is often possible to make short-term cost savings by cutting regulations, deregulation of housing is no panacea and surely no substitute for national housing policy, including the commitment of new resources for housing.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 99

Benefits for Changing Families

The Committee recommends the following amendments:

On page 111, substitute the following for the RESOLVED:

“RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will work as appropriate to ensure that fringe benefits are extended to all persons living in a household as a family.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 99, **as amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Benefits for Changing Families

WHEREAS, Employer provided health-care coverage, sick and family responsibility leaves, and bereavement leaves for spouses of employees are important elements of any benefit package; and

WHEREAS, Fewer than 30 percent of American families fit the traditional definition of family — two parents living with children; and

WHEREAS, Eligibility for fringe benefits is often based upon a definition of family which fails to recognize changes in family composition in the United States, resulting in a lack of coverage for many individuals; and

WHEREAS, These fringe benefits are, on average, equivalent to 40 percent of total compensation; and

WHEREAS, The United States has not enacted legislation to create universal access to health insurance or family leave; and

WHEREAS, Jurisdictions and corporations are acknowledging the trend of the changing family and have begun to offer fringe benefits to unmarried employees and their partners; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That AFL-CIO will work as appropriate to ensure that fringe benefits are extended to all persons living in a household as a family.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 173

**Reproductive Issues and
Access to Medical Information**

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 68

Abortion Rights

Resolution No. 86

Overturning the Gag Rule on
Family Planning Services

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 173.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

**Reproductive Issues and Access
to Medical Information**

Union members have made it clear that on reproductive issues they believe firmly in their right to act in accordance with their personal convictions.

At its Summer 1990 meeting, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, after deliberation on the issue, took the position that the Federation would “yield to the good and sound judgment of union members — expressed persuasively and emotionally by unionists on both sides of the issue — that they choose to pursue their goals on reproductive issues within political, legislative and legal arenas as their individual consciences dictate.”

The Council statement declared, "The AFL-CIO, therefore, adopts a carefully considered policy of deferring to the individual judgments of its affiliates and their members on reproductive issues."

We reiterate the policy stated by the Council when it said: "The AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to encourage their members to exercise their political rights within a democratic society with regard to the question of reproductive issues, both through individual action and through association with others of similar beliefs."

This policy governs the AFL-CIO as a federation and its state federations and local central labor councils.

Since that policy was adopted, the Supreme Court, in *Rust v. Sullivan*, ruled that the government may constitutionally enforce a "gag rule" that prohibits physicians or other health care professionals working in government-financed clinics from informing and counseling patients about certain legally available medical options, including abortion.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, during its Summer 1991 meeting, adopted the position that this decision is inconsistent with the right of all individuals to make informed and intelligent decisions about their own health and welfare, and with the ethical codes and obligations of the medical profession which demand that a patient's right of self-decision can be properly exercised only if that person possesses enough information to make an intelligent choice.

The Council statement noted that "the fact that the Rust case arose out of the controversy over restrictions on abortion counseling should not obscure the far broader rights that are at stake. It is for this reason that the AFL-CIO both opposes the Rust decision and adheres to its policy of deferring to the individual judgments of our affiliates and their members on reproductive rights."

The AFL-CIO believes, as it stated earlier this year, that "the proper response to *Rust v. Sullivan* is legislation affirming in the most uncompromising terms the right and obligation of government-financed physicians and other health care professionals to provide all relevant medical information and advice. We call on Congress to pass such legislation."

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolution:

Resolution No. 77

Fair Labor Representation on
American Public Television

The Committee recommends the following amendment:

On page 66, add the following **RESOLVED** to the end of the resolution:

“**RESOLVED:** That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates will continue to work nationally and locally to ensure that working Americans and their concerns and heritage are fairly represented on American television.”

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 45, as **amended**.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolution covered by it appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

Promoting New Labor Communications Strategies

WHEREAS, Effective communications from unions are critical to educating, informing, and motivating union members as well as potential members and the public; and

WHEREAS, Labor communications are vital to increasing the general public's understanding about organized labor and the positive role that the labor movement plays not only in the nation's workplaces, but also in communities, the political arena, and society at large; and

WHEREAS, Changing work force demographics and the increasing complexity of today's work world necessitate new, aggressive, and creative strategies for conveying labor's messages; and

WHEREAS, Training union spokespersons in new media techniques and strategies is a key part of the effort to enhance labor's image and strengthen the American labor movement's position both nationally and internationally; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will encourage efforts at all levels to help union spokespersons sharpen skills and develop new expertise in media techniques; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to actively support and expand communications programs and activities through the Labor Institute of Public Affairs, the George Meany Center for Labor Studies, the International Labor Communications Association, the AFL-CIO Department of Information, and the Committee on Political Education; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates will continue to work nationally and locally to ensure that working Americans and their concerns and heritage are fairly represented on American television.

###

. . . Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 59

National Rail Negotiations

This resolution calls attention to the inequities that resulted from the government-imposed solution to the 1991 nationwide rail strike. Because of the need to consult more fully with the rail unions about the subject matter of this resolution, the Committee recommends that Resolution No. 59 be **referred to the Executive Council** for further study.

(The text of the referred resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

Resolution No. 147

A Voice for American Working People

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 147.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

A Voice for American Working People

WHEREAS, Union members and other American working men and women are exposed to a steady drumbeat of corporate propaganda from the commercial news media; and

WHEREAS, This corporate perspective is the only viewpoint the American public, sees, hears, and reads on a regular basis; and

WHEREAS, The medium of radio is and has been an under-utilized and under-appreciated conduit for introducing the trade union movement's message of fairness and progress; and

WHEREAS, This medium could, thus, be used to convey the trade union message on a regularly scheduled basis; and

WHEREAS, Jim Hightower, proven friend of working men and women, is proposing using radio for such a forum and proposing a format to be entitled, "A Voice for American Working People;" and

WHEREAS, Such a forum could be the voice of, for, and to American working men and women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO endorses and supports the Hightower proposal to initiate such a radio program; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges all of its affiliates and state labor federations and local central bodies to give their support to the proposed program.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 166

Freedom of the Press

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 166.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Freedom of the Press

WHEREAS, The fundamental right of freedom of the press as guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and the public's right to unbiased information from divergent sources is threatened by ownership of the media by an ever diminishing number of publishing chains and newspaper groups; and

WHEREAS, In 1987, the proportion of daily newspaper circulation controlled by publishing chains or groups was 82.3 percent as compared to only 43.4 percent in 1930; and

WHEREAS, One hundred forty-three publishing chains or groups owned 1,212 daily newspapers out of a total of 1,645 in 1987; and

WHEREAS, Publishing chains and groups control an increasingly larger proportion of broadcast and print media circulation, further diminishing the diversity of information available to the public; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that our precious First Amendment freedoms can be jeopardized, not only by government control and censorship of the news media, but by monopolistic trends whereby a few publishing chains and groups control an overwhelming percentage of what Americans read, see and hear; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls for Congress to conduct hearings on monopolistic practices by publishing chains and media groups in the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That steps should be taken to halt and reverse the trend whereby a few publishing chains or media groups control a disproportionately large segment of the news the public consumes so that the real protection of the First Amendment is restored, and freedom of the press is once again meaningfully guaranteed as our Founding Fathers intended.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 193

Performance Rights

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 193.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Performance Rights

Under current copyright law pertaining to sound recordings, the holders of copyright are the composers of the music and the producers of the sound recordings, but the performers of the music in a recording have no copyright status. After an exhaustive study in 1978 of the equities among authors/composers, performers and producers of sound recordings, the Register of Copyrights and the Librarian of Congress recommended to the Congress that the Copyright Law should be amended to "provide performance rights, subject to compulsory licensing, in copyrighted sound recordings, and that the benefits of this right be extended both to performers (including employees for hire) and to record producers as joint authors of sound recordings." The basis for this recommendation was that the performers of sound recordings are as much a creator of the sound recording as the author or producer, and should be entitled just as much to the fruits of their labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to work for the introduction of legislation to amend the Copyright Law to provide for performance rights in sound recordings.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 194

**The Cable Television Consumer
Protection Act of 1991**

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 194.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

**The Cable Television Consumer
Protection Act of 1991**

The "cable re-regulation" bill is designed to restore a balance between commercial television and cable. In the last four years since cable deregulation, cable rates have risen 56 percent while broadcasting revenues have declined. The Senate bill, S. 12, and the House bills, H.R. 1303 and H.R. 3380, have important provisions which will help strengthen broadcast television. The "retransmission consent/must carry" provision eliminates an outdated rule that requires broadcasters to provide their signals to competing cable operators without their permission or consent. Under the new legislation, local stations could force cable operators either to carry their signal, with no compensation, or negotiate with the cable operators for the right to use the broadcast signal and be compensated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to support the Cable Television Protection Act of 1991 and will work for its enactment.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 17

Transportation

This resolution covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 58

Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway

Resolution No. 153

Opposition to Navy Purchase
of Foreign-Built Ships

Resolution No. 154

Support for American
Shipbuilding and Repair

Resolution No. 155

Reserved Cargo for U.S.
Flag Ships Needed

Resolution No. 157

Enforcement of the Jones Act

Resolution No. 200

Maritime Policy

The committee recommends the following amendments:

On page 27, add the following bullets to the Maritime Section:

“The AFL-CIO urges the U.S. and Canadian federal governments, in full consultation with provinces, states, labor and private industry, to join in long-range planning to bring the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Maritime System into the next century.

“Legislation should be enacted to prohibit the U.S. government from buying or leasing foreign flag ships for any purpose, except during war.

“The AFL-CIO supports legislation requiring a substantial U.S.-built, U.S. flag fleet and that substantial portions of domestic cargo be reserved for U.S.-built, U.S.-flagged vessels.

“The AFL-CIO should actively pursue a sound cargo policy to protect the U.S. shipbuilding base, including legislation to reserve a minimum of 20-percent of all bulk tonnage to be shipped on U.S.-built, U.S.-flagged vessels.

“The AFL-CIO demands the strict enforcement of the spirit and intent of the Jones Act, and opposes any and all waivers of the Act except those required strictly for a national defense emergency.

“The commercial fleet should be enhanced as the most effective means of guaranteeing shipyard mobilization, vessel operations and manpower availability bases needed to fulfill defense sealift mobility requirements. The Ready Reserve Force also should be expanded to provide the surge capacity that arises at the onset of a national emergency.

“A balanced promotional program which will encourage opportunities for construction and commercial success of specialized vessels to provide necessary levels of seaborne logistic support in emergencies.

“Extension of the eligibility period for merchant seamen to be covered by veteran's status to coincide with the termination date afforded all other World War II military personnel. Job re-employment rights also should be guaranteed to merchant mariners who have

shoreside employment to fill vacant shipboard positions during national emergencies.

“Congress should repeal the recently established fees for issuance of Coast Guard licenses and merchant mariners’ documents as repressive workers’ taxes.”

On page 27, insert the following words in the 8th bulleted paragraph on page 27, after the words “transfer aid program.”

“and a U.S.-flag preference covering commercial trade”

On page 27, delete the 6th and 7th bulleted paragraphs, and replace with the following paragraph on the same subject, which is broader in scope:

“+The government should open the way for U.S. participation in the lucrative passenger cruise trades by extending the nation’s health, safety, manning, shipbuilding and repair requirements to foreign cruise vessel operators as conditions for access to the U.S. trades, by eliminating regulations that discriminate against U.S. ventures including the prohibition of gambling on U.S. passenger vessels, and by reviewing regulations and policies that provide incentives to foreign carriers.”

On page 28, delete the second full paragraph.

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 17, **as amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows. The resolutions covered by it appear in the appendix in numerical order.)

Transportation

The national transportation system is an interrelated web which links the diverse parts of the nation and provides essential services in the public interest. Trucks and barges and railroads and airplanes are vital to business survival and expansion. People depend on cars, buses and trains to get to jobs and for access to the goods and services they need. A balance of transportation is needed to meet the diverse requirements of a modern nation and to promote efficiency, protect the quality of life, control pollution and use limited space in crowded cities.

The government has a legitimate role in regulation and in promoting the safety and welfare of workers, consumers and the traveling public, and in national security. Governments must provide the infrastructure for an effective transportation system.

Maritime

The Persian Gulf logistical movement was the end product of considerable sacrifice by America's workers, who labored untiringly to keep supplies moving through this pipeline: the shipyard workers who performed the repairs necessary to activate Ready Reserve Force vessels, the longshoremen who travelled around the country to insure skilled personnel were available to load ships with the ammunition so desperately needed on the front lines, and the thousands of merchant seamen who were previously unemployed in the maritime industry returned to serve their country or others who came out of retirement to sail the ships laden with supplies. Each willingly employing basic job skills that contributed directly to the nation's defense.

At the same time, a significant amount of foreign tonnage was involved. A false complacency about the success of future operations can set in where there might be less foreign cooperation than in this case.

A present capability doesn't guarantee future success. While the American merchant marine was able to respond to the call in August 1990, its overall condition continues to decline. For over a decade, the federal government has failed to promote one program that could serve as a springboard for industry redevelopment. Instead of providing assistance, the government has adopted a "slash and burn" policy which has weakened all maritime sectors. The deterioration has become so widespread that military strategists, although pleased with the industry's response to the recent call to action, have publicly voiced concerns about the future ability of the U.S. merchant fleet to provide sufficient strategic sealift.

The current state of industry affairs must be reversed. It is essential that the nation's policy-makers signal an interest and commence development of initiatives that will insure the American maritime industry's ability to meet its legislatively mandated goals of having sufficient ships and manpower to promote national security. Adoption of the following proposals will contribute significantly to the maritime industry's revitalization.

- The administration should reject all efforts to establish a second national shipping registry as being detrimental to the industry's efforts to serve as a strategic sealift asset.
- As regional and global trade talks proliferate, U.S. negotiators should be instructed to secure exclusion of maritime services from any final agreement. The inclusion of maritime services, unless incorporated under the guise of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development Code on Liner Conduct or as

part of a direct bilateral agreement that includes cargo sharing, would undermine any attempt to enhance the American merchant fleet because of the necessary extension of national status to the fleets of the nation's trading partners.

- Maintenance of the crude oil export restrictions contained in the Export Administration Act should be broadened and extended permanently.
- The nation's cabotage laws, which are vital to the continued operation of domestic shipyards and shipping companies, must be preserved. All corporate attempts and governmental efforts to weaken this important legislation must be resisted. Maintenance of domestic-build requirements is especially important because of the need to replace the existing fleet of tankers and barges in the coastwise oil trade with new, double-hulled vessels.
- Legislation establishing a "build and charter" ship program should be passed that will promote development of a fleet of trading vessels that combines military capability with commercial competitiveness.
- The government should open the way for U.S. participation in the lucrative passenger cruise trades by extending the nation's health, safety, manning, shipbuilding and repair requirements to foreign cruise vessel operators as conditions for access to the U.S. trades, by eliminating regulations that discriminate against U.S. ventures including the prohibition of gambling on U.S. passenger vessels, and by reviewing regulations and policies that provide incentives to foreign carriers.
- The utilization rate of American-flag vessels to carry government cargo should be maximized by those federal agencies entrusted with overseeing domestic industry promotional programs. Additionally, new cargo opportunities, such as a "Buy American" requirement for the State Department's cash transfer aid program and a U.S.-flag preference covering commercial trade should be enacted.
- The AFL-CIO urges the U.S. and Canadian federal governments, in full consultation with provinces, states, labor and private industry, to join in long-range planning to bring the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Maritime System into the next century.
- Legislation should be enacted to prohibit the U.S. government from buying or leasing foreign flag ships for any purpose, except during war.

- The AFL-CIO supports legislation requiring a substantial U.S.-built, U.S. flag fleet and that substantial portions of domestic cargo be reserved for U.S.-built, U.S.-flagged vessels.
- The AFL-CIO should actively pursue a sound cargo policy to protect the U.S. shipbuilding base, including legislation to reserve a minimum of 20 percent of all bulk tonnage to be shipped on U.S.-built, U.S.-flagged vessels.
- The AFL-CIO demands the strict enforcement of the spirit and intent of the Jones Act, and opposes any and all waivers of the Act except those required strictly for a national defense emergency.
- The commercial fleet should be enhanced as the most effective means of guaranteeing shipyard mobilization, vessel operations, and manpower availability bases needed to fulfill defense sealift mobility requirements. The Ready Reserve Force also should be expanded to provide the surge capacity that arises at the onset of a national emergency.
- A balanced promotional program which will encourage opportunities for construction and commercial success of specialized vessels to provide necessary levels of seaborne logistic support in emergencies.
- Extension of the eligibility period for merchant seamen to be covered by veteran's status to coincide with the termination date afforded all other World War II military personnel. Job reemployment rights also should be guaranteed to merchant mariners who have shoreside employment to fill vacant shipboard positions during national emergencies.
- Congress should repeal the recently established fees for issuance of Coast Guard licenses and merchant mariner's documents as repressive workers' taxes.

Air Transportation

Since deregulation, there have been more than 150 bankruptcies and 50 mergers. Several major carriers, including Eastern and Braniff, have shut down completely, and several others are bankrupt and appear on the verge of complete liquidation, as well. Industry wide, this has created massive job loss. In the first six months of 1991, some 40,000 airline workers lost their jobs. Meanwhile, the Departments of Transportation and Justice stood on the sidelines and defended the deregulation doctrine.

There is a need to readdress the issue of airline deregulation. Clearly, some correction to spur competition and stop the industry's financial collapse is in order.

The AFL-CIO believes that Congress and the administration should use their authority to help the airline industry and its workers find its way out of the financial instability that deregulations has brought about, while protecting workers' dignity and job security.

Specifically, Congress should enact legislation that imposes Labor Protective Provisions (LPPs) in airline mergers, roll back the increase in the airline ticket tax, uphold the prohibition against cabotage, enact legislation banning permanent replacement of striking workers, and fully fund federal aviation programs and the Airport Improvement Program.

The DOT should more carefully scrutinize the transfer of international routes and prohibit them when either carrier involved would be hurt by the transfer, carefully monitor foreign investment and equity ownership to prevent foreign control of U.S. airlines, end random drug testing of airline employees, and abandon attempts to change the law to allow foreign airlines to fly domestic routes.

Railroads

The nation's railroads have become less safe, due in part to the remiss safety inspection policies of the Bush and Reagan administrations. In a series of sweeping reports, the GAO said that the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA) was so grossly understaffed that it could not possibly monitor safety properly on the railroads. The AFL-CIO calls upon the FRA to strictly enforce safety standards and impose first-instance penalties that provide a strong incentive for carriers to operate safely.

Relaxed regulatory standards at the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) are wreaking havoc on worker rights. The ICC has allowed countless short line sales that permit the new owners to abrogate labor contracts and dodge worker protections through suspect corporate deals. The new owners are undercapitalized, inexperienced, and a major accident away from bankruptcy. In other cases, large railroads sell these lines to other companies within their own corporate structures, a move that allows them to hold the line captive while abrogating labor contracts and escaping certain statutory requirements. The AFL-CIO calls for legislation to control and limit such spinoffs.

The AFL-CIO also calls for: continued government support for Amtrak to assure passengers' continued rail service; support of

Amtrak workers and its unions in their determination to achieve pay equity with other rail workers; examination of the counterproductive tactics of management which are detrimental to this important service; the protection of rail workers' pension and unemployment benefits; and the defense of the system for compensation of injured rail workers, the Federal Employers' Liability Act.

Mass Transit

The AFL-CIO supports federal legislation designed to increase mass transit funding for both operating and capital assistance, including increased funding from additional gas tax revenue.

We call for legislation including at least \$6 billion annually to assist local communities and transit authorities in the purchase and upgrade of equipment and facilities. The federal share for capital assistance projects should remain at 80 percent and at least 50 percent for operating assistance. Special emphasis should be placed on "Buy American" programs which would help reverse the decade-long decline of the nation's public transportation equipment manufacturing industry.

Any program of expanded federal aid for mass transit must be premised on the continuation of collective bargaining rights and the preservation of a free collective bargaining process on all mandatory subjects of bargaining, based on the right to strike or use of arbitration to settle unresolved disputes.

Appropriate legislative and political efforts ought to insure that the policies and procedures for administration of the Section 13(c) employee protection provisions under the Federal Urban Mass Transportation Act in effect prior to the unwarranted changes either implemented or proposed by the Reagan and Bush administrations be reaffirmed in the interest of affected employees; and that Congress reject and set aside any proposals for adverse changes in Section 13(c) policies and procedures.

Administration of the labor protection provisions of the Urban Mass Transportation Act should remain the exclusive responsibility of the Department of Labor.

The Congress should maintain provisions guaranteeing that labor standards include the payment of prevailing wages to all workers engaged in the construction or operation of mass transportation facilities involving federal financial assistance and that such standards also guarantee to rail and transit workers the first opportunities of employment arising from federal transit funding.

Authorized legislation should include provisions to recognize that decisions about the terms and conditions for private sector participation in transportation, including decisions to employ competitive bidding; privatization or subcontracting with private operators, if warranted, should be made at the state and/or local level free from any federally imposed standards, guidelines, policies or grant conditions; and that private sector involvement in public transportation remain a local decision to be employed only when such service is complementary to the existing public transit network and only where there can be a partnership of public and private providers protective of employee interests and the riding public. We also support the mandatory role for transit labor in the metropolitan planning process for selecting transit projects for federal funding.

The AFL-CIO opposes efforts to condition, delay or prioritize transit grants to applicants based on the extent or amount of service provided by private transit operators.

Trucking

The AFL-CIO believes that the adverse impact of trucking deregulation will accelerate unless Congress and the administration take proper and reasonable steps to ease the adjustment process.

We support strict enforcement of all safety related laws and regulations by federal and state governments with realistic penalties to deter violations. Staffing and funding for truck safety enforcement must be increased at both the federal and state levels. All motor carriers must receive "satisfactory" safety ratings from the Department of Transportation in order to haul goods in interstate commerce. Shippers must bear responsibility for the acts of motor carriers they utilize to transport their products.

Employees who have lost their jobs because of trucking deregulation should be able to receive adjustment assistance or labor protection provisions administered by the Department of Labor.

In addition, all employees, including owner-operators on lease to ICC regulated motor carriers, must have the right to organize and bargain collectively. The so-called independent contractor exemption to the nation's labor laws must be ended.

In the past, public policy has been made without adequate and reliable information. The Congress should require that the Interstate Commerce Commission mandate that all interstate motor carriers file annual financial and operating reports. Moreover, the Department of

Transportation should be required to develop and maintain comprehensive accident and safety statistics.

We urge that the Hazardous Materials Transportation Safety Act be strengthened to better protect transportation workers as well as the general public. We believe too much emphasis is being placed on the role of the truck driver in the quest for truck safety and not enough attention is being focused on the safety responsibilities of the motor carriers and the shippers, particularly the large shippers.

We further urge that the Congress defeat attempts to repeal the Supreme Court's "master" decision. The Congress should insist that the Interstate Commerce Commission interpret the Motor Carrier Act of 1980 correctly and enforce the tariff and rate-setting regulations.

In light of the devastating effects of the deregulation of interstate transportation, we oppose efforts to extend deregulation to the intra-state level. There should be a full-scale re-examination of federal labor policy for all transportation industry employees. Finally, truck drivers and related personnel working for airlines should not be covered under the Railway Labor Act.

The decline in federal investment in the nation's highways and bridges, as well as the deregulated environment, have created safety problems for truck drivers and the public. Many carriers in this cash intensive industry have de-emphasized safety while trying to stay afloat. In fact, the relaxed, deregulated atmosphere has also allowed small independent truckers, who do not meet the same standards of operation as major truckers, to enter the marketplace. These operators push prices down, and drive down wages, pressuring major carriers to ignore safety and seek unwarranted concessions. Recent studies show that in some states as many as 60 percent of trucks were not safe enough to be on the highway.

The AFL-CIO believes that Congress and the administration must take proper and reasonable steps for a mid-course correction on deregulation of the trucking industry, or the adverse impact of trucking deregulation will continue to accelerate.

We support strict interpretation and enforcement of all safety related laws and regulations by federal and state governments with realistic penalties against carriers to deter violations.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

This resolution calls attention to the threat posed by trade taxes to the international competitiveness of U.S. exports. Because of the complexity of the issues involved, the Committee recommends that this resolution be **referred to the Executive Council**.

(The text of the referred resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

###

Resolution No. 148**International Trade in Aviation Service**

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 148.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

International Trade in Aviation Service

The American system of 72 country-by-country air rights treaties, combined with a U.S. prohibition on cabotage (foreign service on routes between U.S. cities), has served the airline industry well. In its mistaken quest for free trade no matter what the costs, the Bush administration intends to open American skies to cabotage by foreign carriers. Secretary of Transportation Samuel Skinner has suggested that cabotage be imposed in the U.S.-Canada bilateral aviation treaty, which is now under renegotiation. The administration has also pursued cabotage policies during negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The AFL-CIO believes the U.S. aviation industry is well-served by the current law against cabotage and opposes any ill-advised measures that would weaken the U.S. airline position in the world market. Cabotage would give foreign airlines huge concessions with little in return for U.S. airlines, and this could have a devastating effect on the domestic airline industry and its workers. Introducing cabotage between the United States and Canada would be the first step to disaster, since it would open the United States to a host of requests from our trading partners for similar giveaways.

The administration's active support of cabotage is mistaken for several reasons:

- Forty percent of the world's revenue passenger miles (RPMs) are flown within the United States, more than any other nation. Foreign airlines would benefit greatly by serving U.S. city-pairs,

but U.S. airlines would get little in return in the way of profitable trading rights in foreign countries. For example, British airlines would gain much more serving the New York to Los Angeles market than American airlines would from serving the London to Manchester route.

- The international convention that governs world aviation prohibits countries from granting cabotage exclusively to one country. Every nation with an airline would clamor for cabotage rights if a cabotage treaty with Canada were adopted.
- Many foreign airline markets are highly regulated. Entry and competition in commercial aviation is difficult in these countries.
- Foreign airlines are often subsidized or owned by their parent governments, which enables them to compete at a loss. Given the chance, a subsidized or government-owned foreign airline could wipe out an American airline in its own backyard through predatory pricing. Once it had a dominant position, though, the subsidized airline would charge much higher fares.

In the long run, allowing foreign airlines to compete with U.S. airlines on domestic routes is not in the interests of U.S. airline companies or their employees. A strong U.S. airline industry is crucial to our nation's continued economic growth and national security; it should not be allowed to falter due to short-sighted trade policies. Instead, the administration should concentrate on negotiating trade agreements — whether liberal or restrictive — that are in the best economic interest of the United States.

The AFL-CIO urges the administration and the Congress not to tolerate the introduction of cabotage to the U.S. airline market.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 149

State of U.S. Transportation Industry

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 149.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

State of U.S. Transportation Industry

More than a decade of inept government transportation policies and imprudent deregulation has led to more than 400,000 lost jobs, several

thousand abandoned communities, and unprecedented numbers of bankruptcies, mergers and takeovers in all the modes.

Our nation's system of transportation is characterized by crumbling roads and bridges, highway gridlock, poorly maintained rail rights-of-way and bridges, overcrowded airports and airways, poorly funded public transit systems, government discrimination against U.S. longshoremen and all maritime workers in favor of foreign labor, and an ever shrinking U.S. flag merchant marine despite its worth in the Persian Gulf war.

The infrastructure on which transportation companies operate has been built and supported by hard-earned taxpayer dollars, and in a deregulated environment the taxpayer has been deprived of responsible government oversight to ensure the future viability of that infrastructure.

Advocates of deregulation promised the nation better service and prices, record levels of new entrants and a nearly perfect competitive environment, and more than a decade of empirical evidence is proof that the theory upon which deregulation was founded was, simply stated, flawed and ill advised.

The AFL-CIO joins with the AFL-CIO Transportation Trades Department (TTD) and its affiliated unions in a unified effort to reverse the devastating effects of more than a decade of government neglect and deregulation.

The AFL-CIO calls for organized labor in air, auto, highway, rail, maritime, transit, trucking and related industries to join with the Department to develop policy recommendations aimed at reversing the economic upheaval that today plagues workers, communities, businesses, shippers and the traveling public across America.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 156

Support for the Shipbuilding Trade Reform Act

This resolution supports legislation, S. 1361 and H.R. 2056, to levy special assessments on ships entering U.S. ports that have been built or repaired with the help of government subsidies. The Committee recommends that this resolution be **referred to the Executive Council.**

(The text of the referred resolution appears in the appendix in numerical order.)

... Committee Chairman Bieber the following:

Resolution No. 158

**Enforcement of the Ad-Valorem
Duty Penalty on Ships Repaired,
Rebuilt or Modified in Foreign Yards**

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 158.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

**Enforcement of the Ad-Valorem Duty Penalty on
Ships Repaired, Rebuilt or Modified in Foreign Yards**

WHEREAS, The Second provision of the Jones Act contains provisions for a 50 percent duty on all repairs and modifications (except emergency repairs) of a U.S.-flag vessel engaging in the U.S. coastal trades. For years the terms "modification," "repaired" and "rebuilt" have been misinterpreted, or narrowly interpreted, allowing shipowners to get most of their work performed in foreign yards with no penalty, or by having the penalty waived by the Maritime Administration; and

WHEREAS, The desperate condition of the U.S. shipbuilding/ship repair industry, the time for waiving or ignoring the 50 percent, ad-valorem duty and allowing ships to continue coastwise trade must stop; and

WHEREAS, The House Subcommittee on Merchant Marine is now attempting to clarify the meaning of the terms "rebuilding" and "modified." In addition, the Subcommittee is proposing a 30 percent ad-valorem duty on all tugs, pusher craft and sailboats imported into the United States. However, the Subcommittee is also proposing to repeal the 50 percent ad-valorem duty on repair of U.S. vessels engaged in the international trade, totally contrary to the recommendations of the Commission on Merchant Marine and Defense as well as to the provisions of the Merchant Marine and Defense Act of 1989; and

WHEREAS, The U.S. Merchant Marine and all related U.S. industries have suffered badly during recent years, mainly due to the lack of any enforcement of current maritime laws requiring penalties for those electing to have their ships repaired, rebuilt or modified overseas and from foreign purchase of vessels. This negligence is intentional and part of the "free trade" philosophy that has caused the U.S. Merchant Marine to slip to number 13 in the world today; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will convey to the House Subcommittee on Merchant Marine:

1. The need to have the Second provision of the Jones Act clarified to "enforced" as was originally intended;
2. Protest the proposal to exclude repair work from the 50 percent ad-valorem duty; and
3. Call for the enactment of the proposed 30 percent duty on all imported vessels.

###

... Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 170

Intrastate Motor Carrier Deregulation

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 170

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Intrastate Motor Carrier Deregulation

Deregulation of transportation services in both the air cargo and motor carrier industries has caused great hardships to American workers and their families. Deregulation has spawned numerous bankruptcies of small, medium and large motor carriers. American workers have had to suffer permanent loss of meaningful employment, lowered pension benefits, and inadequate or decreased health insurance protections.

Various legislative proposals have been introduced in the 102nd Congress to continue this troubling trend by preempting state regulation over surface carriers and air/ground intermodal carriers.

These proposals will only benefit a privileged group of wealthy transportation giants and the largest corporate conglomerates. State deregulation of motor carriers and their associated air service will only bring further dislocation to workers, turmoil to our families, and economic disruption to already troubled communities. The victims of these proposals will be small and medium-sized motor carriers which employ thousands of hardworking and dedicated trade unionists. Labor rights of these workers will continue to be trampled upon by these special interests through their intermingling of air and surface freight operations.

The AFL-CIO urges the Congress to reject these ill-conceived proposals. Congress should resist the efforts of these powerful corporate interests by insisting on a fair regulatory scheme at the state level.

. . . Committee Secretary Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 201

Support in Rail Negotiations

The Committee recommends the following amendment:

On Page 47, Book 2, delete the last "RESOLVED."

The Committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 201, **as amended**.

. . . The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Support in Rail Negotiations

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees is a long-standing affiliate of the AFL-CIO; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees consists of hard working Brothers and Sisters who construct and maintain the bridges, buildings, and rights of way of our nation's railroad system in the United States and Canada and the catenary system on the Southern District of Amtrak's Northeast Corridor; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees have long been members of the Railway Labor Executives' Association (RLEA), an organization historically comprised of the presidents of most international unions that exist in the railroad industry; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees has, over the past 11 years, seen a substantial decline in the real wages of their members and massive job eliminations by the nation's rail carriers; and

WHEREAS, The membership of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees elected to strike the nation's rail carriers on April 17, 1991, after it rejected the inadequate, concessionary recommendations of P.E.B. 219, a Board which was created by President Bush pursuant to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act; and

WHEREAS, Congress passed legislation which ordered the membership of the BMWWE to return to work within 24 hours of when the strike commenced; and

WHEREAS, Congress created a process which compelled the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, together with the rest of rail labor which also struck on April 17, 1991, to wholly accept the outrageous, concessionary recommendations of P.E.B. 219, without compelling modifications of those recommendations to more hu-

manely balance the interests of the carriers and the labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, Conrail and Amtrak Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employee members chose to remain outside of the national handling and were not, therefore, subject to the despicable recommendations of P.E.B. 219; and

WHEREAS, Conrail and Amtrak are single carriers, so that in the event a strike occurs against them, there are still competing modes of transportation, including other rail carriers, trucks, planes, busses, ships and private vehicles, which can serve the markets they serve in the event of a strike against either one of them; and

WHEREAS, The percentage of intercity freight moved by rail nationally has declined from over 80 percent in the mid-1920s when the Railway Labor Act was passed to approximately 33 percent in 1991; and

WHEREAS, The National Mediation Board, a government agency created by the Railway Labor Act, has refused to declare impasse and proffer arbitration to the BMW and the carriers on Amtrak and Conrail since November 1988, on Amtrak and March 1989, on Conrail, even though the parties have been at impasse since that time; and

WHEREAS, The nation's carriers have acknowledged, in writing, that the longer the National Mediation Board sits on disputes, the more it benefits management at labor's expense and the National Mediation Board is aware of this acknowledgement; and

WHEREAS, Railroad workers on Conrail and Amtrak work in private industry and should, as Americans, have the unfettered right to strike to improve their living and working conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO goes on record as calling on the National Mediation Board to immediately declare impasse and proffer arbitration to the BMW and Amtrak and Conrail; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO goes on record urging that Congress, in the event of a strike on Conrail and/or Amtrak, permit the parties to resolve the dispute by refraining from taking any action to deny brotherhood members their legal right to strike.

###

...Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 202 The Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation:

It's Time to Declare War Against RAC

The committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 202.

...the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

The Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation: It's Time to Declare War Against RAC

WHEREAS, 1,700 lock-out victims in Ravenswood, West Virginia, members of the United Steelworkers of America, are now in the thirteenth month of a vicious, brutal assault on their rights, their livelihood, their dignity; and

WHEREAS, Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation (RAC), the outlaw company controlled by international fugitive and billionaire Marc Rich, continues to flaunt the laws of the land intended to promote good faith collective bargaining for workers, and the nation's laws intended to ensure the health and safety of workers; and

WHEREAS, RAC is attempting to steal the jobs of those 1,700 victims through the immoral practice of hiring scabs, euphemistically called "permanent replacements," a practice universally condemned by every person and organization dedicated to human rights and social justice; and

WHEREAS, Agencies and departments of the government of these United States are continuing to contract with criminal Marc Rich in spite of the \$750,000 reward offered for his arrest by the same government of these United States for the 65-count indictment brought against him for racketeering, conspiracy, tax fraud and trading with the enemy by the same government; and

WHEREAS, The continuing brutal attack on the 1,700 Ravenswood workers is not just an outrage against those courageous USWA members, their families, their community, their union, but is an injustice against every trade unionist, every trade union, every American working family throughout our great nation and must not be allowed to continue; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the delegates to this 19th Constitutional Convention support the plan of action recommended by the Strategic Approaches Committee; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That this Convention expresses its solidarity with the 1,700 locked-out members of the USWA at the Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation, Ravenswood, West Virginia.

###

...Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 203

Statehood for the District of Columbia

The committee recommends **adoption** of Resolution No. 203.

...the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

(The text of the resolution as adopted by the convention follows.)

Statehood for the District of Columbia

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has officially endorsed Statehood for the District of Columbia and has expressed its longstanding commitment to the enfranchisement of Washington's nearly 650,000 citizens; and

WHEREAS, the citizens of Washington D.C. have no voting representation in Congress, and are thus denied their democratic rights in the highest representative body in the land; and

WHEREAS, The movement and support for Statehood in the U.S. Senate and U.S. Congress has significantly increased in the past year, due in great measure to the efforts of Senator Jesse Jackson (D-DC) and the National Rainbow Coalition; and

WHEREAS, The Senate will introduce a Statehood Bill on November 21 of this year and the House will commence hearings on Statehood on November 14; and

WHEREAS, Washington D.C. has more people than five states (Vermont, North Dakota, Alaska, Wyoming and Delaware), pays more taxes than ten states, and sent more of its youth to the Persian Gulf than twenty states, thus affirming its commitment to full American citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The movement for self-determination and democracy is sweeping Eastern Europe, and the United States has expressed its commitment to self-determination in other nations such as Kuwait. In every one of the 115 industrialized nations with an elected national legislature, the citizens of the capital have a vote in that legislature, except the United States; and

WHEREAS, D.C. statehood is not for D.C. only. Two Senators from Washington would be an asset to working people, women, and democracy everywhere; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its longstanding support for Statehood for the District of Columbia and pledges its support for the campaign to enact Statehood legislation. The AFL-CIO urges all Senators and Representatives to vote for the legislation, and urges the President to sign it.

###

...Committee Chairman Bieber read the following:

Resolution No. 27

Child Care and Family Support

Already acted upon by the convention, covers the substance of, and is a substitute for, the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 51 Child Care and Federal Block Grants

Resolution No. 93 The Needs of Working Families

Resolution No. 101 Child Care Workers

Resolution No. 191 Federal Block Grants and Child Care

Resolution No. 199 Working Families and Their Needs

No further action is necessary on these resolutions.

###

WILLIAMS: Mister Chairman, on behalf of Chairman Bill Wynn, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, and myself as secretary, I would simply like to add a word of thanks to all the members of the committee, and particularly to the chairmen and the secretaries of the various subcommittees who have, obviously, been very diligent in their labors in dealing with a vast volume of resolutions and issues and doing it all very thoughtfully and thoroughly and efficiently.

I would finally like to advise those who are still here that a number of unions have asked to be joint sponsors of resolutions, and we will ensure that that list of co-sponsors is inserted in the record. Thank you.

... Following is a list of co-sponsors of resolutions:

Resolution No. 47, Support for United Negro College Fund co-sponsored by the Department for Professional Employees;

Resolution No. 49, Workplace Literacy Programs co-sponsored by the Department for Professional Employees;

Resolution No. 53, Pay Equity Technical Assistance Act co-sponsored by the Department for Professional Employees;

Resolution No. 61, Hispanic Representation on the AFL-CIO Executive Council co-sponsored by the San Diego-Imperial Counties (Calif.) Labor Council;

Resolution No. 86, Overturning the Gag Rule on Family Planning Services co-sponsored by the Department for Professional Employees;

Resolution No. 112, Opposition to "Private School Choice" Schemes co-sponsored by the Department for Professional Employees;

Resolution No. 153, Opposition to Navy Purchase of Foreign-Built Ships co-sponsored by the Maritime Trades Department;

Resolution No. 154, Support for American Shipbuilding and Repair co-sponsored by the Maritime Trades Department;

Resolution No. 155, Reserved Cargo for U.S.-Flag Ships Needed co-sponsored by the Maritime Trades Department;

Resolution No. 158, Enforcement of Ad-Valorem Duty Penalty on Ships Repaired, Rebuilt or Modified in Foreign Yards co-sponsored by the Maritime Trades Department.

KIRKLAND: Thank you, Lynn. The Resolutions Committee is relieved of its duties with the thanks of the convention for a job well done. (Applause) Delegate at mike 1.

MARK TULLY MASSAGLI, Musicians: Mister Chairman, I just wanted to make certain. I didn't hear a reference that we think encompassed Resolutions 193 and 194 on page 36, which is performance rights and the Cable Television Consumer Protection Act of 1991. If they were included in Chairman Bieber's report as being adopted, we just didn't hear a reference which was specific to that.

KIRKLAND: That's part of the report and was approved. The committee recommended adoption of both resolutions.

MASSAGLI: Thank you very much.

KIRKLAND: It's not often that I run into somebody who has been coming to these conventions longer than I have. There are a couple here, but there's one I'd particularly like to note. There's one person who's here this week working hard, as he has for 50 years now, on the task of transcribing the proceedings of the convention. Jack Connor, one of our court reporters, worked the 1941 AFL convention. He has been with us ever since through thick and thin, and we'll fully expect that he will be with us next time and far into the future. Is Jack there?

Well, he's downstairs at work. Let the record show that he was recognized. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: I have a Resolution, Number 204, that I would like to read.

... President Kirkland read the following:

Resolution No. 204

Thank You

At this 19th constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO, we have been privileged to hear firsthand the Democratic presidential candidates; members of Congress; Vytautas Landsbergis, the inspiring president of Lithuania; trade union representatives from other nations; leaders of important national organizations and the fraternal delegates. We would like to acknowledge the foreign trade unionists who have been present at this convention. We welcome them and bid them a safe journey home at the completion of this convention.

Hundreds of representatives of the press and the electronic news media have joined us here and have diligently reported our deliberations to the nation and to the world.

We are thankful for the concern of the clergy and for the fraternal fellowship of the AFL-CIO leadership in this area.

We would also like to thank those delegates who participated on the various committees of the convention and whose work made a special contribution to our deliberations.

We wish to take special note of the diligence and skill of the AFL-CIO staff members and sergeants-at-arms from the Seafarers International Union (Applause) — who worked long hours with us to make this 19th constitutional convention a success.

We would particularly like to thank the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union Chorus and the entertainers who performed Wednesday night for the pleasure they gave this convention. (Applause)

We express, once again, our deep appreciation of the sacrifice and tenacity of the strikers whose representatives came to our convention and galvanized the delegates to renewed and enhanced solidarity with all workers who struggle for fairness and justice.

To all who have helped to make our sessions productive and interesting and our stay in Detroit, Michigan, enjoyable, the 19th convention of the AFL-CIO expresses its deepest thanks.

On behalf of all the delegates, I move this resolution and call for the question.

... The resolution was adopted. (Applause)

KIRKLAND: Now, I have a very special resolution that I want to offer as a point of personal privilege, Resolution Number 205, and I'll read it.

The delegates offer their special thanks and best wishes to one particular member of the federation staff who, above all others, deserves the lion's share of the credit for the success of this convention, all other AFL-CIO conventions held since 1981 and, indeed, every function of the federation; and that is Brother Kenneth Young. (Standing ovation)

Certainly, in every organization there is one person who pulls it all together and makes it work. In the AFL-CIO, Ken Young is that person. Since he began his trade union career 40 years ago as an organizer and an editor with the Insurance and Allied Workers Organizing Committee of the AFL-CIO, and for many years as an AFL-CIO legislative representative, Brother Young's skill and dedication to labor's historic goals have proved invaluable to the movement he has served with such distinction.

For the past 12 years as executive assistant to the president of the AFL-CIO, he has accepted all of the difficult challenges of this position with deftness and enthusiasm. Few, if any, of the federation's activities are undertaken without his quiet and often unrecognized influence.

A member of the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, he has played a major role in reinforcing labor's historic ties with the civil rights movement and its struggle for equal justice and opportunity for all people.

Though we regret that Brother Young has decided to retire from the AFL-CIO at the end of this year, we are indeed grateful for all of the American labor movement's many achievements that were the result of his service, devotion and stewardship. We have no doubt that given his abiding sense of humanity, his deep desire to help people, and his fervent aspirations for the future of this trade union movement, Brother Young's contributions to our cause will not end with his retirement.

Brother Young is a union man through and through. We hold him in great affection, and we wish him the very best of luck, and I so move. (Standing ovation)

###

KIRKLAND: Kenny says he will not speak because he follows my advice to never, never contradict anyone who overestimates you. (Laughter)

KIRKLAND: Brother John Connor is in the room now. Would he just stand, our faithful reporter? (Applause)

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Donahue.

DONAHUE: Mister Chairman, we are at that point of the convention at which we acknowledge those officers, former delegates to this convention, officers of affiliated organizations, who have died since the last convention. I would note to the delegates present that if there are any names that should be added to the list which I will read, simply forward them to my office and they will be incorporated in the record of the convention.

IN MEMORIAM

. . . At this time Secretary-Treasurer Donahue read the following:

Hippolito Marcano, President, Puerto Rico AFL-CIO,
November 1989

Peter Pesole, AFL-CIO COPE Regional Director,
November 1989

Edwin N. Altman, President, Marine Engineers Beneficial
Association, December 1989

C.L. Dellums, President, Sleeping Car Porters, December 1989

Michael Mann, AFL-CIO Regional Director, December 1989

Thomas F. O'Callaghan, President, Masters, Mates and Pilots,
December 11, 1989

Thomas F. Murphy, President, Bricklayers and Allied
Craftsmen, December 1989

Howard Bennett, International Representative, United
Brotherhood of Carpenters, December 1989

Alexander Talmadge, Assistant General Organizer, International
Longshoremen's Association, December 1989

Tilford E. Dudley, Director, AFL-CIO Speakers Bureau,
January 1990

Lawrence C. Sullivan, Executive Secretary-Treasurer,
Greater Boston Labor Council, AFL-CIO, February 1990

William G. Phillips, Legislative Consultant, Metal Trades
Department, AFL-CIO, February 1990

Donald Rohrbach, International Vice President, International
Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, February 1990

- Burt Beck, Director, Publications and Public Relations,
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, February
1990
- Leon Stein, Editor, , International Ladies' Garment Workers
Union newspaper, February 1990
- Bernard R. Mullady, President and Secretary-Treasurer, Interna-
tional Labor Communications Association, February 1990
- Jay Lovestone, Director, International Affairs Department,
AFL-CIO, March 1990
- W.C. Cleveland, International Representative, United
Brotherhood of Carpenters, March 1990
- Girard P. "Jerry" Clark, Director of Political Action, AFSCME,
March 1990
- (Alfred Renton Bryant) "Harry" Bridges, Founder and
President, Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union,
March 1990
- Reginald Bigsby, International Secretary, Glass, Molders,
Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union,
March 1990
- Wilfred Chalk, Executive Board Member, Glass, Molders,
Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union,
April 1990
- Abe Saul, International Representative, International
Brotherhood of Carpenters, May 1990
- Michael R. "Mushy" Callahan, Senior Vice President,
California AFL-CIO, May 1990
- George F. Addes, Founder, United Auto Workers and,
UAW Secretary-Treasurer, June 1990
- Peter E. Terzick, General Treasurer Emeritus, United
Brotherhood of Carpenters, July 1990
- Thomas Rotell, Executive Board Member, Glass, Molders,
Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union,
July 1990
- John W. Pruitt, First General Vice President, United Brotherhood
of Carpenters, August 1990
- Fannie Neal, AFL-CIO COPE VIP Director, August 1990
- George Hardy, President, Service Employees International
Union, and Vice President of the AFL-CIO, September 1990

- M.B. Bryant, General Executive Board Member, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, September 1990
- Peter Ottley, International Vice President, Service Employees International Union, September 1990
- Les Asher, Attorney, Service Employees International Union, October 1990
- Andy Kenopinsky, Automotive Coordinator, International Association of Machinists, October 1990
- Alexander Barkan, Director of COPE, AFL-CIO, October 1990
- J. Arthur D'Aoust, International Vice President, United Paperworkers International Union, October 1990
- Harold Jack Jones, International Organizer, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, November 1990
- John J. Pilch, President, International Typographical Union, November 1990
- David Morse, Director General, International Labor Organization, and Acting U.S. Secretary of Labor, December 1990
- Kelly L. Castleberry II, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Musicians, December 1990
- Joseph A. DeGiorgio, Secretary-Treasurer, Seafarers International Union, December 1990
- Christopher Jackman, International Vice President, United Paperworkers International Union, January 1991
- George E. Fairchild, Secretary-Treasurer, Service Employees International Union, January 1991
- Thomas X. Dunn, General Counsel, , AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, January 1991
- Timothy Twomey, International Vice President, Service Employees International Union, January 1991
- Gregory J. Bardacke, Executive Director, American Trade Union Council for Histadrut, February 1991
- Nathan Ehrlich, Founder and President of the Cake Bakers' Local 51, Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union, February 1991
- John Gates Ramsay, Director of Community Services for the CIO, February 1991

- Dr. Lorin E. Kerr, Director of Occupational Health, United Mine Workers of America, March 1991
- Joseph P. Selly, President, American Radio Association, March 1991
- Floyd Van Deusen, International Representative, United Paperworkers International Union, March 1991
- Theodore M. Kramer, Assistant to the General President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, March 1991
- Sol C. Chaikin, President, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, and Vice President of the AFL-CIO, April 1991
- James N. McGeehan, Treasurer, United Steelworkers of America, April 1991
- Ernest C. Jones, President, Indiana AFL-CIO, May 1991
- Craven Deese, International Representative, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, May 1991
- Allyn Turck, International Representative, United Paperworkers International Union, May 1991
- Joseph A. Beavers, First Vice President, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees, May 1991
- Jacob Clayman, President, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, May 1991
- Elwood D. Swisher, Vice President, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, June 1991
- Ronald McDonell, International Representative, United Paperworkers International Union, June 1991
- Angelo LoVecchio, President, Plate Printers International Union, June 1991
- Morris Paladino, Executive Director, Asian-American Free Labor Institute, July 1991
- Ruth Taylor, AFL-CIO COPE, July 1991
- Myron Reed, Director of Research and Education, Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union, July 1991
- Lofton Beam, International Representative, Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union, July 1991

Maurice Firestone, International Representative, United Paperworkers International Union , August 1991

Marguerite Feinstein, Founder and Director of the Retiree Division, International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 237, August 1991

Colleen Dewhurst, President of the Actors' Equity Association, August 1991

Walter Diehl, President, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, August 1991

Arthur M. Goldberg, General Counsel, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, August 1991

Joseph W. Joyce, Secretary-Treasurer, Greater Boston Labor Council, AFL-CIO, August 1991

William Brim Allen, United Rubber Workers of America, September 1991

George H. O'Bea Jr., International Vice President, United Paperworkers International Union, September 1991

George K. Daitsman, Education Director, Allied Industrial Workers, October 1991

Everett M. Kassalow, Research Director, United Rubber Workers and AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, October 1991

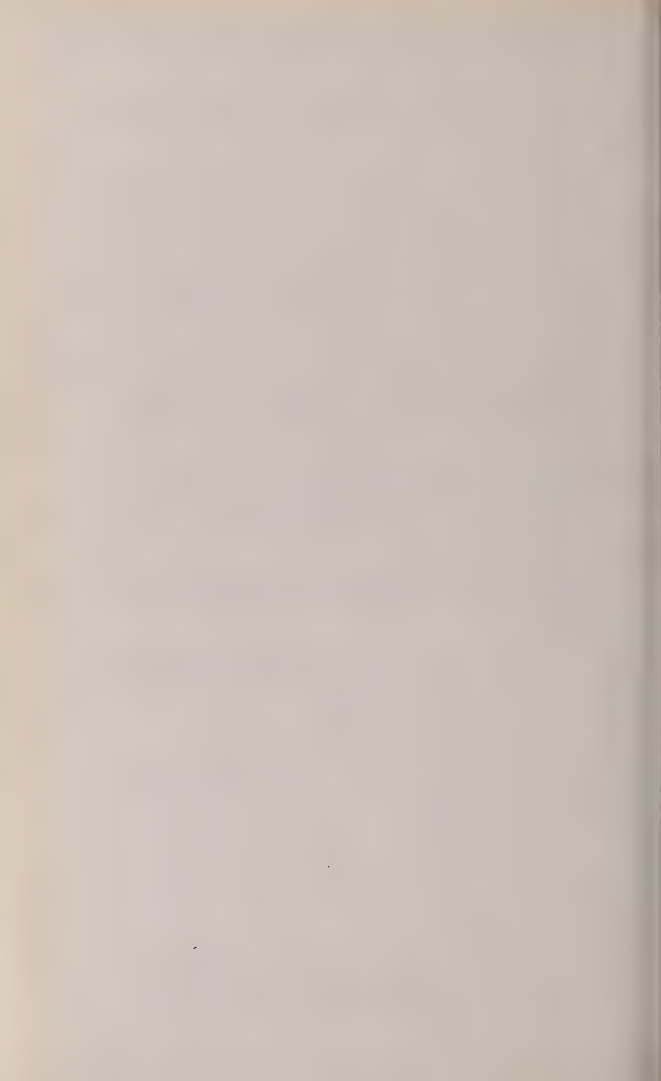
KIRKLAND: I will ask you now to stand for a moment of silence in memory of these departed brothers and sisters.

(The delegation observed a moment of silence.)

KIRKLAND: I would like to also take special note of appreciation for the work at this convention that you have all been the beneficiaries of, the work done by the Labor Institute of Public Affairs. The videos, the arrangements in the hall, are all the product of the work of that very fine staff who has worked hard and diligently throughout this convention to make it work in all of its technical aspects as well as it has; and I would like to ask the head of LIPA, Bill Wagner, to stand for your appreciation. (Applause)

Immediately following the close of the convention, there will be a meeting of the Executive Council in the Riverfront Ballroom.

This convention now stands adjourned sine die. Thank you all for your help.



Convention Resolutions

Convention resolutions are printed in the text of the proceedings at the time adopted. The following provides the page for each of them by resolution number; the index provides the page by resolution title. All other resolutions submitted to the convention appear in the appendix in numerical order.

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APPENDIX

Other Resolutions

Resolutions passed by the convention appear in the text of the proceedings at the time adopted. On the following pages are all other resolutions submitted to the 1991 AFL-CIO convention.

Labor and the World

RESOLUTION NO. 33

Labor and the World, Resolution No. 33, p. 274 of the Report of the Executive Council to the 1991 Convention, was revised to become Resolution No. 174, which was adopted and appears on page 269.

OSHA — Postal Employees

RESOLUTION NO. 34 — *By Minnesota AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, The overwhelming majority of the workforce in the private sector of the United States is now covered under the regulations of the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA); and

WHEREAS, Postal employees are presently covered under only one provision (Section 19) of OSHA which is a very weak section; and

WHEREAS, For several years, the United States Postal Service tried to evade even this weak section on the basis that the USPS was not covered; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports fully the inclusion of the United States Postal Service and postal workers under all OSHA provisions, including the right of OSHA to levy fines against the Postal Service for egregious or repeated violations.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Worker Representation on the Boards of Trustees of Single-Employer Pension Plans

RESOLUTION NO. 36 — *By Industrial Union Department.*

In its 1980 landmark study of pensions and pension plans, the Industrial Union Department (AFL-CIO) identified as one of its goals, legislation mandating employee representation on the boards of trustees of single-employer pension plans.

Currently, single-employer pension plan boards of trustees are nearly all appointed by the employer with little or no representation from the workers whose deferred wages and contributions fund the plan. As a result, pension plan assets have been used for corporate mergers, acquisitions, leveraged buyouts and other questionable investment activities with no input by workers into the investment decisions.

Multi-employer pension plans, on the other hand, have, under the Taft-Hartley Act, permitted worker representation on the boards of trustees for 40 years. Today, nearly all these plans have such representation.

The AFL-CIO believes that it is only fair and equitable that workers covered by single- employer pension plans also have representation on the boards of trustees.

Legislation introduced by Representative Peter Visclosky (D-IN) to give workers or their representatives the option of representation on the boards of trustees of single-employer pension plans was incorporated in the House version of the 1989 Budget Reconciliation Act by the House Committee on Education and Labor.

Although the Visclosky provisions did not prevail in the Reconciliation Bill, the need for such legislation is still acute; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO:

Strongly supports the right of workers to be represented on the boards of trustees of single-employer pension plans.

Calls upon the Congress to enact legislation which would allow workers to be represented on the boards of trustees of single-employer pension plans.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Workplace Fairness Bill

RESOLUTION NO. 37 — *By Industrial Union Department.*

The labor movement's campaign to win legislation to ban the firing of strikers — although it is far from over — has already achieved significant results.

Although begun less than two years ago — largely at the insistence of affiliates of the Industrial Union Department — it won enough support in the House of Representatives to achieve a substantial majority in the House vote in July. The victory was attained despite the fact that only a year earlier most House members had known nothing of the issue and had heard little from their constituents.

Much of the credit goes to union members themselves, in states and districts throughout the country. The campaign has aroused our members as no other issue in recent memory, and has resulted in an intensity of grassroots response that has rarely been equaled.

Also important has been the support of labor's allies, including leaders of the religious, civil rights, Hispanic and women's communities. Some have seen the issue as a moral issue; others realize that the disadvantaged are the first to suffer the effects of permanent replacement.

Finally, through our polling and focus groups, it has become evident that a solid majority of Americans agree that firing strikers not only violates the foundation of our labor law, but also threatens the basic civil rights of working men and women.

The American public recognizes that fairness in the workplace requires the existence of a strong labor movement, and that the survival of unions and of collective bargaining is at risk when employers can fire their workers when they strike.

The labor movement and its many allies now are engaged in the campaign to win the approval of the U.S. Senate. The strong foundation of support laid down prior to the House vote will be an important advantage in the effort to win 60 votes in the Senate, which will be needed to defeat the inevitable filibuster. The Bush administration has made its customary threat of a veto, which it has threatened to use — and in some cases actually used — in the face of almost every piece of progressive legislation considered by Congress. The threat did not deter a strong majority in the House, and it should not handicap the labor campaign in the Senate. Our goal must remain to win the votes needed to overcome a filibuster and then to pass the bill — a goal with which all union members, and most Americans, strongly agree.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Endangered Species Act

RESOLUTION NO. 39 — *By United Paperworkers International Union.*

WHEREAS, The Endangered Species Act (ESA) is due for reauthorization in Congress in 1992; and

WHEREAS, This law, vastly strengthened in 1973, has proven to be necessary and beneficial to the protection and recovery of threatened species such as the bald eagles; and the American alligator, and

WHEREAS, Some reactionary anti-environmental groups have called for wholesale changes to the ESA that would destroy its central purpose; and

WHEREAS, Recent conflicts over the application of the ESA concerning the northern spotted owl and the native salmon have served to reveal certain shortcomings in the Act, such as mandating optimum species recovery plan over all other factors, dealing with broad ecosystem questions and lack of integration with forest planning laws; and

WHEREAS, The integrity and purpose of the Act can be maintained and, indeed, strengthened while making amendments to take greater account of human, social and; economic consequences of protecting threatened species, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO goes on record as supporting the Congressional reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act in 1992 while also supporting amendments to inject more balance between the goals of wildlife protection and the human, social and economic consequences of the actions; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That to carry out this objective we call for the Act to be modified to require the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to conduct a qualified and competent economic/cost impact/human impact analysis early in the proposed listing process to permit more informed decisionmaking concerning options that protect threatened species while minimizing economic dislocation and job losses; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the Act be adjusted to take into account protection of multiple species which may depend on common ecosystems.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Alcohol And Health

RESOLUTION NO. 40 — *By Distillery, Wine and Allied Workers International Union.*

WHEREAS, During the past decade, there has been a concerted effort by the neo-prohibitionists in this country to equate alcohol with drugs and to use this linkage not only to justify higher excise taxes and other sumptuary levies and regulations, but also to bring the alcoholic beverage industry to a halt.

WHEREAS, The new version of the carry nation approach to this industry would be destruction of a sector of the economy which employs, directly and indirectly, more than 300,000 workers and contributes substantially to the country's Gross National Product.

WHEREAS, There would be merit in the neoprohibitionist assertion about the chronic ill-effect of alcohol, but these are restricted to heavy drinkers who constitute an ever-dwindling minority in the United States. During the past two decades, per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages has been constantly declining and the vast majority of Americans who drink do so only in moderation — on average, up to two drinks a day.

In fact, scientific studies, including the most authoritative to date, published recently in *Lancet*, the leading medical journal of the United Kingdom, established that moderate consumption actually reduces the risk of cardiovascular disease. This latest study, **Health Professionals Follow-Up Study**, ascertained that the alcohol reduces incidence of heart disease by raising blood levels of high-density lipoproteins, or HDL, the "good" cholesterol that helps cleanse the body of fat that builds up in the arteries. In addition, alcohol serves to inhibit blood clots.

WHEREAS, The Harvard Medical School researchers also found that — within the limits of moderation — the beneficial effects of alcohol increased with its consumption. There were nearly 52,000 participants in this five-year study, and those having two alcoholic drinks a day were 47 percent less likely to develop heart disease than nondrinkers. The effect was also stronger for hard liquor than for beer or wine. In this group, the men — ages 40 to 75 years — who consumed from one-half to two drinks a day, reduced their risk of heart disease by 26 percent compared with men who abstained from alcohol

WHEREAS, An earlier study — in 1958 — found that women who consume moderate amounts of alcohol reduce risk of heart disease by about 40 percent. Respecting one's decision to drink alcoholic beverages or not and, if so, urging moderation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will publicize these scientific findings as a corrective to the misinformation and generally adverse criticism to which the alcoholic beverage industry is being subjected.

Affirmative Action

RESOLUTION NO. 42 — *By United Food and Commercial Workers International Union.*

WHEREAS, Affirmative action programs have proven to be an effective tool in eliminating discrimination in the workplace by providing opportunities to qualified individuals who traditionally have been the victims of discriminatory work practices; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of true equality of opportunity, special efforts are needed to recruit, train, hire, upgrade, and promote those who have borne the historic burden of discrimination; and

WHEREAS, Non-discriminatory seniority systems are proving effective in protecting past, current, and future beneficiaries of affirmative action programs; and

WHEREAS, Those who seek to dismantle affirmative action programs are contributing to the polarization of our society through the use of racially-charged code words that blame the victims of discrimination for seeking the same chances to succeed as were previously reserved for white males; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the concept of affirmative action and rejects as counterproductive those efforts to undermine effective affirmative action programs; and

That the AFL-CIO will continue and intensify efforts to ensure affirmative action for all Americans in the workplace, political arena, and society as a whole; and

That the AFL-CIO will encourage efforts to ensure that the labor movement's diversity is reflected at all levels of leadership.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Civil Rights Act of 1991

RESOLUTION NO. 43 — *By United Food and Commercial Workers International Union.*

WHEREAS, The historic commitment of the labor movement to equality has played a prominent role in the civil rights struggles of the last half of the 20th Century, including labor's insistence on the inclusion of Title VII in the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964; and

WHEREAS, Progress in expanding civil rights protections continued through the decades of the 70s and 80s, making possible economic gains among African Americans, Hispanic Americans, women, people with disabilities, and older workers; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court in 1989 began an inexorable process of reversing that progress by weakening the long-standing employment protections of Title VII and restricting the protections of an 1866 statute prohibiting discrimination against racial minorities in the making and enforcing of contracts; and

WHEREAS, President Bush vetoed the Civil Rights Act of 1990, which would have restored the vitality of these laws and provided victims with vitally-needed options to redress discrimination, and the Senate failed by one vote to override that veto; and

WHEREAS, President Bush has mounted and led an attack on all civil rights legislation through the use of racially-charged code words and false accusations; and

WHEREAS, A strong bipartisan coalition in the House and Senate have introduced the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which would overturn a number of Supreme Court decisions reversing civil rights progress and strengthen existing civil rights laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly supports passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991 and condemns President Bush's attempts to polarize the American people into abandoning the national consensus to eradicate discrimination in the workplace.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

OSHA Reform

RESOLUTION NO. 44 — *By United Food and Commercial Workers International Union.*

WHEREAS, The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has been permanently weakened by a decade of Reagan-

Bush policies that slashed budget and staffing levels, and permitted the industry to police itself, to the detriment of worker safety and health. OSHA currently has only 1,200 federal inspectors, compared with 1,380 in 1980, and 800 state inspectors to police the nation's five million private sector workplaces; and

WHEREAS, OSHA has failed to police individual states that conduct their own safety and health programs to make sure they are effective. In North Carolina, for example, OSHA stipulates that the state should have 77 safety and health inspectors on the job; instead, there are only 22 fully-trained inspectors for the entire state; and

WHEREAS, Each year, more than 10,000 workers are killed on the job as a result of traumatic injuries, and 70,000 are permanently disabled. Every six seconds, another American worker is injured on the job; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls upon Congress to support OSHA reform legislation currently pending in the House and Senate that would strengthen the nation's occupational safety and health laws by:

Strengthening the voice of workers by requiring all employers with 11 or more workers to establish joint safety and health committees made up of equal numbers of employee and employer representatives. The committees would be authorized to make workplace inspections. In unionized workplaces, employee representatives would be designated by the bargaining unit.

Requiring employers to establish a health and safety program to identify and correct workplace hazards and provide health and safety training for employees.

Clarifying the right of workers to refuse hazardous work.

Protecting employees reporting safety violations from retaliation by employers.

Speeding up the process by which OSHA issues and enforces standards.

Establishing a special emphasis inspection program for high-risk industries.

Requiring employers to report all work-related deaths immediately and all serious incidents requiring two or more workers to be hospitalized within 24 hours.

Increasing maximum criminal penalties against employers who fail to correct hazards.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Support For United Negro College Fund

RESOLUTION NO. 47 — *By United Food and Commercial Workers International Union.*

WHEREAS, The United Negro College Fund, through its support for historically black colleges and universities, expands the opportunities for higher education for thousands of children of working class families, including many from union families; and

WHEREAS, The commitment of the 44 UNCF colleges to affordable tuition is only made possible by the continuing assistance of the UNCF, since tuition accounts for only one-third of the average annual budget for these institutions; and

WHEREAS, The member colleges of the UNCF fill a void in our nation's higher education system with programs of academic excellence and achievement; and

WHEREAS, The labor movement's support for the UNCF demonstrates the commitment of the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions to community involvement and equal opportunity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will mobilize its full resources and coordinate a major drive among its affiliates to publicize, support, and aid the fund-raising efforts of the United Negro College Fund.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Volunteer Organizing Committees

RESOLUTION NO. 48 — *By United Food and Commercial Workers International Union.*

WHEREAS, Union members have proven that they are among the most credible sources for conveying labor messages to nonunion workers. The use of volunteers enables unions to expand their organizing activities, tapping a valuable human resource in a cost-effective way; and

WHEREAS, Surveys show a high degree of willingness on the part of large numbers of rank-and-file members to participate in organizing efforts, if asked. Moreover, involvement of rank-and-file members sends a message to employers that unionism is a powerful, grass-roots force; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That all unions be urged to develop volunteer organizing committees and involve their members in organizing activity; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO encourages and promotes the development of volunteer organizing committees by providing assis-

tance to affiliated unions in the recruitment and training of volunteer organizers.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Workplace Literacy Programs

RESOLUTION NO. 49 — *By United Food and Commercial Workers International Union.*

WHEREAS, Literacy provides an opportunity for the labor movement to contribute a valuable service and increase public awareness of a critical issue. About three of every four participants in the work force in the year 2000 already are out of school; and

WHEREAS, Increasingly, many workers are finding that the skills they possess and the skills jobs require are not the same. The U.S. Department of Education reports that 20 to 30 million adult workers need help with basic skills upgrading; and

WHEREAS, Unions, often working jointly with employers, are taking the initiative in creating workplace-based learning programs to fill the gap; and

WHEREAS, Because poorly designed programs can jeopardize workers' rights and weaken their job security, unions have a critical role to play in planning and implementing workplace literacy programs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges unions to participate fully in any workplace literacy programs and not allow employers to unilaterally control them; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That unions will work to assure equal access and resources for all workers who choose to participate in basic skills programs; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That unions will work to counter efforts by corporations and others to blame workers for productivity and economic problems by claiming "low literacy levels;" and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges unions to insist that grant applications to fund workplace literacy efforts with federal dollars require grant applicants to consult and obtain written concurrence of the appropriate labor organizations in their funding applications.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

Child Care and Federal Block Grants

RESOLUTION NO. 51 — *By Office and Professional Employees International Union.*

WHEREAS, After twenty years of hard work, child care advocates finally have a substantial piece of child care legislation from the

federal government. The new federal child care provisions are found in several different laws including the new **Child Care and Development Block Grant** ("CCDBG").

WHEREAS, It was the intent of Congress that the bulk of the appropriation to each state should go to provide financial assistance to low-income families to help them pay for child care. What makes these provisions distinctive, however, is that states must give parents of eligible children the choice to either enroll the children with eligible child care providers who have grants or contracts to provide child care services, or to receive a child care certificate to allow the parent to select an eligible provider (by October 1, 1992).

WHEREAS, Under the block grant provisions, eligible providers include (but aren't limited to) group home child care providers and family child care providers that are licensed, regulated or registered under their respective state laws. In the many states where family day care providers caring for small numbers of children are not required to be licensed, states must now establish a registration procedure so that these providers are eligible to receive subsidized children. Group home child care providers are not specifically defined in the law; family child care providers are defined as "one individual who provides child care services for fewer than 24 hour per day, as a sole care giver, and in a private residence." Additionally, eligible providers will have to meet certain requirements related to the prevention and control of infectious diseases (including immunization); building and physical premises safety; and minimum health and safety training as developed by the state. If a state doesn't currently have such requirements, it will have to be established.

WHEREAS, In addition to the direct subsidies, CCDBG also allows states to fund activities which will **improve the quality** of care. These activities must include one or more of the following activities:

- Development, expansion or operation of private nonprofit or public child care resource and referral programs;

- Grants or loans to help child care providers meet state and local child care standards;

- Improving the monitoring of compliance with, and enforcement of, state and local licensing and regulatory requirements;

- Providing training and technical assistance in areas related to child care services such as health and safety, nutrition, first aid, recognition of communicable diseases, child abuse detection and prevention, and care for special needs children;

- Improving salaries and other compensation of full and part-time staff who provide child care services funded under the Act.

Training could be classes, workshops, home visits, videos, written materials; experienced family day care providers should be required to be included in the development of curriculum, as well as in the staffing of training.

WHEREAS, Payment rates for child care services under the block grant must be sufficient to provide eligible children with equal access to services which are comparable to services provided other children who are **not** eligible.

WHEREAS, Financial assistance in the form of grants or contracts may not go to programs with sectarian (religious) purposes or activities, including religious worship or instruction. However, a family day care home which is freely chosen by parents as a site for using their child care "certificate" may offer religious activities.

Under the law, family day care providers may choose to admit children on the basis of their religion, while centers may not discriminate. However, in general, both family day care providers and centers may not discriminate in employment based upon one's religious beliefs.

While monies may be used for minor renovation or minor remodeling, sectarian organizations are limited to improvements necessary to comply with health and safety requirements; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates will work to insure that regulations are written to provide full funding for block grants for child care.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Health Care Reform

RESOLUTION NO. 52 — *By Office and Professional Employees International Union.*

WHEREAS, The health care system in the United States is a disaster. As a nation, America spends 12 percent of its Gross National Product on health care — about \$700 billion a year — yet winds up with more than 37 million persons without access to health care and millions more seriously underinsured.

WHEREAS, Most industrialized nations, with the exception of the United States and South Africa, have developed a program of universal access to health care benefits with government-based reimbursement controls for their citizens. The U.S. patchwork of programs fails to meet the health care needs of workers and their families.

WHEREAS, On a per capita basis, the United States spends 40 percent more than Canada, 90 percent more than Germany, and 125 percent more than Japan — far more, for less coverage than any other

nation in the world. Administrative waste eats up one-third of total health care costs.

WHEREAS, Nearly three-quarters of the uninsured are workers and their families and one-third are children. Workers earning just above the poverty level are ineligible for Medicaid, yet cannot afford insurance premiums of several hundred dollars a month; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The labor movement must be at the forefront of the public outcry for a decent level of health care benefits for all citizens, pressing for a national health care program that will include workers, the unemployed and others not in the labor force, and that will incorporate Medicare and Medicaid. The AFL-CIO has called for a plan that would reduce the eligibility age for Medicare to age 60, protecting individuals who retire before age 65; and, be it further

RESOLVED: Reform should include a national commission of consumer, union, employer, provider and government representatives to negotiate and administer a cost containment program; a core package of benefits; and progressive financing. Estimates show that such a system could save \$165 billion between now and the end of the decade; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO and its affiliates will work to insure passage of universal national health reform, since health care is a right of each and every American citizen, not a privilege.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Pay Equity Technical Assistance Act

RESOLUTION NO. 53 — *By Office and Professional Employees International Union.*

WHEREAS, Over the past ten years, much progress has been made in addressing and beginning to eliminate wage discrimination based on race, sex or national origin, particularly in the public sector. According to a 1989 survey by the National Committee on Pay Equity, 23 state governments and the District of Columbia have initiated pay equity studies and 20 state governments have begun making pay equity adjustments to reduce or eliminate sex- and race-based wage inequities. Over 1,700 counties, cities, school districts, community colleges and universities have taken steps to address pay equity. Some private sector employers have also begun to examine their wage-setting practices for wage discrimination based on sex, race or national origin; and

WHEREAS, However, no federal program exists for national dissemination of information about employers' efforts to address wage discrimination based on race, sex or national origin, and there are few

means through which employers can inexpensively receive technical assistance for addressing pay equity; and

WHEREAS, The recently proposed Pay Equity Technical Assistance Act (H.R. 386) would disseminate information on public and private sector initiatives to identify and eliminate wage discrimination based on race, sex or national origin; and

WHEREAS, H.R. 386 would provide technical assistance to public and private sector entities who would like to take steps to identify and eliminate discriminatory wage-setting practices; and

WHEREAS, H.R. 386 would undertake and promote research into the development of techniques to identify or eliminate wage disparities based on race, sex or national origin; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to work for the passage of H.R. 386 — the Pay Equity Technical Assistance Act — in order to further eliminate discriminatory wage-setting practices — a long-held goal of the labor movement.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Buy American

RESOLUTION NO. 54 — *By International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.*

WHEREAS, There is a concerted effort under way to eliminate Buy American clauses from state purchasing agreements; and

WHEREAS, The United States was forced to hire foreign carriers and pay them premium rates during the Persian Gulf War because the nation had ignored our calls for an adequate maritime supply line; and

WHEREAS, Such callous disregard for national security imperils our country, and

WHEREAS, The Department of Defense spends between \$20 and \$30 billion yearly overseas, while American workers go without jobs; and

WHEREAS, The nation loses 30,000 jobs for every \$1 billion dollars spent overseas; and

WHEREAS, American workers engaged in sensitive work are required to have security clearances, while no such requirement is exacted from workers in foreign nations; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Defense blatantly ignores existing "Buy American" regulations even after being taken to court over such violations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls on the Department of Defense and all other governmental agencies to follow "Buy American" provisions; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will work with state central bodies to ensure that their respective state legislatures do not abolish or rescind Buy American clauses from state purchasing agreements; and, be it finally

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls on Congress to adopt — in both Houses — legislation along the lines of H.R. 1238, the Industrial Defense Act of 1991.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Free Trade Agreements and Human Rights

RESOLUTION NO. 56 — *By Minnesota AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has a history of concern and solidarity for workers in other countries, including the nations of Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean; and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO believes that all workers have the right to earn wages which will enable them to support their families, to have decent working conditions which include the guaranteed right to occupational health and safety, and the right to organize trade unions; and

WHEREAS, The free trade agreements now being considered by the Bush administration will cause serious economic disruption in the United States, with thousands of good-paying jobs moving to free trade zones in Latin America; and

WHEREAS, Currently workers in the Mexican maquilas and free trade zones in Latin America earn an average of only \$4.00 per day which does not permit them to meet the basic needs of their families, face multiple occupational health and safety violations and are subjected to speed-ups and poor working conditions which often limit the length of their work lives. And women workers face extreme forms of sexual harassment; and

WHEREAS, Efforts to organize labor unions in the maquilas and free trade zones have resulted in the arrest, and at times, torture and death of union organizers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges the United States Congress to oppose any trade agreements in Latin America that do not include meaningful labor, human rights, environmental, and health and safety protections, as well as addressing the economic dislocation of U.S. workers possibly resulting from these trade agreements; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO affirms that the working conditions, human rights, and environmental concerns in Latin America are a concern to labor.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Trade Taxes and Competitiveness

RESOLUTION NO. 57 — *By Minnesota AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, Several increases in United States trade taxes are threatening the international competitiveness of United States exports and United States ports; and

WHEREAS, As a part of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, Congress increased the harbor maintenance tax by 212 percent and increased the vessel tonnage tax by 350 percent with virtually no hearings on the trade impact during the closing hours before adjournment of the 101st Congress last fall; and

WHEREAS, Exports today are increasingly necessary to the health of America's economy. One out of six United States manufacturing jobs can be linked to exports and more than one third of major United States grain crops are exported; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO vigorously opposes the continuation of the trend toward greater reliance on trade taxes; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO requests that Congress and the administration examine the negative effect of these taxes and reduce or eliminate them where appropriate. **Referred Resolution to the Executive Council** from the 1991 AFL-CIO Convention

Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway

RESOLUTION NO. 58 — *By Minnesota AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, A strong and healthy Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Maritime System is a necessary foundation for the economic well-being of the state of Minnesota and the United States; and

WHEREAS, Exports are increasingly necessary to the health of both Minnesota's and the United States economies; and

WHEREAS, The cost of transporting those exports is an integral part of the price to a foreign purchaser. For bulk commodities in close margin international markets, such as grain, a few pennies a ton can determine who makes a sale; and

WHEREAS, Tolls, user fees or other levies relating to Great Lakes- St. Lawrence maritime commerce can make some exports uncompetitive in a very competitive world market; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports keeping the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Maritime System as a viable and competitive transportation system by opposing policies, laws, regulations or practices which unfairly discriminate against the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence region. The AFL-CIO will actively seek the reduction or elimination of tolls, fees or other levies that are harmful to the system's competitiveness; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges the U.S. and Canadian federal governments, in full consultation with Provinces, States, labor and private industry, to join in long range planning to bring the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Maritime System into the next century.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

National Rail Negotiations

RESOLUTION NO. 59 — *By Minnesota AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, American railworkers worked without a new contract for over three and one-half years; and

WHEREAS, On April 17, 1991, a nationwide rail strike legally conducted under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act was initiated; and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States intervened and called a halt to the work stoppage under the guise of supposed harm to the national economy; and

WHEREAS, The Bush administration's Secretary of Transportation, Samuel Skinner, and Congressman John Dingell met behind closed doors and drafted H.J. Resolution 222 mandating the recommendations of PEB 219 on the nation's railworkers despite the vehement opposition of those workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges that in any future national rail negotiations, the Congress of the United States refrain from interfering in the collective bargaining process; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That a copy of this resolution will be forwarded to the leaders and members of the United States Congress expressing both our distress and displeasure at their intervention on April 17, 1991. **Referred Resolution to the Executive Council** from the 1991 AFL-CIO Convention

Executive Council Representation

RESOLUTION NO. 60 — *By Texas AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, More than ten million workers in the nation's workforce are men and women of Hispanic descent and 1.4 million of them

are dues paying members representing ten percent of AFL-CIO unions; and

WHEREAS, The current U.S. Census figures show Hispanics to be the fastest growing minority in the prior decade and are projected to become an even larger number in the workforce numbers of the year 2000; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO recognizes the needs of Hispanics as a rapidly growing group of workers seeking leadership and guidance from the highest council of the AFL-CIO; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO Executive Council will nominate a Hispanic to the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Hispanic Representation on the AFL-CIO Executive Council

RESOLUTION NO. 61 — *By California Labor Federation.*

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO recognizes that its Executive Council should reflect the diversity of the workers it represents; and

WHEREAS, Since 1981, the AFL-CIO has taken affirmative steps to establish Executive Council seats for black and women trade union leaders; and

WHEREAS, Hispanic workers comprise ten percent of the national AFL-CIO membership and twenty-five percent in California, and constitute a rapidly growing proportion of the membership; and

WHEREAS, The leadership of the labor movement at the national, regional and local level is replete with talented, experienced, and committed Hispanic trade unionists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will take affirmative steps to facilitate the election of an Hispanic trade unionist to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO at its November 1991 convention.

Justice for Northern Ireland

RESOLUTION NO. 62 — *By California Labor Federation.*

WHEREAS, Northern Ireland is an occupied land controlled under force of arms by Great Britain; and

WHEREAS, American corporations employ over ten percent of all workers in Northern Ireland; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports legislation to require American firms in Northern Ireland to adhere to the McBride Principles designed to combat religious and economic discrimination; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls for the replacement of British troops with a United Nations peacekeeping force; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls for an election to be held in all of Ireland, not merely the artificially created six counties of Northern Ireland, on the question of establishing an independent Republic of Ireland.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Arab-Israeli Peace

RESOLUTION NO. 63 — *By California Labor Federation.*

WHEREAS, Israel is the only democratic society in the Middle East, with fully developed political rights and institutions, including free trade unions; and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO supports the right of national existence for the democratic state of Israel, and the right of its citizens to freedom from terrorism; and

WHEREAS, The protracted Arab-Israeli conflict has both threatened the security of the state of Israel, and has thwarted the aspirations of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip; and

WHEREAS, Recent dramatic events in the Middle East and in the Soviet Union provide a unique opportunity to resolve the conflict; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict to seize the opportunity to negotiate a peaceful settlement based upon the principles of Israeli security within defensible borders and justice for the Palestinian people.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Fraternal Delegates

RESOLUTION NO. 65 — *By California Labor Federation.*

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has a long standing policy of supporting and cooperating with democratic trade unions throughout the world; and

WHEREAS, Such cooperation is essential in furthering the aspirations of working people throughout the world for economic justice and political freedoms; and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO can strengthen its bonds of cooperation and friendships with foreign labor movements by identifying their representatives at AFL-CIO biennial conventions as fraternal delegates; and

WHEREAS, Traditionally the status of fraternal convention delegate has been extended only to representatives of the Canadian Labor Congress and British Trade Union Congress; and

WHEREAS, The international nature of the free trade union struggle requires a oneness that serves our global workers' family; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will extend the status of fraternal convention delegate to representatives of free trade union movements from throughout the world without respect to their national identity.

Unification of Labor Unions

RESOLUTION NO. 66 — *By Washington State Labor Council.*

WHEREAS, The "Fast Track to Mexico" trade agreement is being implemented to further sabotage the rights of working people and to erode environmental standards; and

WHEREAS, This trade agreement is designed to further erode the standard of living of ordinary people; and

WHEREAS, The productive capacity of the working class is squashed by the relentless hunt for profits to benefit the privileged few; and

WHEREAS, The oppression of the working class and of social groups is a prerequisite to the dispensing of privileges to any elite; and

WHEREAS, Only the international unification of the working class will utilize and stabilize our productive capacity to create a world of plenty for all; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the unification, on a rank-and-file basis, of the unions of Mexico, Canada, and the United States to prevent corporations from pitting workers against each other.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Reauthorization of Endangered Species Act

RESOLUTION NO. 67 — *By Washington State Labor Council.*

WHEREAS, The Endangered Species Act is due for reauthorization in Congress in 1991; and

WHEREAS, This law, vastly strengthened in 1973, has proven to be necessary and beneficial to the protection and recovery of threatened species such as the bald eagle and the American alligator; and

WHEREAS, Some reactionary anti-environmental groups have called for wholesale changes to the ESA that would destroy its central purpose, and

WHEREAS, Recent conflicts over the application of the ESA concerning the northern spotted owl and the native salmon have served to reveal certain shortcomings in the Act, such as mandating optimum species recovery plans over **all** other factors, dealing with broad ecosystem questions and lack of integration with forest planning laws; and

WHEREAS, The integrity and purpose of the Act can be maintained and, indeed, strengthened while making amendments to take greater account of human, social and economic consequences of protecting threatened species; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the Congressional reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act in 1992 while also supporting amendments to inject more balance between the goals of wildlife protection and the human, social and economic consequences of the actions; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That to carry out this objective, the Act should be modified to require the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to conduct a qualified and competent economic/cost impact/human impact analysis early in the proposed listing process to permit more informed decisionmaking concerning options that protect threatened species while minimizing economic dislocation and job losses; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the Act be adjusted to take into account protection of multiple species which may depend on common ecosystems.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Abortion Rights

RESOLUTION NO. 68 — *By Washington State Labor Council.*

WHEREAS, In 1990, the AFL-CIO adopted a policy of "neutrality" on abortion rights governing the national, state and local bodies, and we believe a majority of trade unionists support a woman's right to choose; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will change its previously determined position and adopt a policy upholding the fundamental right of women to reproductive freedom, including access to abortion services and urge its affiliated bodies to do the same.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Preventive Health Care

RESOLUTION NO. 69 — *By New York State AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, The issue of universal health care and cost of providing that care has become the major issue confronting trade union organizations in the 1990; and

WHEREAS, Health care is largely considered in terms of paying for the cost of hospital stays and doctor visits; and

WHEREAS, The cost of identifying potentially serious medical conditions through early detection is without doubt the most sensible approach to good health; and

WHEREAS, Preventive measures such as yearly physicals, medical monitoring of individuals in high risk occupations is the best method of treatment and the most cost efficient form of medical care; and

WHEREAS, The prevention of diseases through education and modification of lifestyle is particularly suited to the collective structure and resources of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, The cost of procedures such as cholesterol tests and the necessary medical follow-up are far less expensive than the performing of open-heart bypass surgery later in life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the concept of the availability of yearly physical examinations free of cost, to all Americans; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That this convention will work to develop programs that promote the concept that preventive health care is the best method of long-term health care cost containment.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Ethnic Labor Coalition

RESOLUTION NO. 73 — *By New York State AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, The membership of the AFL-CIO is comprised of workers from every ethnic and racial background; and

WHEREAS, This collective blend of talent and strength has built a strong labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It is a goal of the labor movement that all working people think, work and live together in harmony and understand each others' problems; and

WHEREAS, The labor movement's goals and accomplishments can best be brought to the attention of all ethnic and racial communities, and youth students etc., if strong links are developed between these communities, and the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, An Ethnic Labor Coalition has been organized under the auspices of the New York State AFL-CIO, uniting eleven individual ethnic labor committees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this resolution will serve as a model in urging all state AFL-CIO federations to vigorously pursue the creation of a Ethnic Labor Coalition.

Strike Support

RESOLUTION NO. 74 — *By New York State AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, The primary purpose of a strong and unified labor federation is to provide support, aid and comfort to affiliated unions engaged in prolonged periods of industrial conflict; and

WHEREAS, It is fully understood that the process of collective bargaining is first and foremost a process of autonomous bargaining between the employer and the union designated as the exclusive bargaining agent; and

WHEREAS, Early communication within the labor movement, has allowed time to plan an effective course of action and has resulted in successful resolution of disputes as illustrated by the recent success of the Allied Printing Trades Council strike against the New York Daily News; and

WHEREAS, The state federations and the local central labor councils are chartered by the AFL-CIO as the bona fide branches of the national organization; and

WHEREAS, The twelve regional offices of the AFL-CIO, positioned throughout the country, are recognized as representatives of the officers of the AFL-CIO; and

WHEREAS, It is in the best interest of all the labor movement to utilize the strength, resources and experience of the bona fide and duly chartered entities within the AFL-CIO structure; and

WHEREAS, The need to avoid chaos and conserve valuable time in the organization of a successful strike support mechanism, points out the need for direction from the AFL-CIO to fully articulate the role of the above-mentioned chartered organizations in the strategic planning and implementation process; the new Strategic Approaches Committee operating at the national level is a useful step toward meeting this need; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will recognize and promote the central coordinating role of state federations and central bodies as the best approach to develop unified strength in strike support activities; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That Labor-Community Coalitions, while helpful in the management and implementation of support programs, are not equipped or chartered to be the centralized coordinating body; and, be it further RESOLVED: That the strength and effectiveness of this labor movement is directly linked to the efficiency and productive development of state federations and local central labor bodies.

HIV-Infected Health Care Workers

RESOLUTION NO. 75 — *By New York State AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, Public hysteria has been heightened by the alleged infection by an HIV-infected dentist of five of his patients, although there is no proof that a direct HIV transmission from a health care worker to a patient has even taken place despite ten years of the AIDS epidemic and thousands of patients who have been treated by HIV-infected health care workers; and

WHEREAS, The chance of a patient getting AIDS from a health care worker is infinitesimal unless the patient is having a sexual relationship or sharing needles with the health care worker; and

WHEREAS, The best way to protect both patients and health care workers from HIV infection in health care institutions is strict adherence to universal infection control precautions; and

WHEREAS, HIV testing of health care workers would not offer any useful information, but would violate workers' rights and waste money that could better be used for improving infection control; and

WHEREAS, Employer or public knowledge of health care workers' HIV status would likely lead to discrimination against the workers and their families, as well as the end of their job, regardless of the procedures conducted, and the threat of testing. Restrictions on HIV-infected workers would discourage those workers from seeking needed expert advice about their health conditions and the safety of continuing their jobs; and

WHEREAS, Congress is considering legislation that would jail HIV-infected health care workers, as well as legislation that would reduce states' flexibility to protect patients and health care workers by requiring the state to adopt the CDC Guidelines; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will strongly push for improvements in infection control procedures as the best way to make medical procedures safer and will oppose any restrictions on health care workers that are based solely on an employee's HIV status; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly opposes mandatory HIV testing of all workers, including health care workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly opposes mandatory HIV testing of all workers, including health care workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly opposes criminal penalties or other sanctions against HIV-infected health care workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will encourage CDC, OSHA, FDA and other relevant government agencies to establish a commission that includes health care workers to propose, evaluate and establish standards in the development and design of engineering controls which include safer needles, instruments, and personal protective equipment and procedures; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the state legislators should allow flexibility in issuing policies that would protect patients and health care workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That any policies covering HIV-positive health care workers safeguard the confidentiality of those workers from the public and from his or her employer; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That OSHA immediately adopt the Bloodborne Disease Standard that will protect workers and patients from HIV infection in health care facilities.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Exclusive State Funds

RESOLUTION NO. 76 — *By New York State AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, Workers' Compensation is the oldest form of social insurance; and

WHEREAS, The time has come to reorient and modernize the existing financial structure of workers' compensation; and

WHEREAS, In its present form, the workers' compensation system is beset with many shortcomings; and

WHEREAS, The experience of the provision of workers' compensation, through the purchase of private insurance, has fallen short of what was rightly expected when the law was first put into effect; and

WHEREAS, The private insurance companies, believing that underpayment and undertreatment were a quicker route to riches; and

WHEREAS, In general the private carriers have been indifferent to organized efforts to increase benefits and improve the quality of care to injured workers; and

WHEREAS, Workers' compensation benefits have become pitifully inadequate, the cost has remained disproportionately high in relation to benefits paid; and

WHEREAS, The single, insistent argument of employers resisting the liberalization of workers compensation have been the cost; and

WHEREAS, Employers and state government have never seriously examined the great potential at hand to make large sums of money available for benefits without additional employer financial input; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will recommend to state federations and central labor councils that they work for the establishment of exclusive state insurance funds throughout this country, that will serve the needs of workers and will in the long run be of benefit and credit to business and industry as well as the total community.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Fair Labor Representation on American Public Television

RESOLUTION NO. 77 — *By New York State AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, Television has become America's most influential and pervasive educator. At the same time, it is well-known that the corporate advertiser-driven commercial media have ignored unions or perpetuated negative stereotypes about them; and

WHEREAS, The 1967 Carnegie Commission on Educational Television's report, "Public Television: A Program for Change" led to the 1967 Public Broadcasting Act. According to the Carnegie Commission report, public television was to "see America whole in all its diversity" and "be a forum for debate and controversy," as well as "provide a voice for groups in the community that may otherwise be unheard;" and

WHEREAS, In more than two decades, public television has yet to broadcast any regular programming for or portraying the American worker, whose tax dollars and viewer contributions help underwrite its existence. At the same time, as public television neglects programming about and for American's working men and women, it provides hundreds of hours of programming each year to such business-oriented shows as "Wall street Week;" and

WHEREAS, A 1990 study released by Made In U.S.A. Productions and the City University of New York found that in 1988 and 1989 PBS prime time programming about and for the "socioeconomic elite" was nearly ten times more prevalent than programming about and for workers, and that the majority of programming about workers was about British, rather than American workers. Programming about workers amounted to less than 1/2 of one percent of total PBS prime time programming offerings. Households headed by skilled and semi-skilled workers makes up more than 30 percent of the viewing public, while households headed by clerical and sales workers make up an

additional 15 percent. To realize its potential, public television should address the needs of these audiences; and

WHEREAS, Most of public television financing is derived from state and federal tax dollars and viewer contributions. It receives only 16 percent of its financing from corporate sponsors. At present, public television is seeking to increase federal support on the grounds that it is an important national educational institution, yet its educational mission is to a large extent influenced by the interests and concerns of its corporate underwriters, rather than by the educational needs of the broad public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to work nationally and locally to ensure that working Americans and their concerns and heritage are fairly represented on American public television.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Pay-As-You-Go Social Security Financing System

RESOLUTION NO. 78 — *By New York State AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, The Social Security Trust Funds are running large and growing surpluses; and

WHEREAS, The surpluses of the fund are now being used by the federal government as general revenue funds; and

WHEREAS, In the Budget Summit of 1990, agreement was reached that would enable \$500 billion of Social Security tax revenue to be used for general government expenditures over the next five years; and

WHEREAS, The tax structure of the United States is recognized as rapidly becoming the most regressive of any western nation; and

WHEREAS, In 1990, the Social Security Administration estimated that seventy-four percent of taxpayers would pay more in Social Security taxes — including the employees' share — than in income taxes; and

WHEREAS, The Social Security system was financed on a pay-as-you-go basis until as recently as 1977; and

WHEREAS, The proposal, as put forward by the Senior Senator from New York, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, has received non-partisan support and is endorsed by the American Academy of Actuaries as being financially sound; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the excess money collected by the tax be given back to the American workers who earn it and need it; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That a return to a pay-as-you-go system will strengthen the financing of Social Security and provide a fair tax cut to 132 million Social Security taxpayers; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will redouble its current efforts and renew its support for this proposal as put forth by Senator Moynihan known as "the Social Security Tax Cut Act of 1991.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Labor's Commitment To Ethical Ideals

RESOLUTION NO. 81 — *By New York State AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, Contemporary American society is riddled with corruption, a social evil that has greatly worsened in the Reagan-Bush era when massive corporate corruption was typified by S&L scandals, corporate raids, obscene leveraged buyouts, growing inequality between rich and poor, tax avoidance and evasion by the well-to-do and the corporations, financial chicanery of all types, side-by-side with growing homelessness and long-term unemployment, and an ever more difficult struggle by the working class families of this land to make ends meet amid the drug plague, crime, and despair; and

WHEREAS, This corruption which emanates chiefly from the growing dominance of big business over our national life, resulting in the abandonment of ethical norms, has infected public institutions including, for example, the U.S. Congress, and even the political process generally, leading to cynicism, apathy, and withdrawal from political participation by millions; and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that trade unions are democratic institutions with a proud record of being remarkably exempt from this pervasive corruption, and it is a fact that the overwhelming majority of union officials have a proud record of ethical integrity and dedicated service to their members and society at large by their work for jobs, equality and social justice; and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO has rightly pointed out that in this period of employer-government offensive against trade unions, unions are waging a battle of ideas and are fighting to win public opinion, including tens of millions of unorganized workers to support and join our movement; and

WHEREAS, To enhance the image of the labor movement including the public perception of leadership integrity and commitment to ethical and moral values is part of labor's struggle for a positive image in a hostile media environment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will do all that is possible to maintain the highest standards of personal and professional integrity and commitment to the ethical values that will attract working people

to our movement, as we reaffirm our determination as expressed in our Constitution to keep the Federation free from any taint of corruption; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That in dealing with this serious question we do not encourage expulsion of any affiliated union as a remedy.

Solidarity III

RESOLUTION NO. 84 — *By Atlanta Labor Council.*

WHEREAS, There is a health care crisis in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Health care costs are disrupting the collective bargaining process and causing unnecessary strikes; and

WHEREAS, Lack of access to adequate health care continues to cause human suffering, misery, and even death; and

WHEREAS, The U.S. has one of the highest infant mortality rates among developed nations due to limited access to health care; and

WHEREAS, Universal access to the health care system is necessary for the pursuit of health, happiness, and liberty; and

WHEREAS, More than 33 million Americans do not have health insurance and 50 million more have inadequate insurance; and

WHEREAS, The United States is the only advanced industrialized nation that does not have universal access to health care and has the highest health care costs in the world; and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO - sponsored Solidarity Day II focused attention on the health care crisis; and

WHEREAS, Solidarity Day II was an unqualified success in motivating the participants; and

WHEREAS, Once motivated, people need an active agenda; and

WHEREAS, Solidarity II was held ten years after Solidarity I and was held when few politicians were in Washington; and

WHEREAS, Solidarity II made no lasting impression on the country's decisionmakers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO supports immediate preparations for Solidarity Day III; and, be it further

RESOLVED: Solidarity III will be held before election day 1992; and, be it further

RESOLVED: Solidarity III will be held during the work week while Congress is in session and the President is in the White House; and, be it further

RESOLVED: Solidarity III will encompass as many days as is necessary to deliver our message on health care to Congress and the President; and, be it further

RESOLVED: Solidarity III participants will peacefully picket and protest at all government facilities relating to health care issues (including the Capitol and the White House) until we secure a firm commitment for an acceptable solution to the health care crisis; and, be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO will make preparations to house and feed participants such as Solidarity III for as long as is necessary to accomplish this goal (Tent cities, soup kitchens, room sharing).

Reform of the Unemployment Insurance Program

RESOLUTION NO. 85 — *By American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, More than 8.5 million Americans want work but cannot get it; and

WHEREAS, Unemployment insurance protection reached a low point in 1990, when fewer than four in every ten workers (37 percent) received unemployment insurance benefits in an average month; and

WHEREAS, Restrictive federal and state eligibility policies are a major factor in the decline of unemployment benefit protection; and

WHEREAS, Federal law denies educational support employees — the custodians, cafeteria workers, bus drivers, crossing guards, educational aids and secretaries — unemployment benefits between school terms. They are one of only two groups of seasonal workers who are categorically denied unemployment benefits, the other group being professional athletes; and

WHEREAS, More than 2.8 million jobless workers exhausted their benefits in 1990, and the recession is expected to push this number even higher in 1991; and

WHEREAS, The vast majority of the approximately 300,000 individuals who exhaust their unemployment benefits every month cannot get extended benefits because the extended benefits program is so restrictive that only a handful of states have qualified for the program this year; and

WHEREAS, President Bush has failed to implement legislation passed by Congress in August to extend unemployment benefits for up to 22 additional weeks; and

WHEREAS, Unpredictable federal funding for local unemployment offices is destabilizing these offices and compromising their ability to provide unemployment benefits in a timely fashion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges Congress and the President to enact legislation as soon as possible which will provide immediate assistance to workers who have exhausted their basic benefits and which will replace the extended benefits program with a more effective program of federal supplemental benefits; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges Congress to limit the states' ability to impose unreasonable restrictions on eligibility for unemployment benefits and to restore the state option to provide unemployment insurance to education support employees between school terms; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges Congress to enact administrative financing reforms that will ensure adequate and reliable funding of local unemployment offices and employees.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Overturning the Gag Rule on Family Planning Services

RESOLUTION NO. 86 — *By Public Employee Department and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, In *Rust v. Sullivan*, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Health and Human Services Department regulations prohibiting family planning clinics; funded by Title X from providing abortion information, counseling or referral services to women; and

WHEREAS, The implications of the Court's upholding the "gag rule" are alarming for women, for health care professionals and for all Americans concerned about the fundamental right to privacy and free speech; and

WHEREAS, The "gag rule" dictates what health care workers may or may not say to their patients, thereby violating the patient's right to make decisions about health care matters based on all relevant information; and

WHEREAS, This government infringement on the right of health care employees to free speech and the right of patients to information applies even in cases in which the patient's health is endangered and applies regardless of the health care workers' legal and ethical obligations to provide complete and accurate medical advice; and

WHEREAS, The fact that *Rust* arose out of the controversy over restrictions on abortion counseling should not obscure the far broader rights that are at stake. It is precisely for this reason that the AFL-CIO

both opposes the *Rust* decision and adheres to our previously stated policy of deferring to the individual judgements of our affiliates and their members on issues of reproductive rights; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO believes the proper response to *Rust v. Sullivan* is legislation affirming in the most uncompromising terms the right and obligation of government-financed physicians and other health care professionals to provide all relevant medical information and advice. Therefore, the AFL-CIO urges Congress to pass such legislation.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Breaking the Federal Budget Straitjacket

RESOLUTION NO. 87 — *By Public Employee Department and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, The country's unparalleled economic expansion has now subsided, exposing deep, unsolved problems. The social policies of the Reagan/Bush era created unequal access to the prosperity of the 1980s, causing the rich to get richer while the poor got poorer. The tax and spending policies of the Reagan years created the interconnected federal budget and trade deficits. Preoccupation with these two deficits has led the federal government to ignore the "third" deficit, which is the social deficit. The Bush administration continues to make cuts in social programs and, despite its rhetoric, has enacted few bold new initiatives to meet the backlog of unmet domestic needs; and

WHEREAS, Sustained economic growth and full employment, with price stability, remain the appropriate goals for federal economic policy. Retrenchment in the name of federal budget deficit reduction is not called for and can only hurt working people; and

WHEREAS, Federal spending for domestic social and economic development programs has dropped dramatically during the Reagan/Bush administrations. Domestic program cuts during the FY 82-FY 88 period averaged \$642 for every man, woman and child in the United States. A number of programs important to the economy, such as job training, Economic Development Administration grants, and Urban Development Action Grant programs were cut more than 50 percent in the Reagan administration. President Bush has continued this trend, resulting in urgent needs going unfulfilled. These needs include long-term health care, child care, nutrition, job training, housing and infrastructure, among others; and

WHEREAS, The federal government has ignored state and local governments, forcing state and local governments to deal with greater responsibilities with fewer resources; and

WHEREAS, The United States cannot afford to wait until the federal budget deficit is "solved" before needed investments are made to solve the social deficit. Lagging public investments in physical infrastructure and human capital have already begun to impede private sector productivity, growth and competitiveness. Already nearly one-third of large companies are being forced to furnish costly remedial education in basic reading, writing and math to have a competent work force. The quality of America's infrastructure is barely adequate to fulfill current requirements, and insufficient to meet the demands of future economic growth. Private investment cannot take place without public investment leading the way. Budget deficit reduction alone cannot cure the country's economic and social problems. Budget deficit reduction by itself would only make matters worse since it would absorb revenues that could otherwise be spent on the social deficit; and

WHEREAS, An unprecedented and ineffective peacetime military buildup took place during the Reagan years. This buildup has been a major cause of the budget deficit and has led to the curtailment of social and economic development programs. Now, however, current world events have changed the international security picture dramatically. A result of the "thaw" in East-West relations is a "peace dividend" of federal funds that can be cut from the defense budget. These funds would best be spent by expanding domestic programs and restoring some of the balance in priorities that was ignored while defense spending was increasing. The "peace dividend" offers the opportunity to make inroads towards solving the social deficit so that the country has the ingredients for continued economic growth; and

WHEREAS, In 1990, the federal budget agreement ties the hands of legislative leaders curtailing their ability to reorganize spending priorities; and

WHEREAS, There remains significant potential to raise additional revenues beyond the freed-up funds of the peace dividend to address both the country's budget deficit and social deficit. Due to changes in federal tax policy, the wealthiest Americans will pay 30 percent less in taxes in 1991 than they did in 1977. At the same time, all but the poorest Americans have seen their federal tax burden increase. While the federal Tax Reform Act of 1986 created a fairer base of taxation and shifted some of the tax burden away from individuals on to corporations, further tax reforms could generate additional federal revenues. The personal income tax could be made more progressive and more loopholes could be closed in both the corporate and personal income tax; and

WHEREAS, AFL-CIO affiliates work in a wide variety of programs important to the health and safety of our citizens and the environment those citizens live and work in, including transportation, health, education, labor department programs, highway and safety programs and environmental protection programs among others; and

WHEREAS, Fiscal decisions made at the national level by the President and Congress often produce adverse consequences for state government programs operated by PED affiliated members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That as easing in international relations continues into the 1990s, a fundamental restructuring of national priorities must take place. Government must take a more activist role in many areas, pursuing the goal of sustained economic growth and full employment, with price stability, in a manner that spreads the benefits of that growth to all segments of the population; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That federal tax and budget policy should once again address issues of income distribution and equality of opportunity, reversing the "rich get richer, poor get poorer" trend of the last decade; and; be it further

RESOLVED: That the federal government should view public investment in such areas as infrastructure and human capital as essential to economic growth and productivity. The federal government should take a major role in meeting the pressing needs of society that represent a social deficit, including child care, long-term health care, nutrition and hunger, job training, housing and infrastructure; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the federal government should resume its responsibility to assist states and localities invest in needed human capital and physical infrastructure improvements through increased federal investment in specific grant-in-aid programs as well as reviving general or targeted revenue sharing; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That federal budget deficit reduction should be pursued, but in a prudent, measured way that does not sacrifice the goals of economic growth or adequate federal spending on domestic social needs; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That AFL-CIO affiliates be supported in their efforts to address federal policies on revenues and expenditures that have serious consequences for state governments, their citizens and AFL-CIO affiliated members who provide services; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the military budget should be reduced with guaranteed retraining and comprehensive adjustment assistance for those workers and communities affected by the reduction. For indi-

vidual workers, such assistance should include comprehensive outplacement assistance and income supports and continuation of health benefits during retraining. For affected communities, such assistance should include technical assistance and grants for planning teams composed of labor, management, and local leaders as well as start-up funds, loans, and technical assistance for planning, research, and new business development; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the "peace dividend" realized from reductions in military spending should be applied to unmet social needs rather than allowed to disappear into reduction of the federal budget deficit. The federal budget process should be changed to allow using the "peace dividend" for such purposes; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will work to raise additional federal revenues beyond those obtained from the "peace dividend" to be used both to reduce the social deficit and budget deficit. Additional federal revenue sources include closing unwarranted loopholes, strengthening the corporate and individual alternative minimum tax, increasing the top income tax rate on the wealthiest Americans, and similar progressive reforms based on the ability-to-pay principle, not by creating new, regressive taxes.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

State and Local Budget Crisis

RESOLUTION NO. 88 — *By American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, Not since the Great Depression have state and local governments been in a more serious fiscal crisis than they are today, with FY 1992 deficits of more than \$50 billion; and

WHEREAS, The tax revolt movement that began with the passage of Proposition 13 in California in 1978 is an impediment to responsible state and local fiscal policies. Numerous jurisdictions have been subjected to arbitrary cuts in a single revenue source, broad-based revenue rollbacks, revenue or expenditure ceilings tied to rigid formulas, or some combinations of all of these; and

WHEREAS, The overhanging threat of taxpayer revolts still exerts a significant influence on fiscal decisions. In the belief that voters will not support responsible fiscal policies, several states enacted tax cuts, based on temporary surpluses or illusory "windfalls" from federal tax changes. Those tax cuts have proved to be imprudent as local economies change, federal aid continues to decline, and new needs mount; and

WHEREAS, Where they have been enacted, tax and expenditure limitations have often forced cuts in essential public services vitally

needed by low income families, the elderly, school-age children, and the disabled. Many of the public services that make significant contributions to the quality of life, like parks, recreation programs and public libraries, are also among the first to be cut; and

WHEREAS, Many tax revolt schemes have resulted in major shifts of the tax burden, from corporations to households and from wealthy families to working families. Governments subject to these revenue limitations have also tended to compensate by raising user fees and sales taxes, which can be among the most regressive means of raising revenues; and

WHEREAS, Federal aid to state and local governments has fallen to record lows. States that once received as much as 25 cents in federal aid for each dollar now receive only 18 cents, and cities have seen their aid fall from 25 cents of every dollar to as low as 9 cents. Mandates from Washington for Medicaid, environmental and related legislation have compounded the problem; and

WHEREAS, Despite recent successes in preventing new limitations, the anti-government tax revolt forces have not abandoned their efforts. New battles must be fought on 1990 ballots and beyond; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will oppose vigorously the rigid tax and spending limitation approach to reducing tax burdens. The AFL-CIO will continue to promote real state and local tax reform, which is the only equitable way of relieving excessive tax burdens on working Americans, while maintaining needed public services; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will work with Congress, governors, mayors and our allies throughout the country to shift federal spending toward domestic needs in health, education, infrastructure and housing, thereby increasing aid to state and local governments.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Municipal Bankruptcy

RESOLUTION NO. 89 — *By American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, More and more municipalities are experiencing severe financial hardships; and

WHEREAS, The filing for federal bankruptcy protection by the City of Bridgeport, Connecticut, and the resulting court decision has created new interest in municipal bankruptcy protections; and

WHEREAS, The resulting federal bankruptcy court decision confirmed that the City of Bridgeport, and potentially many other municipalities have the right to file for federal bankruptcy protection; and

WHEREAS, Filing for bankruptcy could be used as a tool by municipalities to break existing collective bargaining agreements and commitments to workers; and

WHEREAS, Existing federal bankruptcy protections do not include the same protections for public workers that are found in other areas of federal bankruptcy law to protect private sector employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports enactment of legislation extending federal bankruptcy protections to preserve existing collective bargaining agreements and to provide public sector employees the same protections as the private sector sisters and brothers.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Investment and Control of Public Pension Assets

RESOLUTION NO. 90 — *By Public Employee Department and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, The assets of state and local government pension plans, which exceed \$800 billion, represent the deferred wages and future financial security of public employees; and

WHEREAS, Federal laws and regulations applicable to public pension funds require that the assets be used for the exclusive benefit of participants and beneficiaries, and that trustees of public pension funds owe a duty of undivided loyalty to the participants; and

WHEREAS, In carrying out their duties under federal laws, trustees may consider other factors besides return on investment when making investment decisions. These other factors may include the long term financial and social impact on the jurisdiction, its employees, citizens and taxpayers; and

WHEREAS, Public pension funds have been used to finance mergers, acquisitions, hostile take-overs and leveraged buy-outs, which often result in layoffs, erosion of the tax base, and economic disruption to local communities; and

WHEREAS, Some elected officials have attempted, or are attempting, to overhaul the structures and funding mechanism for public pension funds to help balance general government budgets; these political maneuvers are designed to consolidate and increase control over the funds; for example, California Governor Pete Wilson won legislative approval to use \$1.6 billion from the \$66 billion California Public Employees' Retirement System to help close the state's \$14.3

billion budget gap and also removed control of the actuarial function from the pension fund and transferred it to the state; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its position that the assets of public pension funds represent the deferred wages and future economic security of plan participants, the assets belong to the participants, and must be used for the exclusive benefit of participants. Within this framework, plan investments that contribute to the economic health and vitality of state and local governments and their citizens, and meet other policy objectives, should be considered by the trustees. In addition, pension funds should not be used to finance unproductive merger and takeover activities, or investments which result in loss of jobs or undermine the local community; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO opposes attempts by public officials to raid pension funds by diverting contributions or withdrawing alleged "surplus" assets; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will promote and support the passage of federal legislation to:

1. Provide a federally guaranteed program to promote and protect the investments of non-profit, institutional investors in certain targeted investments, such as affordable housing, protection and improvement of the environment;

2. Expand the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation (PBGC) insurance program to include public pension plans;

3. Enact fiduciary and reporting standards for public pension plans similar to the requirements of private plans mandated under the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974, (ERISA); and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will promote and support the passage of state and local legislation to:

1. Discourage hostile takeovers, junk-bond leveraged buy-outs and similar economically wasteful corporate actions; and

2. Require that the boards of trustees of public pension plans include representatives of the plan participants; and

3. Require that public funds exercise their rights of ownership by voting their proxies in the interests of plan participants. Public plans that grant proxy voting rights to professional investment management firms shall provide voting guidelines to such firms.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Long-Term Care

RESOLUTION NO. 91 — *By American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, Millions of Americans **of all ages** suffer from chronic, disabling conditions that necessitate long-term care at home or in a nursing home; and

WHEREAS, The cost of long-term care is more than most Americans can afford — currently, anywhere from \$20,000 to \$60,000 a year; and

WHEREAS, Medicare and employee health plans are designed to pay for treatment of acute illness in a hospital or doctor's office, not to cover long-term custodial care; and

WHEREAS, Medicaid covers long-term care only for the impoverished — both those who start out in poverty and those who end up there after spending all income and assets to pay for long-term care; and

WHEREAS, Medicaid rates are insufficient to pay for the quality of care mandated by the 1987 Nursing Home Reform Act; and

WHEREAS, Without adequate reimbursement, private pay patients pay excessively high rates or quality of care is jeopardized; and

WHEREAS, Without adequate coverage of long-term care, **every family** is at risk of impoverishment due to the unforeseen — a child born with cerebral palsy, a parent severely disabled in an auto accident, or a grandparent afflicted with Alzheimer's disease; and

WHEREAS, Private long-term care insurance can have serious drawbacks, including high premium costs; the absence of periodic inflation adjustments on benefit coverage; exclusions for Alzheimer's disease and other specific illnesses; and requirements for prior hospitalization that would deny benefits to the majority of policyholders who need nursing home care; and

WHEREAS, Premiums for private insurance will always be high due to companies' uncertain risk factors, their desire for profits, and their need to use costly advertising and marketing techniques in order to sell their products; and

WHEREAS, Competition among numerous insurance companies guarantees that none will be able to spread their risk among enough policyholders of all age groups to provide average Americans with comprehensive coverage at a reasonable price; and

WHEREAS, The federal government — unlike private insurers — can spread **its** risk for covering long-term care among **175 million** workers and retirees, and pool the resources of these same Americans to hold down the cost of coverage for all; and

WHEREAS, This system of social insurance has already been successfully demonstrated by the federal government through the Social Security and Medicare programs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports changing the concept of a federally sponsored social insurance program to cover the cost of long-term care and recommends that the program cover **all** Americans, regardless of age, since everyone is at risk for chronic illness; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the program should cover a comprehensive range of facility-based and community based care — not only health-related services, but also homemaker services, adult day care, and respite care for family caregivers — so that beneficiaries can achieve the maximum amount of independence in the setting they prefer; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the program should ensure high quality care by making sure that paid caregivers receive wages and benefits that are commensurate with the substantial demands of their jobs and that they are adequately trained to carry out their responsibilities; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That a federal program to cover long-term care be progressively financed, with the risk spread as broadly as possible throughout the population.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Supplemental Security Income Modernization

RESOLUTION NO. 92 — *By American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, Supplemental Security Income (SSI) is a federal program that provides monthly income to the low-income blind, disabled and elderly; and

WHEREAS, The highest monthly federal SSI check is only \$407 for an individual and \$610 for a couple, with only four states providing supplements large enough to bring benefits up to the poverty level; and

WHEREAS, SSI recipients can qualify for assistance only if assets fall below \$2,000 for an individual and \$3,000 for a couple, plus \$1,500 for burial expenses; and

WHEREAS, Even when a person has income and assets so low as to qualify for SSI, many states have restrictions that deny an SSI recipient access to Medicaid — usually leaving the recipient without adequate health care coverage; and

WHEREAS, After many years of only minimal change in the SSI program, the Commissioner of Social Security appointed an SSI Modernization Panel, whose mandate is to recommend ways to improve SSI; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges the SSI Modernization Panel to recommend the following improvements:

A raise in the ceiling for monthly SSI benefits to 120 percent of the poverty line — \$662 a month for an individual and \$888 a month for a couple.

An increase in the qualifying assets ceiling under SSI to \$12,000 for an individual and \$15,000 for a couple, including a burial fund.

Automatic coverage under Medicaid for all those qualifying for SSI benefits.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Needs of Working Families

RESOLUTION NO. 93 — *By Public Employee Department and American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, America's working families are in crisis. Married couples with children find it necessary for both parents to work to maintain a decent living. Single parents must work. While parents work, they need good child care. Yet, the child care industry has failed to meet the crisis. Infant care is almost nonexistent. Child care providers are leaving the industry at alarming rates because of low wages, little or no benefits and low status. Quality care is often unaffordable for most parents forcing them to leave their children in dangerous or unhealthy care or at home caring for themselves; and

WHEREAS, Fifty-five percent of the work force is comprised of family members caring for elderly parents or other relatives. Unlike child care, the caregiver role is often placed on an employee with no warning. The typical employed caregiver is a woman. The average American woman will spend 17 years bringing up her children and 18 years caring for her elderly parents or parents-in-law, or other aging, ill relatives. The situation worsens for the 1.8 million women who are simultaneously caring for their children and an elderly relative; and

WHEREAS, Many employers have not caught up with the realities of the workplace, preferring to keep in place outdated policies designed for only a minority of families today. Thus, instead of considering changes to help caregiving employees do their job better, managers complain about employees' excessive telephone use, absenteeism, lateness, and unscheduled time off from work; and

WHEREAS, The United States has no leave policy to help workers care for a newborn or sick child, or elderly parent or relative. While the 101st Congress has passed child care legislation which will begin to relieve parents' child care problems, it failed to override the President's veto of the Family and Medical Leave Act. The FMLA was reintroduced this year with the same threat of a Presidential veto. Moreover, while Congress authorized a certain amount of money to implement the child care legislation, it is wavering on fully appropriating those funds; and

WHEREAS, Labor unions have been fighting to win family leave benefits and child care through collective bargaining. An AFL-CIO Work and Family Committee was established to promote family-oriented programs and to share information on successful programs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to participate in the debate on these issues and vigorously advocate strong, sound measures to produce a decent life for our families today and a bright future for our children. Specifically, the AFL-CIO should:

Urge Congress to appropriate fully the funds it authorized for child care in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 and to pass a veto-proof Family and Medical Leave Act.

Make dependent care a bargaining priority for contract negotiations.

Lobby for progressive changes in policies affecting working families at the state and local level.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Occupational Health and Safety Protections

RESOLUTION NO. 96 — *By American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, Fighting for safer workplaces and protecting the lives and health of members is a top priority for the AFL-CIO; and

WHEREAS, Nearly 20 years have passed since passage of the federal Occupational Safety and Health Act, although the terrible toll of workplace injuries, illnesses and fatalities continues; and

WHEREAS, Over 1600 public employees were killed on the job in 1989 and over a quarter of a million suffered disabling injuries. The full extent of hazards in the public sector is unknown because adequate injury and illness statistics do not exist for public employees, nor do these statistics cover occupationally related illness; and

WHEREAS, The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 does not provide for mandatory coverage for public employees, although

public employees do some of the most dangerous and unpleasant work our society demands to provide safe and pleasant lives for Americans; and

WHEREAS, AFL-CIO members are on the frontier of new occupational health and safety hazards including infectious diseases, indoor air pollution, violence in the workplace, video display terminals and toxic wastes; and

WHEREAS, The Comprehensive Occupational Safety and Health Reform Act which will require the coverage of all public employees, mandate joint labor-management health and safety committees, give workers the right to refuse hazardous work, and greatly increases workers' control over their workplace health and safety conditions, has been introduced into Congress by Senators Kennedy and Metzenbaum, and Congressman Ford; and

WHEREAS, The problem of understaffing and working alone in dangerous situations is increasing in many industries as management cuts back on labor in order to save money; and,

WHEREAS, Workplace health and safety problems are directly linked to general environmental problems; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to provide technical assistance and hold conferences as appropriate; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will make every effort to educate their members on health and safety hazards and solutions and provide adequate support staff; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will set up strong health and safety committees and will actively seek to introduce language into contracts and/or legislation specifying the employer's obligation to abide by all OSHA standards and regulations; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will support the strengthening of the Clean Air Act, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act and other legislation to protect the environment, and which will include strong worker protection and training programs covering public employees; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges OSHA and EPA to issue regulations covering anesthetic waste gases, infectious diseases, stress, pesticides, indoor air pollution, ergonomics, back injuries and video display terminals, and urges that OSHA address the issue of understaffing as a health and safety hazard; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will explore the use of product liability suits and the prosecution of employers under criminal statutes where willful disregard of the law results in injury, disease and death; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will declare every April 28 to be Workers' Memorial Day and will work with other unions to make the day a major event to remind the American public of the toll of workplace injuries, illnesses and death; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly supports the Comprehensive Occupational Safety and Health Reform Act and will make passage of this bill a legislative priority.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Health Care Workers Infected by HIV

RESOLUTION NO. 97 — *By Public Employee Department and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, Public hysteria has been heightened by the alleged infection by an HIV-infected dentist of five of his patients, although there is no proof that a direct HIV transmission from a health care worker to a patient has ever taken place despite ten years of the AIDS epidemic and thousands of patients who have been treated by HIV-infected health care workers, and

WHEREAS, The chance of a patient getting AIDS from a health care worker are infinitesimal unless the patient is having a sexual relationship or sharing needles with the health care worker; and

WHEREAS, The best way to protect both patients and health care workers from HIV infection in health care institutions is strict adherence to universal infection control precautions; and

WHEREAS, HIV testing of health care workers would not offer any useful information, but would violate workers' rights and waste money that could better be used for improving infection control; and

WHEREAS, Employer or public knowledge of health care workers' HIV status would likely lead to discrimination against the workers and their families, as well as the end of their job, regardless of the procedures conducted; and the threat of testing and restrictions on HIV-infected workers would discourage those workers from seeking needed expert advice about their health condition and the safety of continuing their jobs; and

WHEREAS, Congress is considering legislation that would jail HIV-infected health care workers, as well as legislation that would reduce states' flexibility to protect patients and health care workers by requiring the states to adopt the CDC Guidelines, and

WHEREAS, It has been five years since AFL-CIO affiliates petitioned the Occupational Safety and Health Administration for a standard covering bloodborne infectious diseases; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will strongly push for improvements in infection control procedures as the best way to make medical procedures safer and will oppose any restrictions of health care workers that are based solely on an employee's HIV status; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That AFL-CIO strongly opposes mandatory HIV testing of all workers, including health care workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That AFL-CIO strongly opposes criminal penalties or other sanctions against HIV-infected health care workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That AFL-CIO encourages CDC, OSHA, FDA and other relevant government agencies to establish a commission that includes health care workers to propose, evaluate and establish standards in the development and design of engineering controls which include safer needles, instruments, and personal protective equipment and procedures; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That in order to maintain as much flexibility as possible, the AFL-CIO urges Congress not to pass legislation requiring states to adopt the CDC Guidelines pertaining to the HIV testing of health care workers, but rather that any legislation should allow states flexibility in issuing policies that would protect patients and health care workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That any policies covering HIV-positive health care workers must safeguard the confidentiality of those workers from the public and from his or her employer; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That OSHA should immediately adopt the Blood-borne Disease Standard that will protect workers and patients from HIV infection. Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Nursing in the Nineties

RESOLUTION NO. 100 — *By American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, The workplace demands on nurses — both LPNs and RNs — continue to mount as the pay, benefits, and recognition remain static. Study after study shows that nurses are grossly underpaid compared to other professionals. Surveys also show that nurses are providing less “bedside care” and more non-nursing services. Hospitals, nursing homes, institutions, and other health care facilities have become the new factories in our service economy where patients are moved “sicker and quicker” through the assembly line. Unlike the past, nurses now serve more patients, but for less time; and

WHEREAS, Nurses today are less willing to accept the deteriorating working conditions found at their worksites when more lucrative

and less stressful employment is available in other professions. Where nurses have not had the benefits of collective bargaining, too often the only flexibility available is through nurse registries, a process profitable for registry owners, but potentially degrading, when unregulated, for nurses; and

WHEREAS, In certain sectors of our health care system, the nursing shortage has reached crisis proportions. The shortage is compounded by fewer applications to many nursing schools. Employers seek nurses from other countries rather than concentrating on developing a comprehensive plan for training and retraining the domestic nurse work force. Without clear monetary recognition for experience, training, and skill, the attractiveness of the profession in the eyes of potential nurses will continue to decline; and

WHEREAS, Increasingly, nurses are searching for organizations which address the devalued status of nursing in a systematic, comprehensive fashion. Nurses desire that bed-side care on-the-floors is restored to their job descriptions. The threats to abolish the LPN classification and to create new health care worker classifications to replace RNs further undermine the already understaffed health care system. Most importantly, nurses seek a member-driven, collective "voice" to improve working and patient conditions; and

WHEREAS, The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that bargaining units in hospitals can be carved into nine distinct units, including an all RN unit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will fill the void created by the failure of the American Nurses Association to devote the time, resources and commitment needed to win collective bargaining rights for nurses; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will commit its resources to a nationwide program to organize nurses in every state in America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That AFL-CIO unions who organize nurses will place emphasis on raising starting wages, adding step increases based on experience and longevity, adding differentials; for specialty areas, increasing shift and weekend differentials, and eliminating sex-based wage discrimination.

Equally important, union bargainers should seek control of job content by negotiating staffing ratios by unit and shift, which include nurses directly in the patient care decisionmaking process, should bargain for greater flexibility in job content and in workplace decisionmaking and should collectively bargain for a safer and healthier workplace; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to aggressively develop and implement a federal and state legislative agenda including national health care for nurses. The AFL-CIO urges enactment of federal legislation addressing the nursing shortage, the inclusion of a working nurse representative on JCAHO, and the development of reimbursement reform proposals which would ensure pay equity and direct reimbursement for nurses.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Child Care Workers

RESOLUTION NO. 101 — *By American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, Many studies have proven the link between the quality of child care and the training and compensation of child care workers. Better education, training, salaries, and benefits clearly make for more sensitive and appropriate caregiving, less turnover, and better language and social development among children. Yet, as the demand for child care skyrocketed during the last decade, child care staff wages plunged more than 20 percent when adjusted for inflation; and

WHEREAS, Child care workers constitute a very poorly paid work force. According to a **National Child Care Staffing Study** conducted by the Child Care Employee Project (CCEP), the average hourly wage of child care teachers in 1988 was \$5.35, which is an annual income of \$9,363 for full-time employment. The 1988 poverty threshold for a family of three was \$9,431 a year. Fifty-seven percent of these workers earned \$5 per hour or less. Most got no yearly cost-of-living, nor merit increases. Despite gains in overall formal education and experience, child care teaching staff was paid even less in 1988 than in 1977; and

WHEREAS, Staff turnover has nearly tripled in the last decade, jumping from 15 percent in 1977 to 41 percent in 1988. The most important determinant of staff turnover was staff wages; and

WHEREAS, Most child care teachers, even full-time staff, received minimal employment benefits. Two out of five teachers received health coverage and one out of five had a retirement plan. Other than sick leave and paid holidays, the only benefit offered to a majority of the staff was reduced fees for child care. Teachers earning the lowest wages received the fewest benefits; and

WHEREAS, In child care, children's experience is directly linked to the well-being of their care givers. Good quality care requires an environment that values adults as well as children. Yet, as a nation, we are reluctant to acknowledge child care settings as a work envi-

ronment for adults. Outdated attitudes about women's work and the family obscure our view of teachers' economic needs and the demands of their work; and

WHEREAS, Child care occupations are high stress. They entail heavy responsibility for the welfare of others and yet are undervalued, have incredible low status and are very poorly paid. The level of stress increases as the ratio of staff to children decreases leading to more responsibility, less opportunity for relief, and more potential for emergency situations to occur; and

WHEREAS, The inability of early childhood programs to attract and retain qualified staff is increasingly identified as one of the most serious barriers to the availability of quality child care. As a result, young children who need security and stability constantly must adjust to new caregivers; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to:

Vigorously advocate salary enhancements in all new and current federal and state allotments for child care.

Encourage significant investment in new public and private resources for child care to help low- and middle-income families meet the cost of improved salaries in their child care programs.

Lobby for reimbursement rates for all publicly-funded child care, which reflect the full cost of care based on improved salaries for teachers.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Reasonable Caseload in Social Services

RESOLUTION NO. 102 — *By Public Employee Department and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, Far too many union members who work in human services and other programs are adversely affected by stress, burnout, and an inability to provide services effectively because of unmanageable and unreasonable caseloads; and

WHEREAS, Runaway caseloads carried by employees in public agencies are indefensible. They make a mockery out of the delivery of services to which clients are entitled by law. They cause chaos in the workplace by creating serious worker turnover and absenteeism rates, demoralized staff and disgruntled clients; and

WHEREAS, Public service agencies that tolerate the existence of unmanageable caseloads break faith with taxpayers' expectations that services to eligible persons be provided promptly, effectively, and efficiently; and

WHEREAS, Unmanageable caseloads, or workloads, have a profound impact upon conditions of employment. Because of this fact, they present an issue that should be addressed and resolved through the collective bargaining and consultation process, through federal and state legislative action, and by legal means, if necessary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to provide assistance on caseload problems to affiliate bodies who represent social service workers by researching successful bargaining, legislative and legal strategies to reduce caseloads; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to advocate for adequate federal funding for social services programs so that caseloads can be reduced and services improved. As part of this effort, the AFL-CIO will facilitate the development of ways to specifically address the caseload issue at the federal level through the establishment of national guidelines on caseloads or workloads or by altering federal/state reimbursement formulas in such a way as to provide incentives to states to set lower caseload sizes and increase staffing.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Salomon Brothers

RESOLUTION NO. 103 — *By American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, Salomon Brothers has admitted to repeated violations of U.S. Treasury Department security bidding procedures; and

WHEREAS, Three flagrant violations may subject Salomon Brothers to criminal and/or civil penalties; and

WHEREAS, Salomon's admissions to four cases of violating Treasury auction rules have led to the departures of top officials at Salomon Brothers; and

WHEREAS, Public employee pension plans have used Salomon Brothers for corporate, equity, mortgage-backed and government securities transactions; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative to maintain the integrity and efficiency of the government securities market; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports legislation to strengthen the laws covering the government securities markets, including tougher laws for violators of the Treasury Department's process for selling government debt.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Solidarity with the Public Service Alliance Strikers

RESOLUTION NO. 104 — *By American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.*

WHEREAS, The Public Service Alliance of Canada, which represents 150,000 government workers, has called a national strike in opposition to their government's wage restraint program; and WHEREAS, The Mulroney government and its allies in Parliament, in an action reminiscent of Ronald Reagan's destruction of PATCO, passed strike-breaking legislation, and

WHEREAS, The labor movements of Canada and the United States are historically intertwined to a degree unmatched in other parts of the world; and

WHEREAS, Economic and political events in one of these countries affect developments in the other; and

WHEREAS, Labor solidarity across national boundaries has become increasingly important to ensure the continued growth and vitality of union movements for public employees and all workers in all countries; and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO supports the right of public employees to bargain collectively, including the right to strike, and will continue to work until all public employees obtain these rights;

therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO expresses its solidarity with the Public Service Alliance of Canada in its first national strike, and will lend assistance and support to that courageous job action.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Crisis in State and Local Budgets

RESOLUTION NO. 106 — *By Public Employee Department.*

WHEREAS, Not since the Great Depression have state and local governments been in a more serious fiscal crisis than they are today, having had to close FY 1992 with budget deficits of more than \$50 billion this past legislative session; and

WHEREAS, About two-thirds of this budget gap was closed by cutbacks in essential education, social service, housing, public safety, and other programs and by pushing an unfair burden on state and local employees through wage and benefit cutbacks, involuntary furloughs, and lay-offs; and

WHEREAS, Belt-tightening by state and local governments will send unemployment up one-half of one percentage point nationwide and will retard national economic growth by as much as 0.5 percent; and

WHEREAS, Many of the service cuts and layoffs used to fill the budget gaps are not sustainable, ignoring or pushing into the future the real demand for public services, and foreshadowing another round of budget crises before the end of this year and into the next budget cycle; and

WHEREAS, Federal aid to state and local governments has fallen to record lows. States that once received as much as 25 cents in federal aid for each own-source dollar now receive only 18 cents, and cities have seen their aid fall from 25 cents of every own-source dollar to as low as 9 cents. Unfunded mandates from Washington, D.C., for Medicaid, environmental, and related legislation have compounded the problem; and

WHEREAS, State and local governments already raised \$63 billion in new revenue over the past decade just to compensate for the loss of the federal share, and state governments raised revenue an additional \$18 billion in FY 1992 to close state budget gaps; and

WHEREAS, State and local tax systems continue to rely too heavily on unfair types of taxation which spare the very rich at the expense of poor and middle-income families; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue its support of the Citizens for Tax Justice, renews its efforts to engage friends and allies in the fight for fair and equitable tax policies, and will organize around tax issues; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to join together and with others to pursue progressive tax policies as an alternative to service cutbacks, lay-offs, and givebacks. Such progressive tax policies include strengthening corporate and personal income taxes, making state tax administration fairer and more consistent, exempting necessities from state sales tax, extending the sales tax base to include such items as services primarily purchased by the well-off, encouraging states to join the Multistate Tax Commission so that the tax liabilities on interstate and international business can be more easily assessed; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will work to encourage state and local governments to provide property tax relief to low- and middle-income families, assure that commercial and industrial property owners pay their fair share of property tax, extend the property tax to intangible property such as stocks and bonds, and transform regressive local wage taxes to broad-based graduated income taxes through such means as piggy-backing on existing state income taxes; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will work to urge Congress to enact legislation requiring direct marketers to collect sales taxes and

remit them to the governmental jurisdictions in which the purchases were made; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls for a new partnership to be forged between the federal government and the states and localities wherein the federal government must restore its financial commitment to state and local programs and endorse policies that promote economic growth, maintain high employment, and enhance productivity.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Opposition to "Private School Choice" Schemes

RESOLUTION NO. 112 — Public Employee Department.

WHEREAS, The Bush administration and others have advanced private school choice as a means for improving the quality of education; and

WHEREAS, Such programs of private school choice would divert public dollars from public schools to private purposes; and

WHEREAS, It has been the experience of private schools to admit students on an exclusive rather than an inclusive basis; and

WHEREAS, Recent data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress examinations debunk the myth that private and parochial school students out-perform public school students who have undertaken similar courses of study; and

WHEREAS, A strong, adequately funded system of public education is vital to the economic, social, and security interests of our nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its support for policies and programs that strengthen public education and oppose private choice schemes that would enable the use of public funds for private education.

Referred to the Committee on Education.

The Employment Service and Unemployment Insurance

RESOLUTION NO. 114 — *By Public Employee Department.*

WHEREAS, The Unemployment Insurance system (UI) has the dual purpose of providing unemployed workers with a temporary source of income and acting as an economic stabilizer during periods of economic recession; and

WHEREAS, In order to fulfill these two objectives, the Unemployment Insurance system originally operated on the basis that benefit liabilities would be forward funded; and

WHEREAS, Forward funding was designed to ensure that the system would accumulate reserves during periods of economic growth sufficient to cover benefit payments during periods of declining economic activity; and

WHEREAS, The Unemployment Insurance system and the forward funding principle have deteriorated over the last few decades to the point where the system has been seriously hampered in its ability to meet the needs of unemployed workers; and

WHEREAS, States have sought to reduce benefit payments by tightening eligibility requirements and reducing benefit duration to the point where only one in three unemployed workers receives unemployment compensation and nearly one-third of those who do get Unemployment Insurance payments exhaust their benefits before they find a job; and

WHEREAS, Chronic underfunding of administrative services has led to short-staffing in state unemployment insurance offices producing delays in processing claims and paying benefits; and

WHEREAS, Over the last several years, the federal government has relied on an annual cycle of pursuing supplemental spending bills to address budget shortfalls for UI administrative operating costs; and

WHEREAS, The Extended Benefits Program fails to provide benefits to thousands of workers facing prolonged periods of unemployment due to regional recessions; and

WHEREAS, The primary mission of the public Employment Service is finding jobs for people and people for jobs; and

WHEREAS, The Employment Service assesses work force trends and employer needs; provides assessment, counseling, testing and, where necessary, referral to training for job seekers; and matches out-of-work Americans with available jobs; and

WHEREAS, The ability of the Employment Service to provide these essential services to job seekers and employers has been hampered by a decline in federal appropriations relative to inflation; and

WHEREAS, A scarcity of funds for the Employment Service is difficult for employers, workers and states to understand because the federal Unemployment Tax paid by employers produces revenues dedicated to providing these employment services. Ample funds are available in the Employment Security Administration Account in the Federal Unemployment Trust Fund but are held hostage to the federal budget deficit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the passage of legislation which would reform the Unemployment Insurance system by

creating a contingency reserve fund or other mechanism to put it back on a forward funding track; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports legislation making the administrative funding for Unemployment Insurance and the Employment Service an appropriated entitlement that is automatically linked to changes in unemployment; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the emergency extended benefits legislation passed by Congress and urges the President to sign the bill; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges Congress to pass legislation which moves beyond this emergency legislation to lower permanently the unemployment rate trigger for the extended benefits program; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That Congress should reverse the trend towards minimizing the role of the Employment Service and instead support an expansion of its role to serve as the foundation of a comprehensive national labor market policy; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That Congress should appropriate adequate funds that fully support the Employment Service in FY 1992.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Trade Adjustment Assistance

RESOLUTION NO. 123 — *By International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.*

Trade Adjustment Assistance was first adopted in 1962 to assist workers who have lost their jobs as a result of U.S. efforts to liberalize trade. It has always been a minimal approach, with dislocated workers receiving far less in benefit amount and duration than they needed and to which they should have been entitled. Coverage has always been incomplete and delays in rendering decisions a common occurrence.

The present administration's drive to complete negotiations of free trade agreements with Mexico and other Western Hemisphere nations and to liberalize GATT trade rules opens the door to further massive plant closings in the United States and loss of thousands of jobs. Nowhere is this prospect more acute than in the apparel industry.

The AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress and the administration to amend the Trade Adjustment Assistance program to meet its ostensible purpose of preventing injury to American workers by their own government's trade policies. Among specific provisions that need enactment are:

Workers in industries subject to long term import growth should be certified for assistance without individualized investigations of third party, i.e. retailer, purchasing habits.

All workers in multi-product plants should be certified if the plant is forced to close due to imports of one or more of the products.

Restore the pre-1981 benefit rate of 70 percent of average earnings up to a maximum of the average manufacturing wage.

Eliminate the training requirements imposed by the Reagan-Bush administrations. Provide genuine training programs for those that can benefit from them, but do not deny benefits to those who cannot be helped by training.

Eliminate the present harsh requirements that workers dislocated by imports accept any suitable job at any rate of pay.

Improve coverage by expanding definition of "like or competitive articles" to fully include impact of imports of parts, accessories or services on U.S. workers making completed products that include such components. Further, U.S. firms making component parts should be certified for assistance if imports of completed products incorporating similar parts increase.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Minimum Wage

RESOLUTION NO. 124 — *By International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.*

The two-stage increase in the national minimum wage to \$4.25 on April 1, 1991, fell far short of the needs of our nation's poorest workers, even falling to sustain the purchasing power of the prior minimum wage.

The prior round of increases in the national minimum wage brought it to \$3.35 as of January 1, 1981. Between then and April 1991, the Consumer Price Index rose 52 percent. Just to keep up with price changes, the minimum would have to have risen to \$5.00.

Historically, the minimum wage has been set at 50 percent of the average hourly earnings of private, non-agricultural workers. In April 1991, the earnings were \$10.29 an hour and the minimum would have to have been set at \$5.15 an hour to meet the 50 percent standard.

The AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress and the administration to enact meaningful minimum wage legislation that would provide for its restoration to 50 percent of average national wage and for automatic future revisions to maintain the historic relationship. We further call for the elimination of the 60-day "training wage" loophole inserted in the present law at the insistence of President Bush.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Rights of Immigrant Workers

RESOLUTION NO. 125 — *By International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.*

In 1986, Congress enacted a historic piece of immigration legislation. Through its legalization programs, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) provided undocumented workers of long residence in this country an extraordinary opportunity to legalize their status. A number of unions played a vital role in assisting immigrants in this important process, including conducting educational programs for teaching English and civics to the legalization applicants. Many of the newly legalized immigrants have joined the ranks of unions all across this country. We celebrate with them their new freedom.

IRCA also, for the first time, imposed federal penalties (sanctions) against employers who hire undocumented workers. When IRCA was enacted, the labor movement had expressed its concern that employer sanctions could potentially result in workplace discrimination against ethnic minorities in this country. To prevent that, the AFL-CIO strongly supported an anti-discrimination provision in the legislation. That provision mandated the General Accounting Office (GAO) to determine whether the new law resulted in a pattern of discrimination against workers lawfully authorized to work in the country.

In its third and final report, issued in March of 1990, the GAO documented a widespread pattern of job discrimination as a direct result of IRCA's employer sanctions. The GAO report confirmed our worst fears: **many employers have** resorted to wholesale exclusion of Hispanic or Asian workers — simply because they look or sound "foreign." The pattern of discrimination, the GAO report concluded, cuts across geographical and occupational lines.

Employer sanctions were designed to improve wages and working conditions for all workers. Unfortunately, the law has actually added impetus to the resurgence of illegal sweatshops. The millions who were not eligible for legalization — together with the large number of new arrivals — have become a "hostage" work force that provides unscrupulous employers in sections of the manufacturing and service economy with cheap, unprotected labor. Shunned by legitimate employers, undocumented workers have been forced into greater dependence on sweatshop employers who are not fussy about immigration laws or any other laws. The inevitable increase in the practice of industrial homework is also well documented.

The ability of unions to organize undocumented workers, or otherwise defend their rights, has been strongly undermined by the enactment of employer sanctions. The same employers who defy the immigration law with impunity are quick to use the law as a convenient weapon when confronted with an organizing campaign or a

contract grievance. The law seems to have presented unscrupulous employers the ideal opportunity to eat their cake and have it too.

We call on Congress to allocate appropriate funding for a vastly expanded and improved education campaign to inform employers about their obligations under the anti-discrimination law and call on the administration to vigorously enforce the anti-discrimination provision of IRCA. We urge our affiliates to monitor the discriminatory practices of employers, and to assist union members who are victims of discrimination in their claims against employers.

Finally, it is time for the AFL-CIO to re-examine its policy on employer sanctions in light of the widespread discrimination and labor rights abuse that these have caused. We cannot support a law which gives employers a tool to undermine labor rights and protections.

Health Care for All

RESOLUTION NO. 126 — *By International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.*

The health care system in the United States is in crisis. Not only are 37 million Americans without any insurance, but tens of millions more are underinsured, and nearly all Americans fear the financial consequences of a serious illness. In significant ways, our health care system no longer provides quality care — our infant mortality, life expectancy, and other medical outcomes compare unfavorably with other countries which spend far less than we do. Our private insurance system no longer serves its traditional function of spreading the risk; in fact, insurance companies are a major cause of our problem as they compete for healthy patients dump sick patients, and clog the system with unnecessary paperwork.

For decades the labor movement has advocated a social insurance system of health care which would ensure health care to all. Now, for the first time in many years, others, including businesses and parts of the medical community, are also advocating significant reform.

While there are many legislative proposals on the table, the labor movement is united in our commitment to build eventually a universal social insurance system to provide health care. As we examine each piece of legislation introduced, we will measure it according to how well it meets our four basic principles: universal access, significant cost containment, progressive financing and quality care.

Because we anticipate at least several years of struggle before we achieve universal access to health care at a fair and equitable cost, we must undertake a massive campaign to educate and activate our members to understand the reasons for the health care crisis and to build

support for fundamental reform. Differences within the labor movement over specific pieces of legislation should not hold back our commitment to a creative and energetic campaign built around the principles we all share. We commit ourselves to continue and expand our campaign for a national health care system in America.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Sexual Harassment

RESOLUTION NO. 127 — *By International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.*

Sexual harassment is a widespread problem in the workplace. While we are all familiar with the news reports of reporter Lisa Olson being sexually harassed in a Boston Patriots locker room, and the case involving Clarence Thomas and his former assistant, Anita Hill, similar unannounced harassment goes on every day for many working women.

Over the years, the courts of the United States, including the Supreme Court, have recognized the pernicious nature of sexual harassment. They have defined sexual harassment to include more than "quid pro quo" harassment, in which a worker, usually a woman, is able to preserve her job only by submitting to sexual demands from a supervisor. The courts have also ruled that verbal harassment is illegal, as is the creation of a hostile workplace atmosphere through such activities as the posting of semi-nude photographs of women.

The AFL-CIO and many unions have been in the forefront of the effort to combat sexual harassment on the job and to sensitize employers to the impact of sexual harassment on its victims and on the atmosphere in the workplace for all workers. Unions are aware that harassment is harassment, while it usually comes from a supervisor, it can also come from coworkers.

The AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to adopt policies and programs to heighten membership awareness of and sensitivity to sexual harassment and, through collective bargaining and labor-management programs, to establish workplaces where sexual harassment is not tolerated.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Haiti

RESOLUTION NO. 128 — *By International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.*

We learned with dismay of the overthrow of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haiti's first democratically elected leader, and we deplore the many lives that were lost in an attempt by supporters of democracy to defy the coup. In his message to the Haitian people sent

from Caracas where he fled, President Aristide appealed for international solidarity to help restore democracy.

Recently when anti-democratic forces in the Soviet Union attempted to seize power, the people, with the help of international solidarity, were able to stop them. The United States and the rest of the world, particularly the international trade union movement must not remain silent while Haiti suffers.

The AFL-CIO condemns the vicious military coup and expresses its solidarity with the people of Haiti in this time of crisis.

The AFL-CIO pledges its support and solidarity to the democratic trade union movement of Haiti and commits itself to work closely with them for the restoration of the legitimate power and democracy in Haiti.

The AFL-CIO urges the government of the United States and the world community to suspend all economic, commercial, diplomatic and military assistance until legitimate power is restored.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

China

RESOLUTION NO. 129 — *By International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.*

While repressive dictatorial regimes of Eastern Europe have collapsed and the Soviet Union has denounced the monopoly of the Communist party, the People's Republic of China shows little sign of democratization.

Two years and five months since the suppression of the democracy movement and the military crackdown in Beijing, the American people have not forgotten the horrors of Tiananmen Square.

For the last 29 months, the American labor movement has continuously monitored the situation in China, particularly, the violations of human and labor rights.

Last April, American workers rejoiced at the release of Hang Dongfang, the leader of the Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation. Hang Dongfang had become critically ill after twenty-two months of imprisonment without trial. The American labor movement had campaigned endlessly for his freedom.

However, hundreds, maybe thousands of pro-democracy activists and WAF members remain behind bars, simply because they sought freedom and workers' rights.

Meanwhile, business goes on as usual between the U.S. government, most industrial nations and the leadership in Beijing.

Recent information released by the AFL-CIO and the human rights organization, Asia Watch, shows China's leaders' blatant abuses of

human and workers' rights and, in particular their use of prison labor in production for export to the United States and other countries.

It is estimated that between 16 and 20 million prisoners, many of them political detainees, are involved in forced labor — a great many making textiles, clothing and footwear for export to the United States.

China's clothing shipments to the United States increased six-fold in the 1980s, and it has become the world's leading export of clothing to the United States.

China's enslavement of millions of its people in forced labor gulags is an affront to humanity. Not only does this barbarism dehumanize China, it destroys jobs in the United States.

The AFL-CIO calls upon the President of the United States to deny the Most Favored Nations status to China until the following conditions are met

1. The release of all WAF members and any other pro-democracy activists from jail;

2. Respect of internationally recognized human and labor rights, including the right of workers to form trade unions of their choice;

3. An end to violations of the terms of China's bilateral textile and apparel agreement with the United States by transshipping goods through other countries such as Macao;

4. An end to the use of prison labor for producing goods for export to the United States which is a direct violation of the United States Trade Laws;

The AFL-CIO further pledges to investigate American companies which knowingly purchase prison-made products, and to see that those violating the laws are prosecuted. While the Chinese are producing the goods, American companies are buying them with the knowledge that it is illegal.

The AFL-CIO commits itself to continue to assist the Chinese workers in achieving greater freedom and democratic rights.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Occupational and Environmental Safety and Health

RESOLUTION NO. 130 — *By Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.*

On September 3, 25 workers died in a North Carolina factory fire — most of them futilely trying to escape through locked doors. In the plant's 11-year history, it had never been inspected for even basic fire safety by the North Carolina state OSHA inspectors. The continuing toll taken by injury, disease and death on the job is intolerable. Worse, it has continued to increase in recent years.

In addition, the inequities and frustrations imposed upon injured workers by the workers' compensation system are legendary. They have resulted in fewer workers receiving adequate benefits, reasonable administrative treatment or proper rehabilitation.

At the same time employers' costs continue to increase, especially those involving health care for sick and injured workers. This has severely exacerbated organized labor's efforts to improve the level of benefits as well as achieve a generally equitable level of benefits irrespective of state or industry.

However, there is broad support among workers in all industries, as well as by the public in general, for strengthened laws on health and safety, both inside and outside the workplace. In contrast to earlier years, even some employers and Republican congressional leaders are now calling for stricter enforcement and better standards on job safety. The time has come for passage of the Comprehensive Occupational Safety and Health Reform Act.

The AFL-CIO has repeatedly urged the enactment of the Act's major reforms to OSHA, including the mandatory establishment of worksite safety programs and worker safety representatives, strengthened enforcement and extensive worker training. We have also called attention to the precarious financing and unreliable administration of the workers compensation system, and sought the cooperation of employers, the insurance industry and state agencies to address these problems.

However, the achievement of these goals depends on our ability to mount a united, grassroots trade union lobbying effort, in concert with other allies.

Moreover, recent experience has shown that workplace hazards continue to be a common source of dissatisfaction among non-union workers. Organized labor has a major opportunity to reach out to the unorganized and disenfranchised in the workplace, by addressing these concerns. No government agency will ever be in a position to defend workers' safety and health interests as well as workers can themselves, particularly acting through worker safety committees.

This base of broad worker and public support for stronger safety and health laws is not limited to the workplace alone. There is considerable common ground to be found by both trade unionists and those concerned about toxic chemicals and other environmental hazards in our communities. Indeed, when political leaders promise to "improve the environment," many workers are reminded of the hazards in the environment they know best — the workplace.

The environmental movement is growing stronger daily, and is entitled to the support and cooperation of organized labor. Its de-

mands for cleaning up our environment can mean substantial job opportunities for workers, as already demonstrated by the Clean Water Act. Government support for mass transit is not only an environmental imperative, but also the kind of public works program which will give both employment and improved quality of life to millions of Americans.

The joining of our interests with those of the environmental movement is clearly evident in the debate on the North American Free Trade Agreement. The popular distrust of the records of both the business community and the administration on occupational and environmental safety propelled those issues to the top of the debate on trade policy. We have learned that by making common cause with the environmental and health movements, we can find unparalleled support for many worker demands.

If we ignore the opportunities offered by a coalition with the environmental movement, we do so at our peril. The chemical industry will not relinquish control of toxic chemicals unless it faces the combined strength of this coalition. The administration will always try to divide us, but we have demonstrated that we cannot be ignored on such vital issues. When we fight with environmental groups over issues of economic development — instead of arriving at a common program — it is the financiers who benefit, not workers or community residents, not Mexican workers or American workers. As a movement which is committed to the improvement of life for all workers, we must not allow that to happen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO:

Urges the Congress to quickly pass, and the President to sign, the OSHA Reform bill, including mandatory workplace safety programs and committees, and a detailed evaluation and comparison of the problems of the states' workers compensation systems;

Urges its affiliated unions and departments to join forces in achieving this goal, for the mutual benefit of all workers;

Continues to sponsor the commemoration of Worker Memorial Day, and urges its national, state and local affiliates to continue and expand their support for this activity;

Will host a national health and safety conference next year to help mobilize the campaign for OSHA Reform;

Continues to support the involvement of community residents in the prevention of pollution from toxic industrial chemicals, including not only strong "Right-to-Know" laws but also legislation which allows community residents, in cooperation with workers' represen-

tatives, to challenge the hazardous practices of industrial management;

Calls upon EPA to vigorously enforce the Toxic Substances Control Act to strictly limit or ban the production of toxic industrial materials;

Urges EPA to faithfully carry out the spirit of the new Clean Air Act to eliminate the threat posed by acid rain to our forests and waterways, and to ensure the protection of workers and communities from toxic and hazardous air pollutants;

Calls upon the Congress to enact the establishment of a "Superfund" — funded by polluters — to protect the economic security of workers and their communities from the adverse effects of any dislocation arising from environmental protection programs.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Commitment to Organizing

RESOLUTION NO. 131 — *By Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.*

The AFL-CIO's commitment to organize workers has helped to drive and shape the history of the labor movement for over 35 years. We know that the wages, benefits, and basic rights union members have won through collective bargaining could never be secure until the millions of unorganized workers were brought under the labor movement banner. This was true when the AFL-CIO was founded, and it is just as true today.

Efforts to organize during the past ten years have faced the fierce opposition of employers and illegal tactics of their union-busting consultants. Throughout the Reagan and Bush presidencies, workers have seen their wages shrink, benefits cut, jobs disappear, and worst of all they have suffered a steady erosion of their rights to organize and bargain collectively. This attack on the standard of living and the legal rights of working people has been championed by the Republican White House. Never in our history has our resolve to organize been so severely tested, nor has the need to organize been greater.

As we enter the last decade of the twentieth century, the legacy of the Reagan administration continues unabated by the Bush government. The Bush administration continues the disastrous free trade policies that have resulted in the exportation of millions of American jobs overseas and the importation of sweatshop conditions into America's non-union plants and factories. American workers, union and non-union alike, find their efforts to secure a decent job with a fair wage and safe working conditions in direct conflict with Bush's plans to build the American economy on a foundation of cheap wages and dangerous conditions.

The greed of the Reagan-Bush years has caused the very foundations of business to begin to collapse. The weight of debt caused by mergers, buyouts, and takeovers has meant once healthy corporations are forced to close their doors permanently laying off thousands of workers. Who pays for worthless junk bonds and insolvent banks? In the end, it is the American workers, the taxpayers, who are bailing out the flood of failed get-rich-quick schemes.

Perhaps the most tragic of all the Reagan-Bush policies has been its systematic destruction of the National Labor Relations Board. Celebrating its fiftieth birthday only a few years ago, the Board has abandoned its original charge of protecting workers' rights to organize and promote collective bargaining. Instead, it has become a willing partner in employers' attempts to frustrate and deny their employees' efforts to unionize.

Despite all the obstacles we face in organizing workers in the United States, and the dire prediction of some commentators of the labor movement's inevitable extinction, the AFL-CIO's commitment to organizing continues. A prime example of that commitment is the pioneering effort of the AFL-CIO's Organizing Institute. Through the Organizing Institute, hundreds of students, young people, as well as community and labor leaders are being recruited, trained and hired by AFL-CIO affiliates as a new generation of union organizers.

At the heart of our organizing success has been the active support of rank and file union members. In most of the significant organizing victories we have won in recent years, union members have taken leaves from their jobs to work directly on the campaigns. We have improved our organizers' abilities to develop and run campaigns, and we have enhanced our research capabilities to target the firms we are to organize and to secure first contracts from employers where we have won elections.

While we have made progress in organizing over the last few years, our obligation to organize the unorganized still remains largely unmet. For too many workers, each day on the job is an uncertain adventure in unsafe working conditions, possible pay cuts, and non-existent benefits. Millions of undocumented workers not only suffer through the dangers of sweatshop working conditions, but they also live in constant fear that any protests to their boss will result in their arrest and eventual deportation back to the poverty and oppression they left behind.

If we are to strengthen our labor movement, we must substantially increase our efforts to organize the unorganized. Organizing remains the best available means for us to protect and improve on the wages, benefits, and working conditions presently enjoyed by union mem-

bers, and it is the only means for unorganized workers to secure a decent living for themselves and their families; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls for:

Continued efforts to make organizing a top priority at all levels of the labor movement from the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO to the locals of the affiliates;

Greater dedication of the labor movement's resources to running large organizing campaigns in basic manufacturing and in the emerging service economy;

Increased use of rank and file members in organizing campaigns.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Women in the Work Force

RESOLUTION NO. 132 — *By Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.*

Women represent an increasing proportion of the work force in the United States. While many women enter the work force out of a desire to use talents, develop skills, and receive the other personal benefits that come with work, the majority of women work because of economic needs.

The loss of economic security brought about by divorce, disability, death, or unemployment of a spouse forces many women to be the sole support of their families. In addition, the loss of higher paying industrial jobs to low wage service jobs, combined with a persistent loss in real income for working people creates the need for both husband and wife to work in order to meet basic family needs. In fact, 35 percent more families would be below the poverty line if both parents did not work.

Discrimination

The majority of women who work outside the home are in traditionally female occupations, which are low paid, low status, non-union and offer little chance for advancement. Even in the better paying occupations or professions in which women have entered in very large numbers in recent years, they are undervalued and underpaid relative to men. The persistence of occupational and sexual discrimination has kept the average wage of women workers in the United States at three-quarters of what a man earns.

The AFL-CIO continues to push for the complete elimination of discrimination against women. We stand with the Coalition of Labor Union Women, women's organizations outside the labor movement, civil rights groups and others working to change laws, policies, institutions and attitudes to bring about equity and justice for all.

Work and Family Issues

Families have changed dramatically in the last twenty years in the U.S. The two-parent family with the mother staying at home is no longer typical. Two out of three mothers in the United States, with children under 18, work outside the home. Unmarried couples, single-parent families, extended families, as well as other forms of families are increasingly common.

The most common non-traditional family units today, numbering close to eleven million, are those with women as heads of the household. Of all working mothers, one in four are single. Twelve million children live in families maintained by women, the great majority in conditions of poverty. Families maintained by women have a poverty rate of five-and-one-half times that of married couples. Our social programs provide little assistance for their special needs.

The idea that women's primary career is in the home and that men have few household responsibilities is no longer the dominant view. Women, who are entering the work force as a matter of course, are placing increased demands on spouses, employers and government to ease the burden of their "double day." Men are also beginning to feel the pressures of balancing work and family life.

Over one-quarter of all employees have some responsibility for the care of an elderly relative. As life expectancy increases and the "baby boom" generation ages, there will be more people in need of elder care. Care-givers are primarily women in their forties whose already low wages are further eroded by working part-time (often losing benefits) or interrupting work entirely. These personal solutions to this social problem limits the care-givers' ability to save for their own retirement, reduces their social security and pension benefits, and places their own futures in jeopardy.

The fact that other relatives, such as grandmothers and aunts, are also in the work force means that the extended family is often not available to support working parents. At the same time, families are facing unprecedented challenges in job security, homelessness, lack of affordable health and child care, drug abuse and other pressures.

Neither employers nor the government have adequately responded to the changing needs of working families. A recent study estimated that the costs to families and taxpayers of the **lack** of a family and medical leave law is \$715 million, six times the estimated cost to business of providing such leave. Another study found that granting leave was cheaper than hiring a permanent replacement, even for small businesses. The social cost of not providing child care is also significant. For example, the lack of child care has contributed to the recent proliferation of homework, sweatshops and child labor.

Health Care and Reproductive Choice

Working women should not have to choose between keeping a job and having children due to employers' "fetal protection" policies. Women should have the right to make reproductive choices free from government interference such as regulations that "gag" doctors in federally-funded clinics. The lack of parental leave, child care facilities, pay equity, true equal opportunity, and special nutritional and medical programs for pregnant women restricts reproductive choice as much as the "gag rule." At a minimum, adequate prenatal and postnatal care should be provided until a comprehensive national health care system is adopted in the U.S.

Women and Unions

In 1988, median weekly earnings for women union members were 30 percent higher than for non-union women workers. Most union contracts provide for partially-paid maternity leave, and 40 percent of manufacturing and 30 percent of non-manufacturing union agreements include parental leave provisions. Many unions have established child care programs, or special information and referral networks. Unions have negotiated flex-time and the flexible use of vacation days in factories as well as offices and the service sector to provide for the special needs of parents of young children.

The union movement has fought very hard for affirmative action programs and against sexual harassment. We still continue to support an Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and pay equity laws to finally end all legal discrimination against women. We shall continue to make demands upon employers to meet the special needs of working and single-parent families.

The labor movement stands as the best hope for women to achieve economic justice and equality. Organizing working women and fighting for women's issues is an important way to strengthen the labor movement. In the U.S., 140,000 women have joined unions since 1987; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO:

Reaffirms its commitment to work through the collective bargaining process, as well as taking legal and legislative action to provide wider opportunities for women, for pay equity, and to attack wage discrimination wherever it exists.

Continues its longstanding commitment toward the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Will actively work toward the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, designed to overturn recent Supreme Court decisions against affirmative action and dilution of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Commits itself to work actively for passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act currently before Congress. This bill will provide 12 weeks of unpaid leave for births or adoptions of a child, and for serious illness in a person's immediate family. It likewise commits to quick passage of a national child care legislation. Both of these bills will help families achieve a healthy balance between family and work responsibilities.

Continues to aggressively organize women workers into unions as a way to enhance their wages and working conditions as well as strengthen the bargaining power of unions.

Affirms the rights of every woman to make reproductive choices free from government interference. The AFL-CIO shall strongly oppose any legislation or constitutional amendment which would abridge or deny women's rights in regard to family planning.

Specifically opposes any effort by the government to prevent health care professionals from informing or counseling patients regarding any legally available medical options for their own health care; condemns the use of government funding as a "gag" to restrict freedom of speech which is in opposition to administration ideology and will actively work against censorship and discriminatory health care policies.

Supports the efforts of the Coalition of Labor Union Women to encourage the participation and enhance the role of women in the labor movement, including the promotion of union women to leadership positions on local, regional and national levels.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

RESOLUTION NO. 133 — *By Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.*

The AFL-CIO has a proud history of active involvement in the struggle for civil rights and a strong tradition of representing workers of all races and nations who are employed in the United States and Canada. We have long been committed to equal opportunity in employment, job training, education and voting for all persons regardless of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age or handicap.

However, in spite of all the legal, political, social and economic progress we have succeeded in attaining, minorities continue to be denied full participation in the economic, political and social structure of our society because of ingrained prejudices.

Minorities in the United States have had to carry a disproportionate share of the nation's economic burden, suffering more than others from the Reagan-Bush administration's recession and federal budget cuts.

The Bush administration's anti-civil rights appointees to government agencies subvert the original intention of civil rights legislation. They attempt to demolish hard-won gains, such as affirmative action goals, court-ordered busing and federal voting rights legislation. The decline of equal employment opportunity enforcement has been particularly evident in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

We are deeply concerned about the manner in which our immigrant brothers and sisters are received into our country. We are outraged by the blatant racism that workers are being subjected to under the employer sanctions provision of the Immigration Reform and Control Act. We also oppose all proposals for "English only" legislation, in order to preserve cultural identity and to allow non-English speaking Americans and immigrants to learn in their native language.

We believe that union representation can provide minority and immigrant workers with the means to fight all forms of discrimination and that organized minority workers will strengthen the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO:

Recognizes, in accordance with our trade union values, that civil rights and liberties are really human rights issues;

Rededicates itself to the struggle to eliminate any and all discrimination toward any person based upon race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age or handicap;

Supports the Civil Rights Act of 1990 which would:

1. Provide protections against race discrimination on the job and in private contracts;
2. Make clear that job bias is always illegal;
3. Grant women, religious and ethnic minorities the right to recover damages for intentional employment discrimination;
4. Restore fair and effective civil rights enforcement;

Commits to redouble its efforts to educate union members and leaders to practice the principles of sisterhood and brotherhood;

Continues to call for affirmative action for women, minorities, and handicapped persons in the areas of hiring, recruiting, counseling, training, upgrading and promotions;

Continues to provide leadership in defending the rights of immigrant workers;

Reaffirms its commitment to continue to apply the above principles in the hiring and development of AFL-CIO staff and leadership.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Immigration Policy

RESOLUTION NO. 134 — *By Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.*

The labor movement was founded by immigrants and the children of immigrants. We are the proud inheritors of a rich history of struggle where working men and women from very diverse racial and cultural backgrounds unite around common needs and shared desires for a better life to build a union.

Some immigrants come to this country by choice, others have been forced out of their countries by political and/or economic upheaval, and still others were kidnapped and brought as slaves. Many immigrants are exploited upon arrival, working under miserable conditions for substandard wages in the flourishing sweatshop economies in New York City, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago and many other cities.

Immigrants continue to be intimidated from demanding their fundamental rights as workers. A recent GAO report documents that the Immigration Reform and Control Act has created widespread discrimination and employer abuse of immigrants. In addition, current immigration law encourages unscrupulous employers to exploit immigrants by forcing them into sweatshops, effectively denying them access to the legitimate labor market.

By pitting foreign workers against native workers, and documented workers against undocumented, these practices undermine the strength, compromise the goals, and threaten the gains of the labor movement. It also depresses the wages and undermines the working conditions of all workers and reinforces the short-sighted business view that cheap labor, not skilled labor, defines competitive advantage in today's economy.

The traditions and values of the labor movement are deeply rooted in justice, fairness and equality for all workers and their families. We have the responsibility to demonstrate leadership in welcoming our fellow workers, our immigrant brothers and sisters, into our country, into our communities and into the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO:

Condemns the exploitation and abuse of immigrant workers, especially children, in the sweatshops of this country;

Is committed to defending the full rights and protections of immigrants and their families in the workplace and in the community;

Encourages and assists union members and fellow workers to become full-fledged, participating citizens of our country;

Calls for a repeal of the employer sanctions provision of the Immigration Reform and Control Act which has led to widespread discrimination against both immigrant and citizen workers; and

Calls on affiliates to develop programs to address the special needs of our immigrant members and potential members, including:

1. Developing and implementing education programs on the legal and human rights of immigrants, in and out of the workplace;

2. Monitoring and challenging discriminatory practices against immigrants by employers, government agencies and others;

3. Identifying and making available resources that can assist with the legalization process; and

4. Identifying and working in coordination with immigrant rights advocacy and service organizations with whom we share values and beliefs about the fundamental rights of our immigrant brothers and sisters.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

National Health Care

RESOLUTION NO. 135 — *By Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.*

America leads the world in medical technology, and yet America is not a very healthy country. America spends more on health care than any other nation, and yet tens of millions of Americans are deprived of adequate health insurance coverage. Health care costs are out of control, threatening the competitiveness of American business and straining the collective bargaining system. America's health care system is in crisis and the time for fundamental reform is now.

America leads the world in advanced medical technology — fiber optics, laser surgery, CAT scans, and diagnostic tools so exacting they inspire wonder. Yet in 15 other countries, people enjoy a longer life expectancy than Americans and in 22 other countries babies have a better chance of surviving their first year of life.

America spends \$750 billion annually on health care. Yet 37 million Americans, including 12 million children, have no health insurance at all, and tens of millions more have inadequate coverage. Most of the uninsured are workers, or their dependents, whose employers do not provide insurance.

Health care expenditures already claim 12 percent of the nation's income while health care costs continue to rise at double digit rates. High and rising health care costs limit access to quality care for millions, compromise the competitiveness of American business, and drain resources away from other vital national needs. As business tries to shift the rising costs of health care to their employees, the

strain on collective bargaining relationships is becoming insupportable.

The time for fundamental reform of the American health care system is long overdue. Piecemeal efforts to improve access to health care and contain costs have failed.

We need to move away from the current employer-based health insurance system and toward a national social insurance system. Only a social insurance system promises America the health care it needs, one that provides quality care for all Americans, eliminates waste and effectively contains the escalating cost of care, and distributes the financial burden of providing care equitably on the basis of ability to pay.

We need a socially guaranteed core package of benefits sufficient to meet the basic health care needs of all Americans. This basic package should provide for the long-term care that Americans need, but now find so difficult to afford. Supplemental benefits can continue to be provided through the collective bargaining process.

We need preventive public health programs, including comprehensive maternal, prenatal and child health services, as well as health maintenance and occupational health services.

We need to assure the quality of care through uniform practice guidelines, a national system of technology assessment, and a national database on the quality and cost of care.

We need to eliminate waste by restricting the number of private insurance carriers in the system and standardizing claim forms, by encouraging physicians to avoid unnecessary procedures, and by developing a better system for handling malpractice disputes.

We need to contain costs by establishing uniform reimbursement rates for all health care providers and capital budgets for all hospitals.

We need to finance health care through a progressive package of taxes that feature corporate and income taxes and that avoid flat taxes and consumption taxes of all kinds (sales taxes, value-added taxes, and tobacco, alcohol, and energy taxes) that overburden low-income families and labor-intensive, low-profit industries.

Finally, we need to establish a national commission composed of representatives of consumers, labor, management, government, and providers to administer the program and assure that it is responsive to all constituencies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO:

Supports the development of a national health care program serving four fundamental needs of working people:

1. The need to provide affordable health care to all Americans;
2. The need to assure quality health care;
3. The need to eliminate administrative waste and effectively contain costs;
4. The need to share the financial burden of health care costs equitably;

Develops and implements a program to prepare and involve union members and their families in a movement to fight for national health care reform;

Continues to work in coalition with other organizations that share labor's commitment to national health care reform.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

International Trade Policy

RESOLUTION NO. 136 — *By Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.*

The greatest threat to job security for workers in the soft-goods industries, as in other manufacturing industries, continues to be the unrelenting growth of imports. Over 400,000 jobs have been lost in textile, apparel and footwear industries during the Reagan-Bush administration's drive to allow "free trade" to govern international economic relations.

The Bush administration, like its predecessor, is using free trade theory to camouflage its support and encouragement for multi-national companies to expand their profits through worldwide sourcing; to justify maintaining exploitative, anti-union labor standards abroad; and to bolster their opposition to a constructive industrial policy. Americans are being asked to believe that simply liberalizing trade will lead to efficient flows of capital and goods, growth and development for third world countries, and benefits in the trillions of dollars for our own economy.

Unfettered free trade in the U.S. in the 19th and early 20th centuries resulted in robber barons and mass poverty. Promoting such policies world-wide just multiplies these gross distortions. Increased trade undoubtedly plays an important role in economic development. But trade alone, without the necessary regulatory policies and other preconditions, is inadequate to alleviate economic stagnation or sustain meaningful, long-term development.

The Bush administration is currently negotiating liberalized trade and investment flows in both the Uruguay Round of the GATT and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) negotiations with Mexico and Canada. But many other factors must be considered besides simply reducing economic barriers at national borders for

these negotiations to be fruitful. For worldwide poverty continues to be the greatest trade barrier of all.

At a minimum, there has to be an integrated system for ensuring greater equity in trade balances; major debt relief for countries strangled by repayment obligations; and a process to institute internationally accepted environmental, social and humane labor standards. Export-led development cannot produce growth unless the wealth generated is retained in the originating country and distributed equitably to its population.

In the absence of these conditions, free trade agreements will lower wages and reduce living standards in both developed and developing countries, retard genuine economic growth, and undermine the long-term competitiveness of U.S. industry.

Congress should ensure that a balanced, diversified domestic economy will survive the Uruguay Round and the NAFTA. Our industrial base is steadily eroding, undermining the living standards of millions of workers and their families. Manufacturing industries cannot be allowed to continue to flow to the lowest cost producers of the world. Increasingly, it is government policies that should determine the costs of production and the location of industry, not the "invisible hand" of unregulated markets.

Congress should require that human and labor rights be made an integral part of all international trade agreements. Congress should likewise insist on better integration of trade policy with debt relief programs; reduced insistence by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank on export-led development programs combined with domestic austerity; and realistic non-military aid programs to provide the necessary capital for infrastructure construction in our relations with third world trading partners.

A system like the Multifiber Arrangement (MFA) for the textile and apparel industries has resulted in better balanced growth for the community of nations than letting the chaotic forces of a free market reign. The MFA has provided for a rationalization of these industries in developed countries, prevented domination of the world market by a handful of dominant suppliers, and allowed "non-competitive" nations to enter the market and gain a share of trade generated wealth.

Without a managed world market under rules of an MFA system, investment and jobs in textiles no longer will be an engine of development and distributor of wealth. Managed trade should be extended beyond textiles to other industrial sectors where chronic overcapacity persists. It also is necessary to prevent investment from seeking out the lowest cost conditions of production and avoiding its social and environmental responsibilities.

Over the last 20 years, the U.S. has borne the highest costs to liberalize the world trading system. Our \$900 billion foreign debt is an enormous contribution to other nations' wealth. We have done more than our fair share by importing 60 percent of all developing country manufactured goods exported to industrialized countries.

This round of trade negotiations must mark a turning point. The international trading rules must be balanced to create simultaneous growth in developed and developing countries. We have a right to expect accountability from the developing countries who repress living standards of their citizens and a more equitable burden sharing by our industrially developed trading partners; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO:

Urges Congress to mandate that labor rights be an integral part of any new trade agreements negotiated either in the GATT Uruguay Round or the North American Free Trade Agreement. Likewise, meaningful debt relief, constructive foreign aid, environmental standards and a non-subordinating investment policy must be considered together with any trade agreements.

The AFL-CIO calls upon Congress to make abuse of human and trade union rights, or failure to enforce labor laws abroad, an actionable offense under all our unfair trade practice statutes.

Urges Congress to repeal its commitment to "Fast-Track" consideration of any trade agreements brought to Congress for approval by the administration. Thorough Congressional consideration must be given to how the administration's trade policy disrupts our economy, undermines our living standards, and exacerbates the inequitable distribution of wealth and power. An alternative trade policy must be developed, one that enhances the long-term competitiveness of the U.S. and contributes to the genuine development of the less-developed trading partners.

Urges the administration to seek the renewal of the Multifiber Arrangement rather than its phase-out. The AFL-CIO also calls for utilization of an MFA-like system of managed trade for other industrial sectors.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Health Care Workers and Health Care Reform

RESOLUTION NO. 137 — *By Service Employees International Union.*

Health care-workers have a major stake in the outcome of the accelerating national health care reform debate. The restructuring implied by universal insurance coverage and cost containment will affect collective bargaining, staffing levels and the financial condition of employers in the health care industry.

During the 1980s, states experimented with a variety of cost containment strategies ranging from selective contracting to all-payer rate-setting. Medicare, state Medicaid programs, and private payers also initiated new cost containment efforts. Public hospitals confronted budget cutbacks. While these uncoordinated efforts have not slowed the overall rate of health spending increases, they have had dramatic effects on health care workers.

Health care administrators have responded to the pressure to control rapidly rising costs by cutting support staff and overloading nurses with heavier and heavier workloads — even as many facilities expanded services. Studies consistently show that savings from the Medicare DRG hospital payment system came from labor cost savings, while capital spending on buildings and equipment soared. Many nursing homes remain chronically understaffed and the vacancy rate for nurses in nursing homes exceeds 20 percent. States have imposed severely inadequate reimbursement levels on Medicaid providers which translate directly into second-class wages and salaries for nursing home workers. Many public hospitals have plant and equipment that is outdated and grossly inadequate after decades of underfunding.

These cost containment efforts have focused on in-patient services leading to the “quicker and sicker” patient discharges and an explosion of outpatient services. The result has been an in-patient population in both hospitals and nursing homes that requires more acute care and services. Health care workers are caught between rising acuity levels on one hand and understaffing on the other.

Cutbacks in support staff have contributed to a cycle of overwork, stress, and burnout among health care professionals. For example, as much as 50 percent of the work time of registered nurses is spent on non-nursing clerical and housekeeping tasks. The quality of patient care suffers because workers have less time for direct patient care. Furthermore, understaffing contributes to on-the-job injuries. Health care resources could be used more efficiently and the quality of care improved if nurses were given a greater role in patient care decisionmaking as well as adequate support staff.

Comprehensive reform of the health care system affords the opportunity to remedy the accumulated shortcomings of sporadic and uncoordinated cost containment efforts. We must fashion a cost containment structure that will support improvements in the quality of care, ensure fairness for health care workers and stabilize the health care work force.

Comprehensive cost containment that simply freezes health care spending will create as many problems as it solves. Wide disparities

in the availability and quality of health services persist among regions and among communities. Capital investment in health care must be reallocated as well as controlled. The underfunding of facilities that provide vital services for their communities must be reversed.

The AFL-CIO believes that addressing work force issues, including staffing levels, wages and benefits, education and training, and input into work organization, must be an integral part of national health care reform. This is imperative, not only in the interests of fairness to health care workers, but also because work force issues are central to increasing the efficiency of health services and improving the quality of patient care.

The AFL-CIO supports measures to advance the conditions of health care workers in the health care reform process. These include:

Give unions input into the design and administration of provider payment systems and to ensure that reimbursement levels are sufficient to pay for collectively-bargained increases in wages and benefits. Furthermore, the payment system must be sufficiently flexible to accommodate special exceptions for individual facilities.

Improve quality of care by establishing mechanisms to ensure appropriate staff mix and adequate staff-to-patient ratios through legislation and collective bargaining.

Provide income support, re-training, and re-employment programs for health care workers who may be displaced by restructuring of the health care delivery system.

Ensure that health facilities receive adequate funds to provide the public ready access to quality health care.

Design a payment system that effectively controls capital costs as well as operating costs and that acknowledges the need for catch-up funding for facility renovation and technology upgrading for under-capitalized facilities that provide essential community services.

Establish financial and other incentives to promote training and career advancement for health care workers.

Restore hospital support staff in order to free nurses from non-nursing duties. Give nurses a stronger role in the health care team by increasing their involvement in patient-care decisions.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

RESOLUTION NO. 138 — *By Service Employees International Union.*

Over 100,000 Americans died in the first decade of the AIDS epidemic. That's more deaths than casualties from the Korean and Vietnam wars combined. The World Health Organization estimates

that there are five to ten million people infected with HIV in the world today.

HIV disease has had a disproportionate impact on some communities. HIV/AIDS continues to affect gay and bisexual men more than any other single group. Increasingly, the epidemic has reached communities of color, poor women and men, injection drug users and adolescents. The number of women and children infected with HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) continues to grow dramatically. Every fifteen minutes, *someone* in America dies from an AIDS-related illness.

Throughout the course of the epidemic, workers have been, and will continue to be, on the frontlines caring for adults and children with HIV/AIDS. Some of these workers, especially health care workers, emergency responders, and others who come into direct contact with blood on their jobs, face occupational exposure to HIV. Any worker exposed to blood on-the-job is at risk of exposure to a variety of bloodborne infectious diseases. These include not only HIV but the hepatitis B virus (HBV) as well.

Therefore, the most powerful tool to protect all workers from bloodborne infectious diseases, is education and training. Workers must also be provided with gloves, protective equipment, and safer medical devices to safeguard them against exposure to all bloodborne infectious diseases. Towards this end, in 1986, a number of health care worker unions petitioned the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to issue a standard that would protect workers from bloodborne infectious diseases such as HBV and HIV. Under congressional pressure, the final standard will be issued soon and OSHA should undertake a special emphasis program to ensure its implementation.

The most important weapons in the fight against HIV/AIDS are education and training. Workplace-based education programs have been shown to be effective, and labor should support them. Besides the education of workers, education of the general public is also critical. Scientifically-based information should be given the widest circulation possible, including appropriate instruction in schools, public service announcements through the media and community-based organizations.

Testing for HIV should be offered to those who want it, but only on a voluntary basis. Testing should be conducted in a setting which guarantees confidentiality, and anonymity if requested. Counseling both before and after testing must also be included as part of any voluntary testing program. HIV testing must not be made a precondition to obtain employment or a condition to retain one's job. Manda-

tory HIV testing is a violation of civil liberties, cannot be justified on scientific grounds, and does not promote public health.

Labor has asked OSHA to require that, under its permanent standard, confidential, off-site voluntary HIV antibody testing and counseling be offered to all health care and other exposed workers free-of-charge. We also support legislation to increase funding for voluntary testing and counseling programs. And, we continue to support efforts to ensure that persons living with HIV/AIDS receive quality care in appropriate health care facilities or at home.

Persons living with HIV/AIDS should be allowed to work as long as they are able to do so. Employers should help them remain productive workers and continue their full health insurance coverage. The Americans with Disabilities Act prohibits discrimination against people with HIV/AIDS in the workplace. Persons living with HIV/AIDS should be given the financial, social and legal support to continue living their lives with dignity and self-respect.

Additional funding to support AIDS research, education, and health and social services should become a national priority. The AFL-CIO urges increased federal funding for research, treatments, therapies, universal health care coverage, and education and training.

The AFL-CIO will continue to urge its affiliates to educate their leadership and members about HIV/AIDS, to fight for protection of workers against occupational exposure to bloodborne diseases, to lobby for increased HIV/AIDS funding, and to fight against AIDS discrimination experienced by persons living with HIV/AIDS, workers, or the general public.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Working Women's Issues

RESOLUTION NO. 139 — *By Service Employees International Union.*

Over the past few years, women have grown to account for nearly half of all workers. More than two thirds of all women are now in the work force.

Although women have made significant strides in improving conditions in the workplace, they have not achieved equality. Women continue to be plagued by unequal pay, a lack of adequate health care, sexual harassment in the workplace, and barriers to promotions and career development. Women still work the "double shift," earning money to support their families, as well as being the primary care-givers at home.

Women earn 67 cents for every dollar earned by a man for each hour of work. Although the gap has narrowed over the past few years,

the change has been caused by a drop in men's wages, rather than by gains in women's wages.

Women are confined to low-paying occupations with little hope of career mobility. More than four out of five women have incomes of less than \$19,000 per year. Forty percent of all working women are confined to only ten occupations, all of which are traditionally underpaid.

The common notion of the "glass ceiling" is the barrier to women in middle management jobs as they try to attain top level positions. While achieving top level positions is very important to working women, in reality the "glass ceiling" for most women is much lower. Altogether, only ten percent of working women are in managerial positions.

More than one out of every four new jobs created is a contingent — part-time, temporary, leased, sub-contracted or seasonal — job. Although women account for slightly less than half of all workers, they make up two-thirds of the contingent work force. Most of these jobs provide lower pay than their full-time counterparts, little or no health insurance, and no job security, promotional opportunities or retirement benefits.

Many women who want and need full-time work are forced to work at part-time or temporary jobs in order to care for their children or parents. The rate of involuntary part-time jobs among women is 44 percent greater than that among men.

A shortage of affordable, quality child care is not the only problem for working mothers. Many employers provide no leave to new mothers or to workers who must care for an ill family member. Although many states have passed legislation providing parental or family medical leave, there is no federal policy. In addition, few women have the option for flexible work schedules in which they are able to maintain their seniority and benefits while adjusting their schedules to care for family members.

When it comes to access to health care, again, women have less than men. Because a disproportionate number of women work in low paying jobs, many cannot afford their own health insurance when employers provide none or require a substantial co-payment. In addition, there is almost no public grant money earmarked for research on women's health concerns.

On the job, women suffer from health hazards ranging from VDT radiation and repetitive motion injuries, to homicide (the leading cause of death among women). Women suffer from stress-related illnesses caused by frequent sexual harassment, electronic monitoring

and pacing, as well as the need to balance their work and family responsibilities.

The AFL-CIO believes that organizing women workers and increasing their participation at all levels of union leadership is vital to the future of the labor movement. At the same time, collective bargaining and union political action are two of the most effective means for improving the lives of women workers.

The AFL-CIO encourages its affiliated unions to:

Promote training and education programs for their members, staff and elected officials regarding issues such as sexual harassment and health and safety for women in the workplace.

Pursue issues such as child care, family and medical leave, health and safety, pay equity and career development in collective bargaining.

Work towards the passage of the Civil Rights and Women's Equity in Employment Act of 1991 (H.R.1/S.2), the Family and Medical Leave Act (H.R.2/S.5) and the Women's Health Equity Act of 1991 (H.R.1161).

Form departments or committees devoted to women's concerns, at all levels of the organization, in order to encourage the active participation of women in their unions.

Devote increased resources to organizing women workers.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Meeting the Challenges of Organizing

RESOLUTION NO. 141 — *By Service Employees International Union.*

The most fundamental issue facing the labor movement is the challenge of organizing the unorganized. Although the absolute number of members is stable, the share of the U.S. labor force represented by unions has hit a post-war low. This undermines our ability to win gains for our members, to achieve political aims, and to secure a better standard of living for all working Americans. The strategies and approaches to organizing that we adopt today will determine the shape of the labor movement into the twenty-first century.

Despite labor's much-ballyhooed decline, the trade union movement remains the largest organized force in American society. The challenge of organizing is the challenge of harnessing the labor movement's power and even greater potential to new organizing. On average, unions today spend more than 90 percent of their budgets on representing their current members. The labor movement must redirect a share of these resources into organizing activity that is effective and innovative.

In the 1970s and 1980s, labor learned the hard way that good faith negotiations were no longer enough to secure increased wages and benefits. Many unions adopted more comprehensive approaches in bargaining and found that activities in the workplace, the community, the press, legally through regulatory agencies, "inside strategies," and corporate campaigns could add leverage to the traditional strike weapon.

The same comprehensive approach is needed for effective organizing. The labor movement must educate workers that the most fundamental determinant in retaining and securing better collective bargaining agreements is the level of representation in their industry and geographic area, not simply the skill of their union negotiator. There is nothing more frustrating than trying to set wage and benefit standards as a small minority of represented workers in an industry, market or geographic area. Members must understand that unions organize not to increase union income or because it is the "right" thing to do. Organizing today directly relates to the preservation of union standards enjoyed by current members.

Organized labor must use the period of greatest worker interest, and greatest union strength — collective bargaining — to propel this agenda forward. Bargaining provides the opportunity to educate members on the relationship between their union contract and the need to organize non-union strongholds in the industry or geographic area.

Collective bargaining also offers opportunities to bargain for fairer and more democratic representational methods than current NLRB procedures allow. Whether it is a "wall-to-wall" campaign to achieve card count recognition, accretions of new units or part-time workers, time off for members to aid in organization of non-union competitors, or agreements on neutrality at other employer facilities or subsidiaries, bargaining is **the** opportunity to merge representational and organizing activities.

Organizing activities need to be integrated into the day-to-day life of local unions. Unions must create "organizing committees" at all levels, but particularly at the local level, where members and leaders plan, debate, and implement organizing plans.

Staff, both full and part time, must be allocated to organizing and be trained to implement organizing plans. In many unions, organizers are not paid or treated as well as representational staff. To meet the challenge of organizing, the status of organizers must be elevated. Furthermore, organizers must be able to speak and operate in the language and culture of the workers targeted for organizing. The

AFL-CIO Organizing Institute is a significant contribution to the labor movement, and it needs to expand its efforts.

Members are our most important resource in new organizing. They are living salespersons on the value of unionization and are our most effective organizers. Member organizing committees, with special recognition for participants, can result in the recruitment of the tens of thousands of volunteers we need to increase our organizing activity.

In addition to integrating organizing into local unions, it is necessary to approach two obstacles to unionization: traditional union organizing strategies and employer opposition.

Labor has learned the limited effectiveness of site-by-site organizing. The level of the challenge requires larger scale thinking. Experiments with geographic and industrial models, such as Justice for Janitors campaigns, will help labor find approaches that capture the imagination of workers, demonstrate to workers their potential power, and put the union in a stronger bargaining position. Site-by-site organizing, although more successful in the short term, is not a long-term solution to this challenge.

Finally, we need to confront the issue of employer opposition. Current private sector labor law does not promote the most fundamental right of workers, the right to freely elect the representative of their choice. NLRB elections have more in common with recent sham elections in undemocratic countries than truly democratic practices. Firings, isolation and harassment of workers, daily coercive activity, delays, and outright decisions to break the law with little penalty make a mockery of the concept of free choice.

The level of unionization in the public sector in comparison to the private sector is a vivid testament to the difference between workers exercising their rights in two divergently different atmospheres.

Non-NLRB organizing tactics, and adoption of the same comprehensive campaign tactics now used regularly in contract disputes and strikes are two ways to equalize power relationships during organizing drives.

Ultimately, the labor laws in this country must be changed to allow for the exercise of free choice. To permit workers who repeatedly in polls show a far greater preference for unions than today's level of organization to not be able to freely express their preference undermines the most fundamental values in our society. Political endorsements, and legislative activity must reflect unions' efforts to increase membership.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Right to Strike

RESOLUTION NO. 142 — *By Iowa Federation of Labor.*

WHEREAS, The practice of replacing workers who go on strike has increased dramatically since 1981; and

WHEREAS, The right of workers to withhold their labors as leverage during negotiations has been an essential element of the collective bargaining process; and

WHEREAS, Employee faith in the collective bargaining process is damaged by any undermining of this basic right; the leading to the probability of prolonged and disrupted labor disputes and increased economic hardship; and

WHEREAS, An increased number of employers during the 1980s turned to a 1938 Supreme Court ruling which legalized the "replacement" of striking workers, and a 1986 decision which authorized preferential treatment for strikebreakers; the balance of power which insured fair and expedient negotiations in the conduct of labor disputes, has been effectively diminished; and

WHEREAS, Approval by Congress of H.R. 5 and S. 55 would restore the right to strike to its historical status as a legitimate tool within the collective bargaining process; and

WHEREAS, Proposed amendments H.R. 5 and S. 55 to the National Labor Relations Act would make it unlawful to offer permanent employment, or employment preference, to an individual who would work during a strike; and

WHEREAS, These amendments would further prohibit employers in providing benefits to workers who could cross the picket line and return to work; thus protecting the rights of, and preventing retribution against, workers who participate in such a job action; and

WHEREAS, This legislation is essential to restoring the integrity and purpose of the National Labor Relations Act, which established a time-tested process for the fair and equitable disposition of labor disputes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO fully supports passage of H.R. 5 and S. 55.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Wages, Hours and Working Conditions

RESOLUTION NO. 143 — *By Iowa Federation of Labor.*

WHEREAS, Bad labor laws, negative court rulings, and an NLRB who prefers telling unions what they can't do, rather than giving working people the ability to have anything to say about wages, hours, and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, If the trend for a union-free America persists, by the year 2000, only five percent of workers will have anything to say about their wages, hours and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, Without the right to organize and negotiate in good faith, workers lose the dignity to provide for themselves and their family; and

WHEREAS, We encourage those countries without the right to a free, unrestricted labor movement to rise up against those leaders by national protests and strikes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports a national declaration to the government of this country that we are angry about them pitting one worker against another and denying workers the right to negotiate wages, hours, and working conditions in this United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That labor law reform is mandated by the working people of this great nation; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports and calls upon the membership for a series of actions until the working person is restored the ability to have something to say about wages, hours and working conditions.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

National Health Care Reform

RESOLUTION NO. 144 — *By Iowa Federation of Labor.*

WHEREAS, The current crisis in health care, the soaring cost of hospital care, physician services and prescription drugs; 37 million uninsured Americans, mounting threats to the quality of health care and continued strife at the bargaining table — demands immediate action; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports legislation that will demonstrate support of a program of national health care that will provide access for all, cost containment and quality care.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Insurance Reform

RESOLUTION NO. 145 — *By Iowa Federation of Labor.*

WHEREAS, The state and national policy since the 1930s has been to provide unemployment insurance benefits to those individuals who find themselves without employment until they are able to find comparable suitable employment; and

WHEREAS, The economic stability of the individual, their family, the state and the community are at risk when these benefits are not

provided, which has become commonplace under the Reagan-Bush administrations; and

WHEREAS, States have been required to fund the administration of many local job service offices within their states since the Reagan-Bush administrations have used the assets of the Federal Unemployment Tax Act (FUTA) fund to help offset the huge federal deficits developed by their ill-advised tax and spend policies; and

WHEREAS, These failed economic policies have caused a serious drain and even bankrupted some states' unemployment trust funds resulting in borrowing from the federal government, which in turn requires those states under federal law to cut U.I. benefits and/or tighten eligibility requirements for benefits; and

WHEREAS, Representative Downey's bill, H.R. 1367, would address many of these shortcomings by providing adequate funding for delivery and the administration of the unemployment insurance system to the states by moving the FUTA fund from discretionary funds to entitlement funds under the Unified Federal Budget Act; and

WHEREAS, H.R. 1367 would provide for extended benefits during high rates of unemployment by increasing the tax base under FUTA; and

WHEREAS, H.R. 1367 would provide unified federal conformity guidelines on all states, by setting maximum periods of disqualifications and requirements; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO will continue to work for passage of H.R. 1367; and, be it further

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO will seek sponsors for similar legislation in the U.S. Senate; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That it should be required that all employment and unemployed are counted in determining the actual rate of unemployed including those underemployed and new entrants in the labor market.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Support for Preservation of American Jobs in the Glass Container Industry

RESOLUTION NO. 146 — *By Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union.*

WHEREAS, More than 60,000 men and women are employed in the glass container industry nationwide; and

WHEREAS, Glass container plants under construction in Mexico threaten American glass container industry jobs; and

WHEREAS, Comprehensive curbside recycling has proven to be the most effective means of reducing the volume of trash entering the solid waste stream; and

WHEREAS, High processing fees mandated by law in California and proposed in other states have already caused the closure of three glass container manufacturing plants and a loss of 1,300 high paying American jobs; and

WHEREAS, There are 6,000 more American jobs in California that are directly at risk of moving offshore because of high processing fees imposed by regulators; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will actively oppose the imposition of any and all processing fees that cause its members to manufacture on an uneconomic basis with foreign manufacturers.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Opposition to Navy Purchase of Foreign-Built Ships

RESOLUTION NO. 153 — *By Metal Trades Department.*

WHEREAS, The collapse of commercial shipbuilding in the United States is easily tied to Reagan/Bush policies. Despite former President Reagan's frequent campaign promises to support the U.S. shipbuilders, he saw fit to purchase over 67 ships, mostly used and mostly from foreign sources. These foreign-built (junk) ships include 18 electronic surveillance ships, 15 refueling vessels, 13 weapon stockpile ships, eight heavy equipment carriers, three floating supermarkets, two cable laying ships, two survey ships, two missile resupply ships, two aviation supply ships, seven Ro-Ro ships and two hospital ships; and

WHEREAS, President Bush and his administration are continuing to support this "buy foreign" policy. The Maritime Administrator has testified that they have a need for, at least 25 more vessels for the Ready Reserve Force, and has said he wants to purchase foreign junk ships that do not meet the Army's specifications for speed and strength; and

WHEREAS, These ships have been offered to the United States at a price of approximately \$40 million each, a price that often exceeds the cost of their construction 15 to 20 years ago. In addition, they do not have the speed, (24 knots) that is required by the Army, nor the strengthened decks in order to carry tanks and helicopters. In addition, the acquisition from foreign sources is the same as the U.S. government subsidizing the foreign shipyards, a practice that ended in the United States with the election of Ronald Reagan; and

WHEREAS, Reagan/Bush policies have already caused nearly 60,000 shipyard workers to lose their jobs, and at least one third of

U.S. shipyards have been closed. For every shipyard job impacted, three jobs outside the shipyard are impacted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges legislation to prohibit the U.S. government from buying or leasing foreign flag ships for any purpose, except during war.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Support for American Shipbuilding and Repair

RESOLUTION NO. 154 — *By Metal Trades Department.*

WHEREAS, At the beginning of World War II, the United States did not have adequate sealift assets to project and sustain military forces on a global basis. Fortunately, before the war started, the United States had undertaken a massive commercial shipbuilding program based on the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended, which required that commercial ships built with government subsidies have the capability to serve as naval auxiliaries. Between 1941 and 1945, more than 5,500 merchant ships were constructed to support wartime operations of which about 4,500 were general cargo vessels. Heavy shipping losses occurred in both the Pacific and the Atlantic, because the United States and allied military were unprepared to face a savage enemy. The cost in lives and material were considerable. Building continued throughout the War and by 1946 the inventory of government-owned ships totaled over 5,000; and

WHEREAS, Postwar sales, layups, and scrapping reduced active U.S.- flag, general cargo ships to 617 by 1950. At the present time, there are about 138 U.S.-flag, general cargo ships in service. The decline of this fleet has closely paralleled its declining share of the total U.S. trade; and

WHEREAS, The advent of inter-continental missiles, satellites, high technology radio and radar in the possession of several potential enemies, drastically reduces the amount of reaction time in case of a military crisis. Warnings from military strategists indicate that the United States cannot sustain a military crisis for more than 30 days with the current fleet, and that at least three-fourths of the fleet would be sunk or disabled within the first 15 days of a global crisis; and

WHEREAS, This nation depends on a supportive shipyard mobilization base in addition to commercial sea-power strength. Shipbuilding, ship repair and supply of materials, equipment and services used in ship construction and repair are vital support industries within the national security base. The decline of any of these interrelated industrial capabilities below definable levels of strength can cause the nation's security and economic vitality to shift from stability to instability. Nevertheless, as with the U.S. Merchant Marine Fleet, this

sector has been permitted to continue on a course of precipitous decline; and

WHEREAS, In 1973, 41 merchant ship orders were awarded to U.S. shipyards, accounting for nearly two million gross tons. In 1980, ship orders had plummeted to seven, and gross tonnage had shrunk to 116,000. In 1991, only three commercial vessels are on order; and

WHEREAS, In 1981, there were approximately 186,000 workers in the private shipyards; there are approximately 129,000 workers employed in the major shipyards of the country today. The implications of this continued decline of domestic shipyards and support industries in terms of national security, industrial capability and economic growth cannot be lightly dismissed; and

WHEREAS, The administration believes that since it has expended funds for the construction of naval vessels in the U.S. shipyards as part of its military buildup plan, the problems of the nation's commercial shipyards are solved. Navy construction and private ship overhaul work, according to administration spokesmen, will be sufficient to maintain an adequate mobilization base. This is not the case. Only six of the 24 major shipyards do significant navy construction; overhaul and repair work are not sufficient to help the others still in business. Many of those yards are at the brink of failure because of the decline in commercial shipbuilding contracts; and

WHEREAS, The administration's dichotomy of purpose is to shift business from American yards to foreign yards. The policy is eroding our defense industrial base and is reducing the nation's shipyard mobilization capacity. The administration's policy also includes initiatives not only to build foreign, but encourages foreign repair; permits operating subsidies for foreign-built ships and recommends tax-deferred capital construction funds for foreign building and encourages domestic import and export cargos to be carried on foreign ships; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls upon President Bush and all members of Congress to recognize the precipitous and dangerous position of the United States caused by failing to maintain an adequate merchant fleet, a skilled work force in the shipyards; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges Congress to move quickly to save the ailing shipyard industry through legislation requiring a substantial U.S.-built, U.S.-flag fleet. In addition, such legislation should require that only U.S.-built ships could fly the U.S. flag except in time of national crisis, and that substantial portions of domestic cargo be reserved for U.S.-built, U.S.-flag ships.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Reserved Cargo For U.S. Flag Ships Needed

RESOLUTION NO. 155 — *By Metal Trades Department.*

WHEREAS, In 1950, the United States was the world leader in merchant ships, and 42 percent of our international commerce was carried in U.S.-built, U.S.-flag ships. At that time, we had 33 percent of the world's merchant fleet; today it is about three percent. Today only 3.6 percent of our country's imports and exports are carried in U.S. ships. The Soviet Union's Merchant Fleet carries more cargo for the United States than our own ships; and

WHEREAS, The United States must remain able to produce merchant ships within its borders so that we can compete in world shipping and maintain our national security, shipbuilding jobs and technological know-how. All other maritime nations heavily subsidize their commercial shipbuilding and reserve a portion of their seagoing trade for vessels of their own fleet; and

WHEREAS, This administration has ignored the real problem of the American shipbuilding and maritime industries. Instead, it has pursued a dangerous course of action that encouraged American shipping companies to build and repair their vessels in foreign shipyards, while still providing them with operating subsidies previously reserved only to those who utilized American shipyards. This policy weakened our shipbuilding capability and undermines our national defense needs; and

WHEREAS, The first step in reversing this dangerous trend is to reserve a portion of U.S. imports and exports for U.S.-built, U.S.-flag and U.S.-manned ships. The "Boggs bill" that was introduced in the 98th Congress would have reserved five percent of all waterborne bulk cargos in the foreign trade of the United States during the first year. Then the amount of reserved cargo would increase by one percent each year until 20 percent of all bulk tonnage would be shipped on U.S.-built, U.S.-flagged vessels. A bill similar to the "Boggs bill," needs to be enacted; and

WHEREAS, Cargo reservation for U.S.-flagged vessels offer important economic benefits to the United States at no cost to the U.S. taxpayers or the Treasury. Based on trade projections, a bill such as the Boggs bill, would create a demand for construction of a minimum of 95 new vessels in the U.S. shipyards by 1999. This would have positive economic impact, not only on the shipyards, but on the supply industries: steel, electronics, electrical and machine manufacturers to name a few. The increase in commercial shipbuilding created by the new cargo preference proposal would add nearly 150,000 man years of employment in American shipyards, and more importantly, preserve the skills of the 129,000 Americans who now work in ship-

yards and nearly 115,000 seagoing crews and other maritime-related jobs; and

WHEREAS, Increased employment in the shipyards and seagoing labor would generate new federal and state tax revenue, as well as substantially reduce U.S. vulnerability to disruptions in the supply of strategic materials and equipment during a crisis. Currently 98 percent of our strategic materials are carried on foreign flag vessels. It would enhance U.S. national security by providing America with a bulk fleet capable of serving as a military auxiliary in the time of national emergency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls upon President Bush and every member of Congress to recognize the dangerous position of the United States caused by failing to maintain an adequate merchant fleet, a skilled work force in the shipyards and aboard ships; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will actively pursue implementation of a sound cargo policy to protect the U.S. shipbuilding base.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Support for the Shipbuilding Trade Reform Act

RESOLUTION NO. 156 — *By Metal Trades Department.*

WHEREAS, Legislation has been introduced in both houses of Congress to counter foreign shipbuilding subsidies which continue to shut the U.S. shipbuilding and repair industry out of the world's commercial market; and

WHEREAS, The Shipbuilding Trade Reform Act of 1991, provides for special assessments to be levied on ships entering a U.S. port that have been built or repaired with the help of government subsidy. The assessments apply to subsidized, seagoing vessels of 100 gross tons or more, delivered to the purchaser after the date of the bill's enactment; and

WHEREAS, At a press conference to announce the legislation, Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) said that the duty provision will ensure ships coming into U.S. ports "are not only drug-free but subsidy-free." Senators Mikulski and Trent Lott (R-MS) are the bill's sponsors in the Senate. Congressman Sam Gibbons (D-FL) introduced his own version of the bill, H.R. 2056, that has the same goal of ending foreign subsidies; and

WHEREAS, The legislation requires the U.S. Secretary of Commerce to determine — within 100 days of the bill's enactment and annually thereafter — the amount of net subsidy provided either directly or indirectly to the major shipbuilding and repair companies in shipbuilding countries for the manufacture, production, sale or

repair of commercial ships. Each company receiving a subsidy for vessel construction/repair would be required to repay the determined net subsidy amount to its government. If the subsidy was not repaid, the U.S. Coast Guard would be instructed to collect the net subsidy assessment on each vessel before it would be allowed to enter a U.S. port. The assessment would be discontinued when the subsidizing government terminated all shipbuilding-related aid; and

WHEREAS, The Gibbons bill, H.R. 2056, is our preferred vehicle to end the subsidies because it prevents the subsidy funds from being revolved. This means that the subsidies must be repaid within two years of March 21, 1991, and if it is not paid during that two-year period, then the funds can only be paid to the U.S. government, and not a reimbursement to the country who initially provided the subsidy; and

WHEREAS, The legislation also amends the Tariff Act of 1930 to strengthen the 50 percent ad valorem duty on the foreign repair of U.S.-flag vessels. However, no duty would be levied against ships repaired in countries that do not subsidize. The legislation is needed because other tactics to get foreign governments to terminate shipbuilding subsidies have failed. The United States has tried unilateral free trade, and our competitors get a free ride. Forty-five shipyards have closed down across the United States. Negotiations to end foreign subsidies have been stonewalled for over a year and a half. It's time to level the playing field; and

WHEREAS, No foreign shipbuilding nation is voluntarily giving up subsidies, and leverage is needed to force the issue. We cannot stand idly by and watch an industry that is vital to our economy and to our national security be decimated by unfair trade practices. This bill simply asks that we be given the chance to compete fairly and equitably for commercial shipbuilding in the world market; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will urge its members to write to their representatives and senators requesting they co-sponsor and support S. 1361 and H.R. 2056. Ask them to push for immediate passage of this vital legislation.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Enforcement of the Jones Act

RESOLUTION NO. 157 — *By Metal Trades Department.*

WHEREAS, The Jones Act, Section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920, requires the use of vessels which are American-built, American-owned, and American-manned in the waterborne carriage of cargo and passengers between points in the United States. The

strict enforcement of the Jones Act, by the exclusion of vessels built, owned, or registered foreign, from the nation's domestic waterborne commerce has fostered the growth and development of a modern and efficient U.S.-flag domestic fleet. In addition to economic benefits, the vessel fleet operating under the auspices of the Jones Act bolsters our national security posture. The Jones Act assures that an active modern fleet will always be available for national defense service; and

WHEREAS, There have been an increasing number of legislative attempts to waive certain provisions of the Jones Act to allow foreign flag operations in the U.S. coastal trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO demands the strict enforcement of the spirit and intent of the Jones Act, and opposes any and all waivers of the Jones Act except those required strictly for a national defense emergency.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Minimum Per Capita Requirements for Central Bodies

RESOLUTION NO. 160 — *By Greater Canton AFL-CIO Council.*

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the National AFL-CIO, in 1907, set in place a policy calling for the consolidation and merger of smaller labor councils within close geographic areas to merge and consolidate into larger central labor councils; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council believed that the efficiency and effectiveness of the larger consolidated and merged central bodies would be vastly improved; and

WHEREAS, The differential in per capita ranges anywhere from as low as \$.03 to as high as approximately \$.80; and

WHEREAS, The differential in per capita has been a detriment to many of these consolidations and mergers; and

WHEREAS, A basic amount of per capita is necessary to appropriately operate a labor council and to carry out all of the various functions necessary in running an effective labor council; and

WHEREAS, A minimum per capita requirement should be imposed by the AFL-CIO; and

WHEREAS, The minimum per capita requirement would go a long way toward enabling the implementation of consolidations and mergers by tremendously closing the gap in differential that currently exists between labor councils; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO Executive Council will implement a policy requiring all central bodies to have a minimum per capita of at least \$.25; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That this policy be implemented as soon as possible to expedite the ability of consolidation and mergers that have been stagnated from implementation because of the gap differential in per capita.

Banking Reform

RESOLUTION NO. 161 — *By Texas AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO stands for economic justice, tax fairness, and a fiscally responsive government.

We believe the average American taxpayer should not be held responsible for the \$1.4 trillion cost of the savings and loan debacle and other financial industry scandals.

We believe the financial industry has a responsibility to help revitalize our communities and our nation.

We believe the speculators and the wealthy who created and benefited from the casino economy of the 1980s should pay the costs of cleaning it up in the 1990s.

Therefore, the AFL-CIO urges all members, local councils, elected officials and candidates for public office to support legislation which will:

Make the rich and the financial industry bail themselves out through a special bailout surtax on the wealthiest citizens and financial institutions.

Put the savings and loan and banking criminals in jail and confiscate the stolen billions.

Re-regulate the financial industry to stop this from ever happening again and to insure the financial system meets public needs like housing, jobs, and a clean environment.

Work toward financial democracy by establishing financial consumer associations, and community development banks, and give average citizens more say in monetary policymaking.

Oppose any legislation that supports bailing out the S&Ls and banks on the backs of the average American taxpayer.

We urge Congress to develop and enact a banking reform program that will serve the interests of all Americans. Such a program should include stronger and more effective government regulation, a viable deposit insurance program, and assurance of banking services to consumers and local businesses, and proper safeguards for bank employees affected by closings and mergers.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Safety Problems in the U.S. Postal Service

RESOLUTION NO. 162 — *By American Postal Workers Union.*

WHEREAS, The United States Postal Service has deployed significant amounts of automated equipment in the last several years; and

WHEREAS, There is an alarming increase in the number of reported cases of occupational injuries among postal workers, including back strains, tendinitis, and carpal tunnel syndrome; and

WHEREAS, OSHA lacks the power to levy fines and the resources to properly police safety problems in the U.S. Postal Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO endorses and supports the "Comprehensive Occupational Safety and Health Reform Act" (H.R. 3160 and S. 1622).

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Energy Policy Committee

RESOLUTION NO. 165 — *By Massachusetts AFL-CIO.*

WHEREAS, The labor movement must continue to speak one voice on the importance of energy issues affecting economic growth for the United States; and

WHEREAS, The development of energy with its efficient utilization is an integral component of full employment policies; and

WHEREAS, There was the recent creation of a National Energy Plan which would require significant labor input in order to benefit the working people of our country; and

WHEREAS, A coordinated approach is needed by organized labor for addressing energy issues; and

WHEREAS, At one time, there was a National Energy Policy Committee of the AFL-CIO; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will evaluate the need to reestablish its former National Energy Policy Committee.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Permanent Replacement of Strikers

RESOLUTION NO. 183 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

For generations, the backbone of the North American labor movement has been its right to strike. That right has provided workers the ultimate weapon of leverage allowable under the law — the right to withhold their labor.

In recent years, this right has come under increasing attack. The practice of permanently replacing striking workers with scabs has

increased dramatically since 1981 when former President Ronald Reagan fired 12,000 striking federal air traffic controllers and permanently hired their replacements.

Employers have utilized a little known Supreme Court decision (*NLRB v. Mackay Radio and Telegraph Co.*) as the basis of their authority, which stated that though an employer was prohibited from discharging workers for engaging in a legal strike, the employer could, nevertheless, permanently replace the workers.

Employers have increasingly used this loophole in the law to bust trade unions and intimidate union members. Many employers are deliberately forcing their workers to go on strike through unnecessarily tough negotiating tactics, so that they can permanently replace their unionized workforce with non-union employees.

A bill (H.R. 5), introduced by Representative William Clay (D-MO), protecting the right to strike has passed the House by an overwhelming majority and a companion bill (S. 55) is gathering increased support in the Senate. The bills would amend Section 8(a) of the National Labor Relations Act to make it unlawful for an employer to offer permanent employment or employment preference to an individual for doing bargaining unit work during a labor dispute. The legislation would also bar employers from giving employment preference to a replacement worker.

President Bush is on record as opposing any legislation that bans the use of permanent replacements during a strike and plans to veto such legislation if adopted by Congress;

therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO commends the U.S. House of Representatives on the passage of H.R. 5 and now looks for the Senate to pass similar legislation (S. 55) introduced by Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) so that the right to strike may be fully protected by the law; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO encourages every affiliated union to urge their members to contact their U.S. senators and urge full support for this legislation. Powerful, wealthy companies will be extending tremendous pressure on the Senate to stop the passage of S. 55, so it is important that as many workers as possible unite in contacting their senators at home and in Washington to elicit full support for this legislation; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That if upon passage by Congress, legislation that bans the use of permanent replacements is vetoed by President Bush, that every effort will be made by the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions to see that the veto is overturned.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Reform of OSHA

RESOLUTION NO. 184 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) has been permanently weakened by a decade of Reagan-Bush policies that slashed budget and staffing levels, and permitted the industry to police itself, to the detriment of worker safety and health. OSHA currently has only 1,200 federal inspectors, compared with 1,380 in 1980, and 800 state inspectors to police the nation's five million private sector workplaces.

OSHA has failed to police individual states that conduct their own safety and health programs to make sure they are effective. In North Carolina, for example, OSHA stipulates that the state should have 77 safety and health inspectors on the job; instead, there are only 22 fully-trained inspectors for the entire state.

Each year, more than 10,000 workers are killed on the job as a result of traumatic injuries, and 70,000 are permanently disabled. Every six seconds, another American worker is injured on the job; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO calls upon its affiliates to lobby Congress to enact OSHA reform legislation (S. 1622 and H.R. 3160) currently pending in the House and Senate that would strengthen the nation's occupational safety and health laws by:

Strengthening the voice of workers by requiring all employers with 11 or more workers to establish joint safety and health committees made up of equal numbers of employee and employer representatives. The committees would be authorized to make workplace inspections. In unionized workplaces, employee representatives would be designated by the bargaining unit.

Requiring employers to establish a health and safety program to identify and correct workplace hazards and provide health and safety training for employees.

Clarifying the right of workers to refuse hazardous work.

Protecting employees reporting safety violations from retaliation by employers.

Speeding up the process by which OSHA issues and enforces standards.

Establishing a special emphasis inspection program for high-risk industries.

Requiring employers to report all work-related deaths immediately and all serious incidents requiring two or more workers to be hospitalized within 24 hours.

Increasing maximum criminal penalties against employers who fail to correct hazards; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to lobby the U.S. Congress for more inspectors, stronger enforcement, and additional funds to make every workplace safe for all workers.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Support for a Cumulative Trauma Disorder Emergency Standard

RESOLUTION NO. 185 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

Cumulative trauma disorders are now the leading cause of reported occupational illness in the nation. Millions of workers are at risk of injuries from repeated trauma. This hazard clearly poses a grave danger. Workers with cumulative trauma injuries suffer pain, loss of functional capacity and, in a significant number of cases, permanent disability. The number of reported cumulative trauma cases has increased by over 100 percent in the past two years. The magnitude of this increase is unprecedented in the history of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the rates of these disorders have steadily increased over the last decade, from 18 percent of all reported illnesses in 1981 to 52 percent in 1989. The actual number of cases reported by the federal government has increased by more than 550 percent (from 23,000 to 146,900) during the same time period.

Among the 40 million workers who now use visual display terminals, there has been an unprecedented increase in cumulative trauma disorders. For example, during the last six years, union members who utilize VDTs to perform their jobs, report cumulative trauma disorders occurring in catastrophic proportions. In a 1989 survey to which 12,000 members responded, 63 percent of intensive VDT users reported symptoms of cumulative trauma disorders. Further, medically-diagnosed chronic disorders such as tendonitis and carpal tunnel syndrome were reported at rates of 14-18 percent and 4-6 percent.

In newspaper and wire service offices, as many as 60, 70 and 80 percent of VDT users surveyed have reported symptoms of cumulative trauma disorders, with the incidence of diagnosed carpal tunnel syndrome, tendonitis, tenosynovitis, and other related disorders running as high as 10, 20 and 30 percent.

High rates of incidence also occur in the meat packaging, bakery, apparel, auto and construction industries. The meatpacking and poultry industries have the highest rates of crippling cumulative trauma disorders of any occupation in the nation. Meatpackers suffer from the second highest workplace injury and illness rate in the nation, and some 20 percent of all American poultry workers are injured each year.

According to the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, more than half the nation's workers now have jobs with the potential for cumulative trauma disorders. These arise from poor design of the workplace and organization of work which pushes people beyond the limits of strength and endurance. These hazards were designed into the workplace by decades of industrial designers who neglected basic ergonomic principles.

The costs of these disorders to both workers and businesses is staggering. OSHA estimates that back injuries alone now cost \$16 billion a year. NIOSH estimates that carpal tunnel syndrome strikes 23,000 workers a year, costing about \$3,500 in benefits and rehabilitation per person. That's \$80 million a year. If surgery is needed, the figure rises to \$30,000 per person, and \$690 million a year. And this does not include costs for tendonitis and other common cumulative trauma disorders.

The growing problem of occupationally-related musculoskeletal disorders requires immediate action by OSHA to prevent this workplace epidemic from reaching even greater proportions. It is precisely the kind of problem that should be dealt with through the issuance of an emergency temporary standard under Section 6(c) (1) of the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

The emergency standard on ergonomic hazards must address a wide range of musculoskeletal disorders. These include musculoskeletal disorders involving damage to the tendons; tendon sheaths; synovial lubrication of the tendon sheaths; and the related bones, muscles, and nerves of the hands, wrists, elbows, shoulders, neck and back. The more frequently occurring occupationally-induced disorders in this class include carpal tunnel syndrome, epicondylitis (tennis elbow), tendonitis, ganglion cysts, tenosynovitis, synovitis, stenosing tenosynovitis of the finger, DeQuervain's Disease, and low back pain. These disorders arise from repeated biomechanical stress due to ergonomic hazards. Other terms that have been used from such disorders include "repetitive motion injury," "occupational overuse syndrome," and "repetitive strain injury."

The emergency temporary standard should require the implementation of a comprehensive ergonomic program to prevent oc-

currence of the above disorders; therefore, be it **RESOLVED**: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to press OSHA for immediate issuance of the emergency standard on cumulative trauma disorders; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports promulgation by OSHA of an ergonomics standard as requested by a petition filed with the Agency by a number of AFL-CIO affiliates to cover many of the hazards posed by computers (VDTs), and also supports legislative proposals to provide adequate funds to research the effects of VDTs on workers; and that the AFL-CIO supports efforts to assure the safe use of VDTs through union contract language, legislation or regulation setting basic minimum standards that require ergonomic design of VDT work stations, periodic equipment testing and maintenance, regular eye exams, regular work breaks, transfer rights for pregnant employees, and measures to reduce radiation emissions, and prohibit machine pacing or computer monitoring.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Social Service Professionals' Workload Burden

RESOLUTION NO.188 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

The social services system confronts a crisis rooted in more than a decade of reduced assistance and increased burdens imposed by the federal government. The resulting severe state and local fiscal crises have spawned a flood of so-called "reforms" that leave fewer citizens eligible for shrinking programs. Social service professionals, strongly committed to providing quality services to their clients, are increasingly overwhelmed by the growing disparity between the resources made available and the resources required to meet clients' needs.

The continuing recession puts greater demands on social services at the same time that the numbers of professional staff are being frozen or reduced. Understaffing inevitably leads to delays and the neglect of urgent needs. Inadequate support and mounting caseloads result in high levels of stress among social service professionals. They must also contend with the daily threat of frustrated clients who sometimes resort to verbal or physical abuse; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to support funding of social services at levels which enables the programs to achieve their purposes; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to support efforts to redress the critical understaffing and workload situation in social services including:

Establishing caseload standards and other mechanisms for managing caseloads through collective bargaining;

Supporting legislation to ensure that the staffing of social service programs is sufficient to meet the actual needs; and

Developing and participating in coalitions with community and client advocacy organizations to build support for social services at the local, state, and federal levels.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Health Care Professionals and Health Care Reform

RESOLUTION NO.189 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

The AFL-CIO has urged its affiliates to support comprehensive reform of our health care system to guarantee universal coverage, contain costs, and improve quality. Health care reform is fast-becoming the number one domestic policy issue.

Health care professionals have a major stake in the outcome of the health care reform debate. The restructuring implied by universal insurance coverage and cost containment will affect collective bargaining, staffing levels and the financial condition of employers.

Like other workers, health care professionals have seen their paychecks squeezed by the skyrocketing cost of health benefits. However, health care professionals are acutely aware of the fact that existing programs have a poor record with respect to cost containment. Much of the savings achieved by Medicare's Prospective Payment System has come through reductions in professional and support staff, even in the face of a "sicker" case-mix. States have imposed severely inadequate reimbursement levels on Medicaid providers which translate directly into second-class wages and salaries for nursing home workers. The quality of care delivered to Medicare and Medicaid beneficiaries has suffered as a result; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to support measures to achieve the goals and protect the interests of health care professionals in the health care reform process. These include:

Reforming the reimbursement system to give unions effective input into the design and administration of provider payment systems and to ensure that reimbursement levels are sufficient to pay for collectively-bargained increases in wages and benefits;

Improving patient quality by establishing mechanisms to ensure appropriate staff mix and adequate staff-to-patient ratios;

Providing income support, re-training, and re-employment programs for health care professionals who may be displaced by restructuring of the health care delivery system; and

Establishing financial and other incentives to promote training and career advancement for health care professionals.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Block Grants and Child Care

RESOLUTION NO. 191 — *By Department for Professional Employees*

After 20 years of hard work, Congress adopted a substantial piece of child care legislation in 1990. The new federal child care provisions are found in several different laws including the new *Child Care and Development Block Grant* ("CCDBG"). These laws, while addressing a serious need, contain several serious flaws.

It was the intent of Congress that the bulk of the appropriation to each state should go to provide financial assistance to low-income families to help them pay for child care. What makes these provisions distinctive, however, is that states must give parents of eligible children the choice either: to enroll the children with eligible child care providers who have grants or contracts to provide child care services; or to receive a child care certificate or voucher to allow the parent to select an eligible provider (by October 1, 1992).

Under the Block Grant provisions, eligible providers include (but aren't limited to) group home child care providers and family child care providers that are licensed, regulated or registered under their respective state laws. In the many states where family day care providers caring for small numbers of children are not required to be licensed, states must now establish a registration procedure so that these providers are eligible to receive subsidized children. Group home child care providers are not specifically defined in the law; family child care providers are defined as "...one individual who provides child care services for fewer than 24-hours per day, as a sole care giver, and in a private residence." Additionally, eligible providers will have to meet certain requirements related to the prevention and control of infectious diseases (including immunization); building and physical premises safety; and minimum health and safety training as developed by your state. If a state doesn't currently have such requirements, it will have to be established.

In addition to the direct subsidies, CCDBG also allows states to fund activities which will **improve the quality** of care. These activities must include one or more of the following activities:

Development, expansion or operation of private non-profit or public child care resource and referral programs;

Grants or loans to help child care providers meet state and local child care standards;

Improving the monitoring of compliance with, and enforcement of, state and local licensing and regulatory requirements;

Providing training and technical assistance in areas related to child care services such as health and safety, nutrition, first aid, recognition of communicable diseases, child abuse detection and prevention, and care for special needs children;

Improving salaries and other compensation of full- and part-time staff who provide child care services funded under the act.

Training could be classes, workshops, home visits, videos, written materials; experienced family day care providers should be required to be included in the development of curriculum, as well as in the staffing.

Payment rates for child care services under the Block Grant must be sufficient to provide eligible children with equal access to services which are comparable to services provided other children who are **not** eligible.

Financial assistance in the form of grants or contracts may not go to programs with sectarian (religious) purposes or activities, including religious worship or instruction.

Unfortunately, other child care providers who advocate one religious tradition over others may accept children paid for with a federal voucher. In addition, these providers may require that their staff adhere to the religious tenets of the sponsoring organization and admit children on the basis of religious orientation.

While monies may be used for minor renovation or minor remodeling, sectarian organizations are limited to improvements necessary to comply with health and safety requirements; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to work to insure that the pending child care regulations be modified to assure that children served under the new federal law receive adequate health and safety protection, and that the day care program not become a battering ram for the Bush administration's campaign for choice to the exclusion of all other child care concerns; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That Congress be urged to change the law now on the books to assure that all children who need day care or early childhood education be served by a program that meets their needs and does not permit discrimination in employment or admission.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1991

RESOLUTION NO. 192 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

The historic commitment of the labor movement to equality has played a prominent role in the civil rights struggles of the last half of the 20th Century, including labor's insistence on the inclusion of Title VII in the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Reagan years saw a serious erosion of the legal protections of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and during the Bush administration, minorities and women continue to experience discrimination in terms of hiring, initial placement and promotions.

The erosion of civil rights has occurred, not only through adverse administrative actions, but also through adverse rulings from the Supreme Court. The Court's decision, *City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.*, for example, will have a detrimental impact on workers seeking equal employment opportunities. Shockingly, the Court has even reached back into history to severely limit the 1866 Civil Rights Act's prohibitions against discrimination in employment contracts.

The Bush administration has fought attempts to address the serious problems of discrimination at the workplace and has blocked efforts to secure legislation that protects the rights of minorities and women by using the false issue of quotas to divide the American public.

A strong bipartisan coalition in the House and Senate has introduced the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which would overturn a number of Supreme Court decisions reversing civil rights progress and strengthen existing civil rights laws; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO applauds the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1991 by the U.S. Congress which would repair the most serious damage to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, especially to Title VII; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO also urges the U.S. Congress to overcome the Bush administration's attempts to prevent necessary civil rights legislation from being enacted; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms the labor movement's historic commitment to full civil rights for all.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Effects of Federal Policies on State Employees

RESOLUTION NO. 195 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

Fiscal decisions made at the national level by the President and Congress often produce unanticipated and sometimes adverse consequences for state government programs operated by AFL-CIO affiliated members.

The development capacity of any state depends on resources — human, technological, financial, etc. — and these resources are enhanced when state governments employ sufficient numbers of state employees and provide them with adequate levels of support to perform their required duties.

Proposals that ignore the needs of state governments and their employees have dire consequences for citizens of those states, especially those citizens who are least able to compete economically, educationally or emotionally, many of whom are served by programs run by AFL-CIO affiliates.

AFL-CIO affiliated members work in a wide variety of programs important to the health and safety of our citizens and the environment those citizens live and work in, including Transportation, Health, Education, Labor Department programs, highway and safety programs and environmental protection programs among others; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO affiliates be supported in their efforts to address federal policies on revenues and expenditures that have serious consequences for state governments, their citizens and the AFL-CIO affiliated members who provide services; and, be it further RESOLVED: The staff of the AFL-CIO will provide necessary support and assistance to the AFL-CIO affiliates working on these problems consistent with the policies of the AFL-CIO.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Fair Labor Standards Act Protections

RESOLUTION NO. 196 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

The Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) provides workers in the private and public sectors with fundamental minimum standards of protection against wage and hour exploitation. These standards have been established through the federal legislative process and affirmed by the Courts.

Certain public sector employers have sought to reverse and eliminate by administrative means the “docking test” protections as applied to public sector workers. Professional employees suffer a disproportionately adverse impact by the elimination of such protections; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue its efforts to protect the integrity of FLSA safeguards for public sector professional employees by opposing Administration attempts to weaken the FLSA through misuse of the rulemaking process.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Benefits for Classified Public School Employees

RESOLUTION NO. 197 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

Federal law at one time gave classified public school employees the right to receive unemployment compensation during the summer months in those states with enabling legislation. The right was taken away from only classified public school employees with passage of the 1983 Social Security amendments. The exclusion of school employees from that provision is arbitrary as other seasonal employees, i.e., construction workers and agricultural workers, are not excluded.

Classified school employees are the lowest-paid workers in a school system and don't usually earn enough to enable them to save money to tide them over through the summer months and often work in areas where there are not many other job possibilities in the summer months. It is unfair to assume that classified school employees have the same contractual guarantees, such as permanent status, as certificated school employees; therefore, be it **RESOLVED**: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to support the passage of federal legislation that will give classified public school employees the right to receive unemployment compensation; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to work with their state federations to pursue the passage of enabling state legislation.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Support for Safety and Health Protections for Meatpackers and Poultry Workers

RESOLUTION NO. 198 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

Certain portions of the food processing sector have become high-hazard, dangerous occupations for American workers.

The poultry processing industry has grown tremendously in the past decade to keep up with the demand for chicken. Poultry processing plants are most often in poor, rural communities. Poultry workers are frequently the lowest paid and most exploited workers.

Every man and woman in the United States is entitled to a safe workplace. The tragic fire at Imperial Food Products in Hamlet, North Carolina, killed 25 poultry workers and injured dozens more because doors were locked from the outside. That fire reflects the extremely hazardous working conditions that exist throughout the poultry processing industry. Poultry workers will only achieve justice when they have unions.

In 1990, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) announced with great fanfare a program to increase inspections in the meatpacking and poultry industry, but have failed to act

on it. Moreover, OSHA does not even consider the poultry industry to be a high-hazard occupation. Poultry processing plants are unlikely candidates for inspections by federal and state health and safety agencies.

Because of the alarming increase in worker injuries due to cumulative trauma disorders, in 1991, 31 unions petitioned OSHA to promulgate an emergency temporary standard to reduce cumulative trauma disorders; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls on OSHA to launch a special emphasis inspection program in the meatpacking and poultry industry with no exemption component; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls on OSHA to promulgate immediately an emergency temporary standard on ergonomic hazards to protect workers from work-related cumulative trauma disorders; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls on the U.S. Labor and Agriculture Departments to develop a cooperative agreement whereby inspectors employed by both agencies are cross-trained in identifying and directed to report to OSHA any egregious violations they observe, regardless of departmental jurisdiction; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO encourages its affiliates to help in the struggle wherever poultry workers are organizing for dignity and working to obtain union representation.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Working Families and their Needs

RESOLUTION NO. 199 — *By Department for Professional Employees.*

America's working families are in crisis. Married couples with children find it necessary for both parents to work to maintain a decent living. Single parents must work. While parents work, they need good child care. Yet, the child care industry has failed to meet the crisis. Infant care is almost nonexistent. Child care providers are leaving the industry at alarming rates because of low wages, little or no benefits and low status. Quality care is often unaffordable for most parents, forcing them to leave their children in dangerous or unhealthy care or at home caring for themselves.

Fifty-five percent of the workforce is comprised of family members caring for elderly parents or other relatives. Unlike child care, the caregiver role is often placed on an employee with no warning. The typical employed caregiver is a woman. The average American woman will spend 17 years bringing up her children and 18 years caring for her elderly parents or parents-in-law, or other aging, ill

relatives. The situation worsens for the 1.8 million women who are simultaneously caring for their children and an elderly relative.

Many employers have not caught up with the realities of the workplace, preferring to keep in place outdated policies designed for only a minority of families today. Thus, instead of considering changes to help caregiving employees do their job better, managers complain about employees' excessive telephone use, absenteeism, lateness, and unscheduled time off from work.

The United States has no leave policy to help workers care for a newborn or sick child, or elderly parent or relative. While the 101st Congress has passed child care legislation which will begin to relieve parent's child care problems, it failed to override the President's veto of the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). FMLA was reintroduced this year with the same threat of a Presidential veto. Moreover, while Congress authorized a certain amount of money to implement the child care legislation, it is wavering on fully appropriating those funds.

Labor unions have been fighting to win family leave benefits and child care through collective bargaining. An AFL-CIO Work and Family Committee was established to promote family-oriented programs and to share information on successful programs; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to participate in the debate on these issues and vigorously advocate strong, sound measures to produce a decent life for our families today and a bright future for our children; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to lobby Congress to appropriate fully the funds it authorized for child care in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to lobby for progressive changes in policies affecting working families at the state and local level; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges its affiliates to lobby Congress to pass, and the President to sign, the Family and Medical Leave Act.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Maritime Policy

RESOLUTION NO. 200 — *By Maritime Trades Department.*

The recent victory in the Persian Gulf has demonstrated, once again, the importance of the American merchant marine of maintaining an adequate and reliable sealift capacity for the United States.

But the experiences gained from the sealift effort confirmed beyond any argument that the United States is in urgent need of new policies and programs to revitalize the U.S. merchant marine.

The conflict underscored the fact that the nation's commercial industry did not have an adequate number of the optimum mix of vessels to support this contingency. Clearly, both the reserve fleet and the U.S. commercial fleet were unable to meet all of our military sealift requirements, prompting the use of foreign charters. It also became apparent that the pool of U.S. merchant mariners for manning these vessels was also in jeopardy. The continuing projected decline in number of ships and billets will further degrade our sealift capabilities. It would appear that the time is at hand for the administration to take a leadership role and enunciate a national maritime policy which will make the U.S.-flag merchant fleet viable in peace and formidable in war.

Unfortunately, administration actions are inconsistent with its accolades praising the role of the merchant marine in Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm. Despite the sealift shortfalls identified as a result of the recent conflict and the need to boldly and immediately upgrade the stock of the nation's maritime assets, administration actions can best be characterized as neglectful and disinterested at best and non-existent or hostile at worst.

For example, it is this administration which, on the one hand, asks for a dependable merchant marine to send into harms way during the Persian Gulf War while, on the other hand, waives the Jones Act without justification during a drawdown of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve necessitated by that war; it is this administration that has negotiated a toothless bilateral maritime agreement with the Soviet Union, a treaty that provides no cargo for U.S. ships; and, it is the State Department in this administration that, through some fast shuttling of funds from one agency to another, circumvented the U.S. cargo preference laws and allowed housing bought by Israel with American financing to be carried on foreign-flag ships. Until or unless the administration stops undercutting its own maritime policy, we will have little more than a debating society.

It is only by returning to traditionally strong support of those programs that have made a substantial contribution to past maritime strength, tempered with sensible adjustments and new approaches to reflect current conditions, that our nation can restore its sealift capability. To sustain the U.S. merchant marine at a level consonant with American national security and commercial needs, immediate steps should be taken to develop a truly effective policy which will address all segments of our critically important maritime industry. Such a

maritime policy should include the following elements which will lay the foundation for the continued and robust presence of the American-flag fleet:

Programs to ensure the maintenance and retention of an adequate, efficient and modern fleet sufficient to satisfy America's economic and national security needs and a pool of well-trained men and women that can be employed on commercial ships or assist the armed services in time of war or national emergency. A fully active commercial fleet is the most effective solution to the nation's sealift needs — in terms of both equipment and personnel.

An expansion of the Ready Reserve Force to meet foreseeable surge requirements. Operation Desert Shield's seaborne logistics were met, but only because of a highly unusual set of favorable circumstances. Expanding the RRF with a proper mix and number of ships would ensure a state of logistical readiness that would meet all foreseeable situations; having an assigned minimum crew will ensure that personnel are familiar with the vessel and its equipment and have the knowledge to break out and operate the vessel and its equipment if the need arises. However, there should be a balance between the inactive reserve fleet and the active commercial fleet; plans and policies must emphasize active sealift capabilities. Expansion of the RRF is not the panacea for restoring adequate sealift capability; only through the enhancement of the commercial fleet can strategic planners rely on a supply of vessels and manpower able to be mustered on short notice. After all is said and done, moving vessels manned by real-live skilled human beings is certainly the superior corrective measure.

A balanced promotional program which will encourage opportunities for the construction and commercial success of specialized vessels required to provide necessary levels of seaborne logistic support in emergencies. Such a program will encourage replacement and expansion within the American-flag fleet of militarily useful vessels and will provide the wherewithal for private vessel operators to keep these vessels afloat and the billets to retain merchant mariners in the maritime workforce. In turn, the immediate availability of specialized and general cargo vessels will provide benefits to defense security. It would be a logical and cost-effective way of rebuilding our maritime resources to the point of national security adequacy.

The creation of a build and charter program for the construction of modern, commercially viable and militarily useful dry and liquid cargo vessels in American shipyards. Ships built under this program would provide U.S. ship operators with modern ships for use in the foreign or domestic trades of the United States. The ships would be

available for charter under the U.S. flag by qualified and experienced operators or made available to operators through outright sale. A program, acceptable to all segments of the maritime industry, would provide business and job opportunities in both the ship operating and shipbuilding sectors, further develop the U.S.-flag fleet, and expand national sealift capability.

Support of legislative efforts to extend veterans' benefits to merchant seamen serving in a wartime combat zone and to provide both licensed and unlicensed personnel with re-employment rights and favorable tax treatment. This would help lay the foundation for easing recruitment efforts in future emergencies.

A strong reaffirmation of support for the Jones Act as the fundamental maritime statute which has served as the backbone for the U.S. domestic fleet. Experience shows conclusively that a strong cabotage law is essential to the formation and maintenance of a maritime workforce required in time of national emergency. For nearly 70 years, the Jones Act has provided an environment for the maintenance of a strong and healthy domestic fleet and its importance should not be overlooked. All legislative and executive attempts to weaken or repeal the Jones Act must be defeated. Additionally, a sound maritime policy should close existing loopholes in the Jones Act and expand its jurisdictional limits to reflect changing international attitudes.

The government should open the way for U.S. participation in the lucrative passenger cruise trades by extending the nation's health, safety, manning, shipbuilding and repair requirements to foreign cruise vessel operators as conditions for access to the U.S. trades, by eliminating regulations that discriminate against U.S. ventures including the prohibition of gambling on U.S. passenger vessels, and by reviewing regulations and policies that provide incentives to foreign carriers. Today, at a time when the U.S. cruise market is experiencing an unprecedented boom, there are only two deep sea passenger vessels under American registry, both positioned in the Pacific. It is outrageous to watch our security suffer as thousands of jobs go to foreign-flag vessels and foreign shipyards.

Existing cargo preference statutes affecting government-impelled shipments should be rigorously enforced and expansion into the commercial trades should be considered. This program offers greater promise for future expansion of the U.S. merchant fleet, for preference, rather than the subsidization of idle ships, which actually encourages their use at a cost borne equitably by all taxpayers.

The inclusion of maritime services under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the North American Free Trade

Agreement (NAFTA) should be aggressively resisted. Such inclusion will place at risk all existing and future maritime promotion programs and will open the domestic trades to unfair incursions by heavily subsidized foreign-flag vessels manned by subsistence-wage workers.

Support of comprehensive energy legislation which would include the environmentally sound exploration and development of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), provided any oil extracted is reserved for domestic consumption. In addition, restrictions on the export of Alaska oil contained in Section 7(d) of the Export Administration Act should be extended indefinitely. An enlightened approach to oil production and conservation will hold the promise of boosting our tanker fleet.

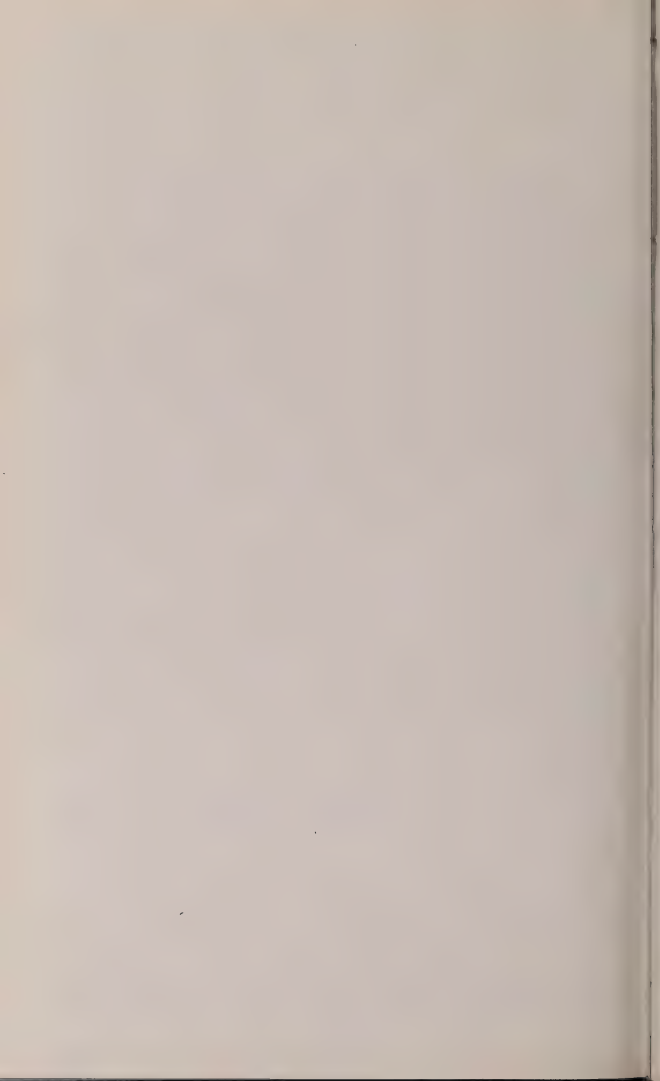
Swift and meaningful action must be taken to reverse the industry's current state of affairs. Strong leadership and support from the White House and the Congress as well as a united industry are required to forge a workable strategy for the development and implementation of a comprehensive national maritime policy. Without this partnership and a solidarity of purpose, the U.S.-flag merchant marine will continue on its voyage to extinction and the nation's defense security will be compromised. It is time to demonstrate initiative and guide a serious effort for reform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its commitment to a strong, effective and efficient U.S.-built, operated and crewed merchant fleet; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges the administration and the Congress to immediately and vigorously pursue the task of developing and adopting a comprehensive, long-range maritime policy and programs designed to promote and encourage all segments of the maritime and maritime-related industries — one which will resoundly restore this most basic of national security assets, the fourth arm of defense; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO expresses its willingness to cooperate fully with all interested parties to develop the broad unity and coalition necessary to ensure adoption of a beneficial maritime program.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.



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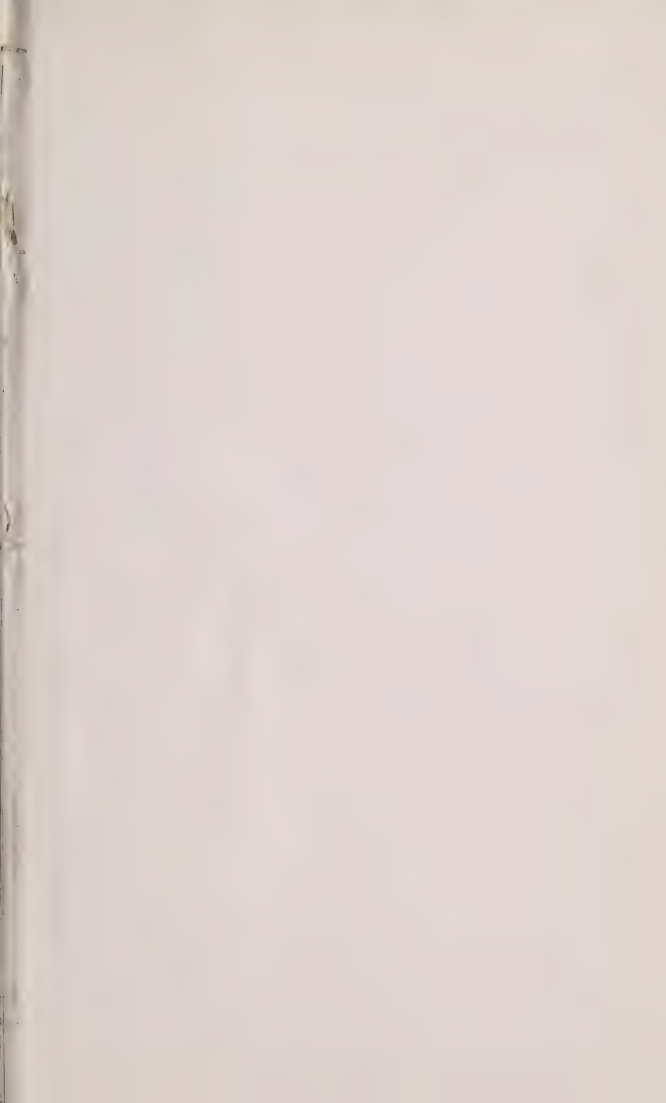
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